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Spatialized Racial Progress Views: How Geography & Economic Restructuring Influence American Racial Progress Attitudes

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Spatialized Racial Progress Views:
How Geography and Economic Restructuring Influence
American Racial Progress Attitudes

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

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Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

by

Jessica Lynn Stewart

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Spatialized Racial Progress Views:

How Geography & Economic Restructuring Influence

American Racial Progress Attitudes

by

Jessica Lynn Stewart

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Chair

This dissertation addresses the relationship between economic development, place, and contemporary racial progress attitudes. Two phenomena drive this interest. First, survey analysis shows Americans are becoming increasingly disillusioned with progress towards racial equality and divided in their opinion of social welfare programs. Second, recent regional migration patterns of African Americans and Latinos have changed the demographic landscape of the country. These political attitudes and migration trends raise questions about the spatial dynamics of racial inequality and intra-group division. Scholars have addressed individual level effects on racial progress views. Yet,

the question still remains, to what extent does socioeconomic context influence perceptions of racial progress? I argue American racial progress attitudes vary by place. Local socioeconomic context operates as a reference/-comparison point used in assessments of upward group mobility and social policy aimed at alleviating racial inequalities. Using the American National Election Survey (ANES) Time-Series Cumulative File with data from 1964 to 2012 and the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) the influence of contextual factors on racial progress attitudes are examined, for African-Americans, Latinos, and Whites. Racial progress attitudes are measured with survey question responses related to improvement in group position and racialized public policy. Opinions are analyzed through a framework of uneven socioeconomic development and local variation in settlement patterns, which I call a Spatialized Racial Progress Views (SRPV) model. By understanding the geography of racial progress attitudes, along with evolving inter and intra-racial complexities, this research helps fosters the creation of tailored strategies for achieving racial equality.

The dissertation of Jessica Lynn Stewart is approved.

John R Zaller

Devon W Carbado

Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

For Kennedy Lynn

Mommy Loves You!

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ACRONYMS

ANES American National Election Studies

CMPS The Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey

GIS Geographical Information Systems

TANF Temporary Assistance for Needy Families

FHA Federal Housing Administration

SES Socioeconomic Status

HBCUs Historically Black Colleges and Universities

I've learned that people will forget what you said,

people will forget what you did,

but people will never forget how you made them feel.

— Maya Angelou

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I want to thank the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). NCOBPS annual meeting was the first political conference I at-

tended. They welcomed me into the discipline and helped me find my place in academia. NCOBPS will always have a very special place in my heart.

This dissertation is dedicated to my daughter. When I started my PhD program she was six months old. I was a single mom in a new city and very busy. I want to thank my dear Kennedy Lynn for being patient with me through this journey. She is my light on dark days. She is the reason why I kept going.

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"Progress Pockets: How Economic Restructuring Impacts Racial Progress in Cities" (American Political Science Association Annual Meeting- Panel, September 2017)

"Federal Policies And Spending Priorities Among Women In The United States" (co-authored w/ Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Associate Professor UCLA) (Midwestern Political Science Association Annual Meeting- Panel, April 2017)

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INTRODUCTION

If you stick a knife in my back nine inches and pull it out six inches, there's no progress.

If you pull it all the way out that's not progress.

Progress is healing the wound that the blow made.

— MALCOLM X

This dissertation seeks to understand the relationship between race, place, and political economy in the United States. More specifically, I am interested in the ways racial progress attitudes vary by geographic location and how this variation leads to intra-group policy divides. This work is motivated by three seemingly unrelated developments. First, African American and Latino regional migration patterns have changed. In a reversal of The Great Migration, since the 1980s, an increasing number of African Americans are moving to the South (Frey 2004). Meanwhile, Latinos have become more dispersed overtime, with new immigrants settling in new destinations

versus old gateway cities (Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005, Lichter and Johnson 2009). Second, there has been a shift in the economy, which began in the late 1970s. America has moved away from a manufacturing based economy and towards a knowledge/tech based economy (Moretti 2012, Bluestone and Harrison 1982). This restructuring has left many Black and Latino communities with limited opportunities for economic advancement (Parks 2012). Third, Americans are becoming more disillusioned with racial progress overtime. Surveys show that many Americans do not think we are on track to achieving Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality (Dawson 2011, Major, Blodorn, and Blascovich 2016, Schaffner, MacWilliams, and Nteta 2018). I believe these three developments, non-White migration, uneven economic opportunity, and perceptions of racial progress, are all connected. While other studies of racial attitudes have attempted to analyze contextual effects, the study of geographical differences in racial progress attitudes tends to be cursory. In this study I ask, to what extent does socioeconomic context influence racial progress attitudes, and in turn shape racialized policy preferences?

Leading explanations for racial progress attitudes include increasing colorblind racism, intra-racial socioeconomic inequality, conservatism, varying reference points and collective memories. Color-blind racism and conservatism theorist focus mostly on White Americans' racial attitudes in the midst of heightened neoliberalism. They tend to gloss over the spatially complex history of conservatism in marginalized communities (Bonilla-Silva 2006,

Tate 2010, Dillard 2002). Socioeconomic inequality theorist recognize the influence of individual education attainment on racial progress attitudes (Wilson 1987, Dawson 1994, Wodtke 2012, Santoro 2015). However, this school fails to consider the impact of residing in a metropolitan area with a high volume of Colleges and Universities on racial progress attitudes. References point scholars have not considered the possibility of cities, particularly local political economies, operating as reference points. Collective memory scholars have not fully considered collective memories of racial progress varying by place. Existing theories do not comprehensively address the role of socioeconomic context in shaping racial progress attitudes.

A Fresh Approach: Spatialized Racial Progress Views

I argue that regional and local socioeconomic conditions impacts assessments of racial progress, which in turn sha strategies for achieving racial equality. There has been a shift in the American political economy over the last 50 years from a manufacturing based to a knowledge based economy. Politically, this shift was facilitated by the increasing neoliberalization of American government. Economically, the shift has led to job loss, relocation of firms, relocation of people, and an increase in demands for highly skilled labor (Pendergrass 2013, Parks 2011, Iceland 2004, Iceland, Sharp and Timberlake 2013). Currently regions and metropolitan areas vary in the amount of opportunity they provide for African-American and Latino socioeconomic advancement (Moretti 2012). I believe, in alignment with the effects of economic restructur-

ing, racial progress attitudes have become more geographically differentiated overtime. Both inter and intra-racially contemporary racial progress attitudes are polarized by diverging local socioeconomic conditions.This argument is the foundation of a spatialized racial progress views framework presented in the upcoming analysis.

Empirically and theoretically, I notably depart from previous research on racial progress attitudes and contextual effects in three key ways. First, by rejecting the notion that the South is more racially hostile than other parts of the county. I move beyond use of a South/non-South dummy variable and compare racial progress attitudes across all four regions (Key 1949, Valentino and Sears 2005). Intra and inter-regionally the influence of contextual factors are examined at the regional, metropolitan area, and neighborhood level. Second, in addition to measures of percent Black and percent Latino, I include aggregate measures of income and educational attainment levels at the zip code level. The effect of contextual factors are compared to the effects of individual socioeconomic status, ideology, and age (Gay 2004). Third, in addition to differences between racial groups, I explore intra-group divides in racial progress attitudes overtime. Notably, spatial divides in perceptions African American progress are analyzed beginning in 1967 using a large national survey data sample.

Racial progress is defined as improvement in the social, political, and economic position of marginalized communities overtime. Forward move-

ment of society away from institutionalized white supremacy and towards racial equality. In-short, racial progress is increasing upward group mobility for non-Whites. Perceptions of racial progress are assessments made between social, economic, or political conditions in the present and conditions in the past for non-Whites. In this dissertation, I focus on one dimension of racial progress, upward group mobility, improvement in the group level economic position. I measure how much improvement Blacks, Latinos, and Whites see in their group's own economic position over the past few years. This proxy makes clear which dimension of racial progress is being studied, the racial group of focus, and provides a temporal framing for assessments.

Closing the Racial Progress Policy-Principle Gap

The significance of this research lies in its use of political economy and geography to help explain America's policy-principle gap. The principle-policy gap refers to Americans continued support for policies that preserve White privilege, harm minority communities, and increase racial tension, despite embracing race-neutral language and claiming to uphold principles of racial equality (Tuch and Hughes 2011). Racialized policies are policies that are easily translated into racial issues with redistributive undertones, whether worded using race-neutral or explicitly racial references (Gilens 1999, Burns and Gimpel 2000). Racialized policy can either perpetuate racial inequality and discrimination (i.e.drug sentencing laws, mass incarceration, welfare policy, inequitable public school funding, redlining, and gerrymandering) (Cit-

rin, Green and Sears 1990, Gilens 1999, Bobo and Thompson 2006, Alexander 2012) or hinder racial discrimination while producing opportunities for advancement (i.e. Affirmative Action in higher in higher education and employment, free community college tuition, job training programs, housing voucher programs, etc) (Long 2015, Carbado 2011).

Widespread support for racialized policies that disproportionately harm communities of color, coupled with opposition to targeted policies that alleviate racial disparities, leads many to believe America will never close its policy-principle gap. While others, mostly White Americans, believe there is no policy-principle gap, and instead working class White people are under attack. A perpetual policy-principle gap ensures economic inequality and racial disparities in wealth, educational attainment, and the criminal justice system will continue to grow long-term. Based on findings from this study, scholars will know if geographical differences in racial progress attitudes further America's policy-principle gap.

The remainder of this introduction is organized as followed. I provide a review of pertinent literature related to racial progress attitudes, divided into four schools of thought: colorblind racism and conservatism, intraracial socioeconomic inequality, reference point, and collective memory theory. Lastly, dissertation chapters are outlined and immediate next steps are discussed. But first, I begin with a brief background on the connection be-

tween socioeconomic advancement, the "grand divergence" of cities, and current regional minority migration patterns.

BACKGROUND

Mass movements against the destructive and violent nature of individual and institutional racism during the Civil War and civil rights era are apart of an American narrative of reform and retrenchment. There have been spurts of national enlightenment that have managed to curtail the reach of white supremacy. However, following each racially enlightened episode were reactionary political, social, and economic forces that reconfigured racism to fit the sensibilities of the time (Omni and Winant 1994).

American Racial Progress: A Story of Reform and Retrenchment

African-American and Latino economic advancement began taking off in the 1940s following shifts in labor demand and government intervention that outlawed racial discrimination in select industries (Grebler 1970, Telles and Ortiz 2008, Eisinger 1982, Collins 1983, Carrington, McCue and Pierce 1996). In the 1960s about half of all Mexican Americans residing in Los Angeles worked in manufacturing, while a significant portion of Mexican Americans living in San Antonio, TX worked on military bases (Grebler 1970, Telles and Ortiz 2008). By fall of 1978, at the peak of American manufacturing employment, almost 20 million Americans were working in factories. Also during this period, African-American employment in the public sector

increased at twice the rate of White Americans (Eisinger 1982, Collins 1983, Carrington, McCue and Pierce 1996, Parks 2011, Zipp 1994). Both public employment and labor employment served as a pathway to intergenerational mobility for inner-city Blacks and Latinos, in a way that it did not for Whites.

Employment gains played a crucial role in establishing and expanding the minority middle class (Erie 1980, Eisinger 1982, Landry 1987, Katz, Stern and Fader 2005, Parks 2011, Grebler 1970, Telles and Ortiz 2008). During the height of American manufacturing and Black economic progress, the country's most prosperous cities were places like Detroit, MI, Cleveland, OH Gary, IN and Pittsburgh, PA (Moretti 2012). A manufacturing job or a good government job came with cultural, political, and economic perks of middle-class life previously only experienced by White Americans, such as home-ownership, weekends off, unionization, and summer vacations (Parks 2011, Moretti 2012). In the 1960s and early 1970s the national conversation was focused on labor-supply resources and providing equal opportunity, consequently objective indicators of racial progress showed significant improvements (Parks 2011).

Feedback Effects of Economic Restructuring and Hindered Progress

In the late 1970s and 1980s the national conversation shifted away from addressing institutional racism as a cause of racial inequality and more emphasis was placed on dependency and joblessness, the consequences of

poverty. Socially, White Americans were becoming increasingly resistant to prominent civil rights movements, welfare policies, and calls for equal opportunity. Economically, domestic relocation, decentralization, and expanded offshore production within the manufacturing sector facilitated the removal of labor jobs from the urban core of most major metropolitan areas. Since 1985, the United States has lost an average of 372,000 manufacturing jobs every year (Moretti 2012).

Figure 1: Decline in Manufacturing Jobs Overtime

Source: U.S Bureau of Labor and Statistics

Growing Inequality and a Changing Geo-economical Landscape

Deindustrialization sent some communities into a state of economic crisis, particular African-American and Latino communities in the Northeast and Midwest (Bluestone and Harrison 1982, Parks 2011, Crowley, Lichter and

Turner 2015). An often overlooked form of economic development is reindustrialization in certain cities during the early 1980s, which included an expansion in low wage electronic and garment manufacturing jobs for primarily Latinos (Moretti 2012). Reindustrialization in cities like Los Angeles made the loss of traditional manufacturing jobs less visible than in New York and Chicago because there were more poor people working, particularly poor Latinos (Moore and Pinderhughes 1993). Economic restructuring, the shift from traditional manufacturing to a new formal economy, fundamentally changed the geography of racial progress.

Surprisingly, many southern states that were significantly poorer than the rest of the country in the 1960s, experienced rapid economic growth in the following decades (Moretti 2012, Karnig and McClain 1985). Starting in the 1980s, many local political economies in the "New South" became more conducive to minority socioeconomic advancement than they were in previous decades (Hunt, Hunt and Falk 2013, Pendergrass 2013). The New South was characterized by expanding work-related opportunities due to a striking increase in textile and other light industry jobs in addition to its lower costs of living, and improved racial climate (Karnig and McClain 1985, Hunt, Hunt and Falk 2013, Pendergrass 2013).

The Reagan Revolution and the Rise Neoliberalism

Politically, the Reagan Administration, manipulated and exaggerated racialized effects of economic restructuring. Political elites blamed stalled racial progress on urban decay and behavioral pathology, while calling for less government intervention to increase economic gains of a majority white business class (Skowronek 1993, Gilens 1999, Harris-Lacewell 2004, Dawson 2011, Santoro 2015). Neoliberal justifications and ideology were used by conservative foundations and think tanks to aggressively block low income housing, funding for public schools, and other forms of government assistance thought to help "undeserving" Blacks and Latinos (Gilens 1996, Harvey 2005, Spence 2012). Prior political norms and practices that facilitated African-American and Latino economic progress were abruptly abandoned, including severe cutbacks to public employment, low income housing, and funding for public schools (Landry 1987, Zipp 1994, Parks 2011).

By the 1990s the Reagan Revolution had evolved into Clinton Moderation, which included further welfare state contraction and the prison-industrial complex boom (Skowronek 1993, Harvey 2005, Santoro 2015). Highly publicized negative stereotypes of Latinos and African-Americans during both the Reagan and Clinton administrations were linked to a precipitous decline in support for government funding of a broad range of socially progressive policy for all Americans (Gilens 1999, 1996). It was clear going into the new millennium that economic restructuring compounded by neoliberal policies

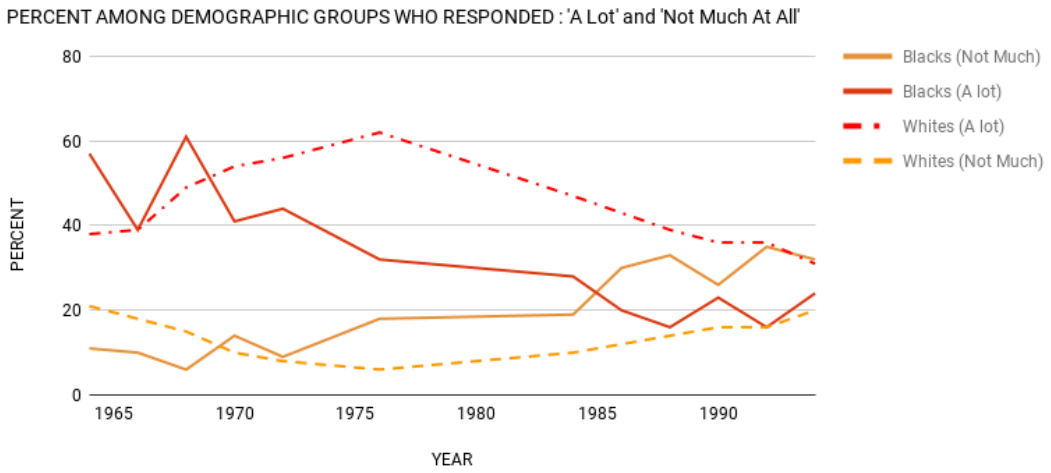
would have a disastrous impact on the pursuit of racial and economic justice for generations to come.

A Racial Progress Puzzle

During the 1980s and early 1990s, political behavior scholars began noticing peculiar changes in Black public opinion (Dawson 1994, Wilson 1987, Hochschild 1995). Analysis of polling data showed that since the culmination of the Civil Rights Movement, African American racial attitudes had become more divided and a racial progress puzzle had emerged (Dawson 2001, Shelby 2005, Tate 2010, Hochschild, Weaver and Burch 2012). The racial progress puzzle stems from two seemingly contradictory Black public opinion trends. First, African Americans have grown more disillusioned with American racial progress, believing not much improvement has been made in the socio economic position of the African American community overtime. According to Figure 2, using data from the American National Election Studies (ANES) Time-Series Survey, in 1964, 58% of African Americans believed the socio economic condition of blacks had improved a lot, by 1994 only 24% held that view.

Second, African Americans support for government assistance has declined overtime (Tate 2010). In 1970, only 6% of African Americans agreed the government should not assist with improving their socioeconomic position. By 2012 almost 25% of African Americans rejected the principle of gov-

Figure 2: Perceptions of African American Upward Mobility 1964-1994

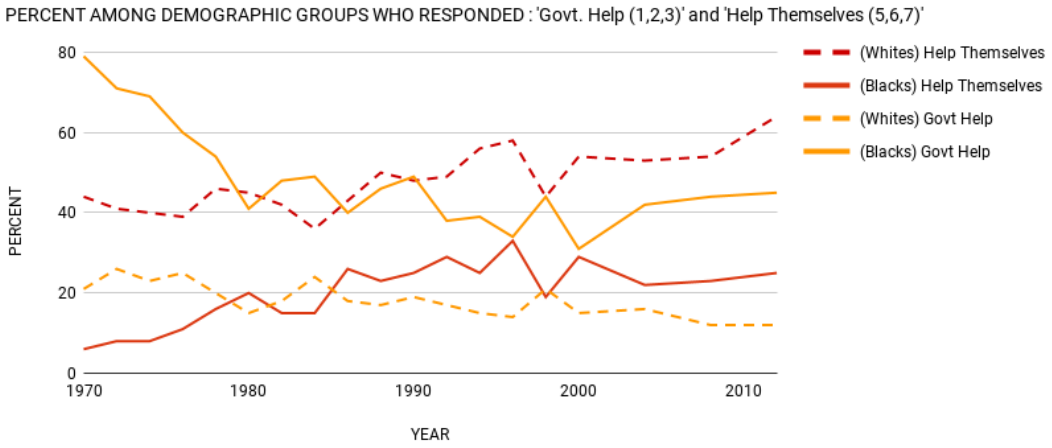


ernment assistance (ANES 2012). In short, since the culmination of the Civil Rights Movement African Americans have become less likely to support the principle of government assistance and more divided in their assessments of American racial progress. A similar racial progress puzzle exists for Latinos. However, given the survey questioned mentions Blacks specifically it is hard to determine how Latinos in the survey have viewed their own group mobility over the years.

REVIEW OF EXTANT LITERATURE RELATED TO RACIAL PROGRESS

Scholars advance three explanations to account for divided racial progress attitudes. The first three schools of thought claim individual ideology and socioeconomic status influence perceptions of racial progress. The other two focus on explaining how varying reference points and collective experiences influence individual assessments of racial progress. While each of these perspectives makes a compelling argument, the last two are the most

Figure 3: Support for Principle of Government Assistance for Blacks 1970 to 2012



Source: American National Election Studies (ANES) 2012 Time-Series Cumulative File

convincing. Recent developments allow the possibility of diverging local political economies to create varying collective memories of racial progress. It is also possible that cities operate as reference points in assessments of racial progress, leading to geographically differentiated racial attitudes.

Conservative Ideology Rooted In Biased Principles

White Conservatism

Studies explaining the relationship between conservatism, White American perceptions of discrimination and social policy preferences tend to align with either Sears and colleagues (Kinder and Sears 1981, Kinder and Sanders 1996, Rabinowitz et al. 2009, Bobo, Kluegel and Smith 1997, Henry and Sears 2002) or Sniderman and colleagues (Sniderman and Carmines 1997, Peey, Hurwitz and Sniderman 1997, Sniderman, Crosby and Howell 2000). Sniderman and colleagues, in what is called a principled approach, argue race specific poli-

cies violate individualism and equal treatment. Violation of key conservative principles makes opposition to government intervention rational. A principled conservatism line of reasoning tends to downplay racial undertones embedded in opposition to the principle of government assistance.

Sears and colleagues associate racial prejudice/racism with conservatism and White American opposition to race specific, racialized, or racially conscious policies. Valentino and Sears (2005) using GSS and NES data from 1970 to 2000, claims White southern conservatives, when compared to White conservatives elsewhere, are more likely to have negative racial attitudes and less likely to support the principle of government assistance. However, one is unable to make nuanced conclusions about other geographical distinctions from their study because its main comparison is between 11 states of the former confederacy in the South and the rest of the country. There is no way to know if this finding still holds when comparing white rural Midwest voters to deep South white voters.

> Hypothesis a: White Conservatives are more likely than White liberals to have negative assessments of upward white mobility, and reject government intervention.

Black and Latino Conservatism

Conservatism, aligned with strong indigenous notions of self-help and the shunning of government assistance, has an enduring tradition in both the Latino and African American community (Dawson 1994, 2001, Carey Jr 2013, Taylor 2011, Chavez 1992, Dillard 2002). Booker T. Washington argued African-Americans could become businessmen and property-owners without voting rights and government intervention. W.E.B Dubois thought Washington's strategy for racial equality was pandering, "...meant to make the Whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negros shoulders and stand aside as critical and rather pessimistic spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the nation" (p.72, DuBois [1903]1997). More than one hundred years later, Bonilla-Silva (2006) in Racism without Racist, found similar responses from Blacks and Whites who reject the principle of government intervention.

Tate (2010) argues a lack of radical black political leadership is causing changes in African-American views on social policy, specifically government assistance for minorities. Using survey data she finds the gap between White and Black support for social welfare programs began narrowing in the 1990s as African Americans moved closer to the political center. Tate concludes with a claim that Black public opinion has shifted from a very strong liberal position to a moderately strong liberal position. Despite their

strong political allegiance to the Democratic party, Bonilla-Silva (2006) and Tate (2010) have questioned whether all African-Americans and Latinos are as racially progressive as typically assumed.

What is not addressed by scholars studying the relationship between conservatism and attitudes towards government assistance for non-Whites is increasing geographic variation in Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) caseloads and the amount of cash aid given per family, particularly in the South (Meyers, Gornick and Peck 2001, Danziger 2010). According to U.S census data, the South offers less in cash benefits compared to any other region. This development begs the question, why would African-Americans and Latinos move in mass to the suburbs and the South, localities notoriously known as racially hostile, politically conservative, and against government intervention?

> *Hypothesis b: Non-white Conservatives are more likely than Non-White Liberals to have positive assessments of upward white mobility, and reject government intervention.*

Color-Blind Racism: A Denial of Discrimination

Color-blind racism theory holds that neoliberal conservatism stems from a combination of racial threat (Key 1949), racial resentment (Sears and Kinder 1971), and a basic commitment to fairness and egalitarianism (Valentino and Sears 2005, Bonilla-Silva 2006). Racial resentment is synonymous with

symbolic racism, defined as a cohesive ideology where one sees racial prejudice as no longer an obstacle for minority economic advancement. Moreover, continuing disadvantage for African-Americans and Latinos is their own fault. Thus, claims of continuing discrimination and persistent calls for racial equality are unjustified (Henry and Sears 2002, Valentino and Sears 2005, Tolbert and Grummel 2003, Tesler and Sears 2010, Bonilla-Silva 2006, Tate 2010, Tuch and Hughes 2011).

Color-blind racism theory stresses racist undertones in principled conservatism for Whites, while also drawing attention to the profound effects of neoliberalism on Blacks and Latinos on racial progress attitudes (Henry and Sears 2002, Bonilla-Silva 2006) Abstract liberalism is used to blur perceptions of racialized government projects, leading one to see the lack of racial progress as solely the responsibility of the individual (Spence 2012, Bonilla-Silva 2006, Smith 2014). Color-blindness operates a tool used in the systematization of institutional racism, amounting to a retreat of racial consciousness and the preservation of White privilege (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Color blind conservatism theory explains how positive assessments of racial progress, including the denial of systemic discrimination, can be used as a justification for opposition to meaningful policy change.

Despite a color-blind shift in the broader political context, including deracialized politicians and race-neutral political messages, most Blacks and Latinos retain a disillusioned view of racial progress (Skowronek 1993,

Harris-Lacewell 2004, McCormick and Jones 1993, Juenke and Sampaio 2010, Dawson 2011). An increasingly conservative political context can also lead to the development of an oppositional ideology. For African Americans and Latinos, whether declining support for government intervention should be interpreted as a shift towards conservatism or community nationalism remains unclear (Bonilla-Silva 2006, Taylor 2011). Marginalized citizens though aware of persisting discrimination become less sure about the most effective strategy to achieve racial equality. Overtime government intervention is seen less and less as a viable option (Dawson 2011). Taylor (2011) claims people of color strategically moderate their views on government assistance, leaning towards a watered down version of black nationalism, after being exposed to White nationalist rage, backlash, and deracialized politicians.

> *Hypothesis c: Blacks and Latinos who believe racial discrimination is a problem are more likely to have negative assessments of upward group mobility and support government intervention than those who see racial discrimination as not a problem*

> *Hypothesis d: Whites who believe racial discrimination is a problem are more likely to have positive assessments of upward white mobility and support government intervention than those who see racial discrimination as not a problem*

Intra-racial Socioeconomic Inequality

Higher Education Promoting Racial Enlightenment or Ideological Refinement

The second school of thought, intra-racial socioeconomic theory, suggests increased educational or economic diversification within a racial or ethnic group will produce divergent racial progress attitudes (Hyman and Sheatsley 1956, Jackman and Muha 1984, Allen and Farley 1986, Gay 2004, Hochschild, Weaver and Burch 2012, Burns and Gimpel 2000). Enlightenment theory was introduced in the 1950s. The original assumption was that higher education would produce a "more tolerant young [White] people into the effective adult public" (Hyman and Sheatsley 1956, p.39). Enlightenment theorist claim Whites are racially enlightened through the liberating impact of educational attainment, which attenuates prejudice and fosters a real commitment to alleviate racial inequality (Hyman and Sheatsley 1956, Wodtke 2012).

An alternative to enlightenment theory is an ideological refinement perspective. Ideological refinement theorist see formal education exposes one to dominant narratives, while also promoting a set of legitimizing ideological commitments such as individualism and meritocracy. These legitimizing ideologies enable them to articulate an astute defense of their privilege position in the social hierarchy" (Althusser 1971, Jackman and Muha 1984, Wodtke 2012). Schuman (1997) called positive associations between education and egalitarian racial attitudes "slopes of hypocrisy" due to inconsistencies. They

find educated Whites are more likely to reject negative racial stereotypes, acknowledge institutional racism, and support principles of equal treatment. Highly educated White Americans are no more likely than less educated Whites to endorse affirmative action policies, including the integration of schools and racial preferences in higher education (Jackman and Muha 1984, Schuman 1997, Burns and Gimpel 2000).

Wodtke (2012) analyzes the effects of education on views of affirmative action using data from 1990-2010 with a large sample of African-Americans, Whites, Asians, and Latinos. He finds support for race-targeted job training holds across all levels of education, for all racial groups. However, advanced education is not associated with support for Affirmative Action in hiring and promotions across all racial groups, perhaps due to a perceived threat. Thus, even among highly educated Americans exists a principle-perception-policy gap that goes against the claims of enlightenment theory.

Scholars who address intra-group educational divides rarely discuss the impact of living in a city or community with a high concentration of universities or lack thereof. Economist have pointed out the various spillover effects of education, specifically the an agglomeration of institutions (Burke and Cannonier 2015, Moretti 2004, Moretti 2012). The presence of several institutions of higher education tend to create knowledge spillover through informal networks. It also creates economic spillover by increasing local job opportunities for both skilled and unskilled workers. An increase in college

graduates increases the wages of highschool dropouts and high school graduates by almost 2% (Moretti 2004). It is possible the presence of multiple Historically Black Colleges and Universities in Southern metropolitan areas like Atlanta or the research triangle in North Carolina is shaping both subjective and objective indicators of racial progress.

In addition to the agglomeration of universities, intra-group education inequality theorist fail to consider the impact living in a community without institutions of higher education near by. Hillman (2016) analyzes the geography of education opportunity by examining the number and type of colleges located within each commuter zone (n=709). He finds places vary in the amount of access they provide to higher education, both within and across racial groups. Latinos are more likely to live in an "education dessert" compared to Whites and Asians. Latino living in a community with low aggregate education attainment levels are more likely to live in an "education dessert" compared to Latinos who reside in a community with high levels of educational attainment. Intra-group education inequality theorist fail to consider the impact of residing in an area with a high volume of colleges versus a low volume of colleges on racial progress attitudes, particularly for Blacks and Latinos.

Rising Incomes and The Declining Significance of Race

Intra-racial/group income inequality theory, suggests increased economic diversification within a racial or ethnic group will produce divergent racial progress attitudes (Allen and Farley 1986, Wilson 1978, Gay 2004, Burns and Gimpel 2000). Following a noticeable expansion of the Black middle class, scholars began shifting their focus away from the effects of interracial socioeconomic inequality to instead examine the effects of intra-racial socioeconomic inequality on racial attitudes (Wilson 1978, Landry 1987, Dawson 1994, 2001). Wilson (1978) argued for the declining significance of race as the primary factor influencing African-American life chances and therefore Black public opinion.

More recently, Santoro (2015) examined intra-racial differences in perceptions of the Civil Rights Movement and found that wealthier Blacks have a more positive view of racial progress than low income African-Americans. The underlying rationale being that when some members of a racial or ethnic group attain economic success and others do not, it distorts individual views of persisting racial discrimination (Hochschild, Weaver and Burch 2012, Shelby 2005). As select members of marginalized groups move up the income scale they become more insulated from the daily realities of institutional racism, making their perception of racial progress blurred. Though theoretically sound, the generalizability of the declining significance of race among

high income non-whites remains questionable given consistent evidence of their belief in link fate.

Alternatively, an argument against the declining significance of race is linked fate theory. Variations of linked fate theory explain how shared experiences of marginalization across income and education levels constrain the effects of widespread colorblind racism, conservatism and intra-racial income inequality on racial progress attitudes. Dawson (1994), notably contends racial and economic oppression across income and education levels forms American racial identity, racial group interests, and a belief in linked fate. Racial identity and shared experiences of discrimination operate as powerful constraints on class divisions in minority public opinion. Dawson specifically addressed the political effects of African-Americans becoming more economically and educationally polarized. He argues black political behavior is sustained through the historical legacy of racial and economic oppression. Dawson, and other scholars, have concluded that most upwardly mobile Blacks and Latinos still believe more strongly that race remains a defining self interest in their lives versus class (Hochschild 1995, Dawson 2011, Shelby 2005, Gay 2004, Moore and Pinderhughes 1993, Hochschild, Weaver and Burch 2012).

Lichter, Parisi and Taquino (2015), finds higher income Latinos were significantly less likely to be segregated from Whites than lower income Latinos, but overall Latino segregation remains high. Ultimately they conclude,

economic mobility is no guarantee of residential integration. High income and highly educated African American and Latino continue to personally experience discrimination in higher education and senior management (Bonilla-Silva 2006). In addition to personal experiences of discrimination, given most elites of color come from humble roots, they are also exposed to experiences of marginalization through interactions with family members (Bonilla et al. 1998, Padilla 1993, Rodriguez 1993, Harris-Lacewell 2004).

Unfortunately, intra-racial inequality theorist rarely consider the importance of spatial context in shaping the lived experiences of Blacks, Latinos, and Whites at every income level. Aggregate levels of median income, educational attainment levels, and homeownership rates, all vary across races, regions, and cities. As well as housing discrimination and residential segregation. Homeownership, a key indicator of socioeconomic status, is more accessible for Blacks and Latinos in southern cities, suburbs, and rural locations, than it is in east coast, west coast, and Midwestern inner cities (Iceland, Sharp and Timberlake 2013, Iceland 2014, Moore and Pinderhughes 1993). In some metropolitan areas Latino-White and Black-White segregation is at a standstill, while in others segregation is increasing (Logan 2011, Rugh and Massey 2014, Lichter, Parisi and Taquino 2015, Bader and Krysan 2015). Latino-White segregation in the Los Angeles metropolitan area has increased every decade since 1980 (Logan 2011).

Geographical political economy complexities like the effects of residential segregation, housing discrimination, and aggregate levels of socioeconomic status on perceptions of discrimination are not typically included in intra-racial inequality debates. Currently the debate is very either/or, some argue high income Blacks and Latinos base their assessments of racial progress on pocketbook evaluations, while other believe they make group related evaluations. I believe the ways in which individual income levels shapes racial attitudes varies based on where one lives. Levels of intraracial income inequality varies by place and the lived experiences of each income group varies by place. The quality of life for working class Black and Latino New Yorkers City is different than the quality of life for Black and Latino working class Houstonians. Being high income and living on the South side of Chicago is not the same as being high income and living in Buckhead Atlanta. These are the type of spatial dynamics intra-group socioeconomic theory does not take into consideration. Despite inconsistencies and shortcomings, intra-racial income inequality theory is useful for understanding how class divisions impact views of discrimination and upward group mobility within and across racial groups.

> *Hypothesis e: Individuals with high socioeconomic status are more likely to have positive perceptions of upward group mobility and not support government intervention than individuals with low socioeconomic status*

Reference Point Theory: A Racial Gap in Racial Equality Goals

Reference point theorist hold that individuals and groups anchor their assessments of racial progress on varying reference points which produces perceptual gaps (Eibach and Ehrlinger 2006). The logic behind reference point theory is that framing and reference points affect social judgments and satisfaction with current social conditions (Pettigrew 1967, Sears and McConahay 1973, Quattrone and Tversky 1988, Kinder and Sanders 1996, Heyman et al. 2004). Present, past and future conditions operate as reference points used when making racial progress assesments (Eibach and Ehrlinger 2006). Reference point theory stems from questions regarding how assessments of racial progress are made with a focus on distance between endpoints, with varying final goals and starting positions (Eibach and Ehrlinger 2006).

> *Hypothesis f:Whites are more likely to have negative perceptions of upward group mobility and not support government intervention than Blacks and Latinos*

Collective Memory Theory: Generational Gaps in Understanding Racial History

Age-cohort operates as proxy for varying collective memories of social conditions which operate as reference points. Generational differences in adopted reference points leads to divided opinions on racial progress overtime. Collective memories of marginalization fade as young minorities be-

come further removed from civil rights and liberation movements (Hochschild, Weaver and Burch 2012, Smith 2014). Hochschild, Weaver and Burch (2012) study cohort effects using U.S Census and GSS data. Young African-Americans are more likely to have negative assessments of racial progress, while being less clear about the causes of racial inequality (Hochschild, Weaver and Burch 2012, Taylor 2011, Tate 2010, Cohen 2010).

Despite lacking a complete understanding, many young Blacks and Hispanics, especially in large cities, exhibit high levels of political alienation and frustration" (Hochschild, Weaver and Burch 2012, pg.127). Young African Americans and Latinos of the Hip-Hop generation are leading the Dreamers Movement, the Black Lives Matter Movement, and fast food worker protests, all of which have racial undertones. They continue to invoke the grievances of iconic radicals like Malcolm X and Cesar Chavez to speak to current inequitable conditions. The continuing relevance of their grievances points to the incomplete promises of American democracy" and thus sustained disillusionment with racial progress across generations (Taylor 2011).

> *Hypothesis g: Younger age cohorts are more likely to have negative perceptions of upward group mobility and not support government intervention than older age cohorts*

Reference point theory uniquely addresses the way racial conditions, class dynamics, and dominant ideologies change and intersect overtime. What is missing is place. I want to build on reference point theory to create a spatial-

ized racial progress framework. Given economic and geographical divergence of African-American, Latino, and White American lived experiences, individuals residing in the same place can have a unique set of collective memories. I believe varying collective racial memories by place operate as reference points. Different (although linked) racial, political, and economic histories at the metropolitan and neighborhood level can trigger specific heuristic processes for members of the same racial or ethnic group (McClain et al. 2006, Alco 2003, Krysan and Bader 2009).

What Remains Missing: Place and Race Beyond the Black-White Binary

Racial progress studies tend to focus on either shared group interests or shared group memories, based on race, individual ideology, education, income, and age levels. I believe shared group interest and shared collective memories are shaped by local context. Spatial mechanisms undergird attitudinal divisions. Re-examining colorblind conservatism, intra-racial socioeconomic inequality, and reference points through a spatialized racial views lens updates our understanding of racial progress attitudes, and more broadly group consciousness, from a local and comparative perspective (Sanchez 2006, McClain et al. 2009).

Consistently missing in studies of racial progress attitudes is a Latino perspective which includes spatial dynamics that are different from Whites and African Americans. Latinos vary in their experiences of racialization in

America and have uneven upward mobility, divided perceptions of discrimination, and support for racialized social policy. Skin color and country of origin are related to experiences of discrimination an within the Latino community. Mexicans, Central Americans, and Puerto Ricans tend to be darker skinned in comparison to other Latinos and more likely to support government assistance. Interestingly, while Cubans tend to be the largest recipient of government aid within the Latino community given their refugee status, they tend to reject the principle of government assistance support (Garcia Bedolla 2014) In the schools of thought previously mentioned the racialization of specific nationalities within the Latino community, along with variation in regional and metropolitan level concentration is not taken into consideration.

Traditional theories of racial progress attitudes must evolve to accommodate emerging racial and geopolitical economy complexities, beyond a South/non-South binary and beyond a Black-White binary. All of the racial progress studies discussed in this literature review tend to focus on either shared group interests or shared group memories, based on race, individual ideology, education, income, and age levels. Neither colorblind racism, conservatism, intra-racial socioeconomic inequality, or reference point theory addresses the role of socioeconomic context in shaping racial progress attitudes, within and across racial groups. Understanding the role of socioeconomic context leads to a more nuanced understanding of how individual level ideology education, income, and age influences racial progress attitudes.

I hypothesize socio-economic distinctions between regions, states, metropolitan areas, and neighborhood types impact racial progress attitudes. Due to significant economic restructuring and geographical divergence over-time, collective memories, opportunities for socioeconomic advancement, and dominant political ideologies vary by place, now more than ever (Key 1949, Pendergrass 2013, Parks 2011, Gay 2004, Iceland 2004, Iceland, Sharp and Timberlake 2013). This study expands the role of place in analyses of racial progress in the midst of laissez faire racism by specifically addressing the extent to which regional and local socioeconomic contextual factors influence upward group mobility and racialized policy attitudes. The research questions I will answer throughout this study are detailed below

Research Question 1: To what extent does time period impact perceptions of upward mobility?

Research Question 2: To what extent does region of residence impact perceptions of upward mobility and systemic discrimination?

Research Question 3: To what extent does city and neighborhood type impact perceptions of upward mobility and systemic discrimination?

Research Question 4: Do perceptions of upward group mobility influence racialized policy preferences?

DISSERTATION OVERVIEW

This dissertation calls for a re-examination of existing racial theories through a spatialized lens. The framework put forth updates our understanding of racial progress attitudes, and more broadly group consciousness, from a national, local and comparative political economy perspective (Sanchez 2006, McClain et al. 2009). I prove there are socio-economic differences across geographical locations that impact upward group mobility. Next I show how these socioeconomic distinctions impact perceptions of both assessments of racial progress and corresponding strategies for achieving racial equality.

The remainder of this dissertation is divided into 5 chapters. The next chapter, Chapter 2, details the dissertation theoretical framework, research design, and methodological approach. Findings are presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Chapter 3 establishes regional and sub regional differences in racial progress attitudes exists beyond a South/non-South dichotomy. Chapter 4 analyzes metropolitan areas and neighborhoods to determine if local level contextual factors influence racial progress attitudes. Chapter 5 aims to examine how geographic variation in racial progress attitudes influences social policy positions and funding priorities, specifically support for government assistance, affordable housing, and redistribution to the poor. The concluding chapter discusses the implications of this study for Black politics, Latino politics, Whiteness, and other relevant literature.

2

RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter I present a theoretical framework and research design for studying racial progress attitudes, both inter and intra-racially. Building on previous empirical studies of racial attitudes, political economy, and place, (Massey and Rothwell 2009, Lichter, Parisi and Taquino 2015, Rugh and Massey 2010, Bader and Krysan 2015, Gay 2004). My aim is to conduct a geographically comprehensive analysis that acknowledges local neighborhoods and metropolitan areas as being reflective of regional forces over time (Parks 2011). In the following sections first, I detail my argument along with an explanation of underlying mechanism. Next, used datasets are discussed, along with dependent and independent measures. The chapter concludes with a broad overview of the analytic approach employed, including foreseen issues and anticipated concerns.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The framework put forth updates our understanding of racial progress attitudes, and more broadly group consciousness, from a national, local and

comparative political economy perspective. I explain spatialized racial progress attitudes using the connection between African-American and Latino socioeconomic advancement, geographical divergence in local neighborhood conditions, and contemporary minority migration patterns.

Economic Effects on Community Character

Economic restructuring beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s changed the geography of economic opportunity in America for Blacks and Latinos. The declines in manufacturing, public sector employment, and the relocation of most major firms to the peripheral of the central city caused a spatial mismatch for jobs. The shift from an industrial economy to a knowledge based economy changed the human capital and land needed to conduct business (Moretti 2012). Blacks and Latinos, being primarily located in clustered neighborhoods in the inner city were becoming increasingly isolated from employment opportunities in a process Soja (2010) calls regional urbanization. Wilson (1987) restructuring on the concentration of poverty and African-American neighborhoods in Chicago from 1970 to 1980. He found an increase in the number of poor Black people and the number of poor Black communities in rustbelt metropolitan areas due to deindustrialization, outmigration of the middle class, and isolated from mainstream institutions. Economic restructuring changed the nature of American urban poverty in the 1970s and 1980s. Economic racial subordination in the new formal economy

created a new paradigm. Widely diverging local economic conditions had altered community character and mass public opinion.

The current socioeconomic position of African-Americans and Latinos was shaped by the lingering consequences of economic restructuring during the 1970s and 1980s. Poor African-American and Latino communities are increasingly left behind in urban economic development efforts, increasing the concentration of poverty and economic inequality. A number of spatial forces drive this pattern, including systemic housing discrimination, policies that have historically concentrated public housing, modern zoning laws that keep the poor out of wealthier communities (Bader and Krysan 2015). Several scholars have come to help us understand the impact economic restructuring on economic opportunity. There is still little focused attention on the relationship between region, settlement patterns, and racial progress attitudes. Nevertheless, this collection of work explains how varying settlement patterns exacerbate racial inequities in access to home ownership, employment, and quality higher education.

Intra-racial Differences in Quality of Life by Place

Shortly after Wilson introduced this paradigm some scholars questioned the applicability of his Chicago based economic restructuring framework to other communities nationwide. Most Latinos lived outside the rustbelt in the 1970s and 1980s, in traditional destination states like Texas, Califor-

nia, and Florida (Bonilla et al. 1998, Lara 2012, Crowley, Lichter and Turner 2015). A necessary complement to Wilson's work is "In the Barrios" (Moore and Pinderhughes 1993). Each chapter examines a specific effect of economic restructuring in a specific metropolitan area: Puerto-Rican versus African-American adaptation in Brooklyn (Sullivan 1993), the Mexicanization of Chicano communities in east Los Angeles (Moore and Vigil 1993), government assistance for Cubans in Miami (Stepick and Grenier 1993), cultural isolation in Houston, TX. (Rodriguez 1993), and the informal and illicit Puerto Rican economy in Chicago (Padilla 1993).

Collectively, "In the Barrios" pushes the argument that the effects of economic restructuring are subtle, complex, and location matters. Though many Black and Latino communities have a similar character and conditions, there are always subtle geographical complexities, varying racial, socioeconomic, and political histories. Together, "The Truly Disadvantaged" and "In the Barrios" establish geographic variation in contemporary racial inequality as, "a problem of American economic organization" during a key period of economic restructuring. Economic opportunity varying by place, particularly for Blacks and Latinos, forms the theoretical foundation for a spatialized racial progress views framework.

Migration Patterns as a Progress Signal

From these two anchors, the argument proceeds straightforwardly. Fluctuations in inter-regional migration is due to growing inequities in local labor and housing markets, I believe racial progress attitudes are anchored in the place they reside, the lived environment they come in contact with everyday. Local socioeconomic context operates as reference and comparison point used in assessments of broader racial progress and corresponding social policy aimed at alleviating racial inequalities (McDermott 2011, Parks 2012, Pendergrass 2013). Inter and intra-regional migration patterns, along with objective indicators of uneven racial progress, point to pockets of racial enlightenment at the metropolitan level. Evidence has shown African-American Southern migrants are more likely to be married, young, educated, and female (Hunt, Hunt and Falk 2013, Robinson 2014). When upwardly mobile African-Americans and Latinos leave former metropolitan epicenters, they often leave behind relatively immobile (socially, politically and economically) disadvantaged communities (Iceland, Sharp and Timberlake 2013, Frey 2004).

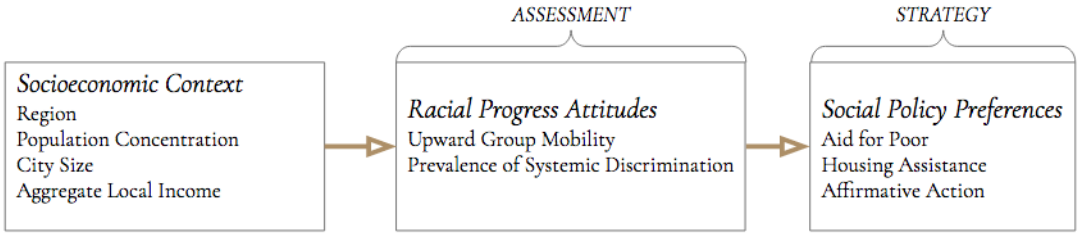
As previously mentioned, Blacks and Latinos are relocating to Sun Belt locations to reap significant locational benefits. Living in integrated neighborhoods with affordable home prices, job opportunities, and high quality diverse schools are all local features that vary from city to city (Iceland, Sharp and Timberlake 2013). Given the prevalence of residential segregation, redlining, inequitable school funding, and employment discrimination, for Blacks

and Latinos finding a racially progressive city is not easy. Blacks and Latinos show dissatisfaction with local racial progress by moving in search of a place that provides the optimal basket of public goods conducive to economic advancement for people of color. In other words, what African Americans look for in a city, may be different from what Latinos look for in a city. What attracts young White people to Chicago is different from what attracts young Black people to Atlanta.

Discovering Progress Pockets

Analysis of objective progress indicators across major metropolitan areas consistently show the decline of economic mobility for young Blacks and Latinos in Midwestern and Northeastern cities. Alternatively, metropolitan areas like Atlanta, GA, Raleigh-Durham, NC, Richmond, VA, and Houston, TX., provide greater opportunities for minority socio-economic mobility (Forbes Magazine 2015) I believe geographical divisions in opportunities for economic advancement creates intra-group divides in perceptions of upward group mobility and support for racialized policies. Contemporary racial progress attitudes are polarized by regional cultural norms, neighborhood socioeconomic conditions, and local racial histories impacted by nationwide economic restructuring.

Figure 4: Spatialized Racial Progress Views (SRPV) Model



Source:CMPS 2016

Changing How Racial Progress Attitudes are Studied

Methodologically, this dissertation moves the study of socioeconomic contextual effects on racial attitudes beyond a South/non-South binary, while also recognizing the unique influence of the South on contemporary racial progress. Assuming the South is the most racially hostile region in the United States, and making research design decisions based on that assumption, is misleading and not theoretically sound. A single regional dummy variables only indicates subgroup differences, while providing very little leverage to explain why the regression regime varies by place. In a spatialized racial progress framework the goal is to account for causal heterogeneity, not to simply highlight subgroup differences. Studies have established a link between racial attitudes and neighborhood level conditions including access to homeownership, low skill employment opportunities, and quality educational institutions (Henry and Sears 2002, Valentino and Sears 2005, Taylor and Reyes 2014, McDermott 2011). Often missing is a more comprehensive geographical perspective that relates neighborhood level conditions to regional industrial

structures and metropolitan area residential patterns (Soja 2010, 2013, Pendergrass 2013, Parks 2011).

The choice of geographical units matters when studying racial progress attitudes and conventional assumptions must be continually interrogated, particularly during times with heightened economic anxiety. The political economy developments of the past 60 years have shown how great cities like Detroit can fall and how unknown towns like Silicon Valley can rise to prominence, with racial dynamics remaining at the center of it all. This dissertation applies an understanding of economic restructuring, a new economic map, inter and intra-regional migration to an empirical analysis of racial progress attitudes.

Hypothesis 1: Respondents during the pre-1975 period are more likely to have positive views in upward group mobility than respondents during the post-1975 time period

Hypothesis 2: Individuals residing in the Midwest and Northeast are more likely to have negative views of upward group mobility and perceive systemic discrimination as a major problem.

Hypothesis 3: Individuals residing in majority Black neighborhoods in the South or high income communities are more likely to have positive views of racial progress and less likely to support government intervention than individuals residing in areas with low homeownership rates and high poverty rates.

Table 1: Datasets Used

Dependent Variable	Dataset	Year
Assessment: Discrimination		
Prevalence of Discrimination against Blacks	CMPS	2016
Prevalence of Discrimintation against Latinos	CMPS	2016
Assessment: Upward Group Mobility		
Has the position of Blacks changed	ANES	1964-1994
Has the economic position of (Race) changed	CMPS	2016
Strategy: Social Policy		
General assistance to Blacks/minorities	ANES	1970-2012
Federal spending on Aid to Poor	CMPS	2016
Issues to Address (housing affordabilty)	CMPS	2016

Hypothesis 4: Individuals who view not much at all local upward group mobility are more likely to support racialized social policies than those who see a lot of local upward group mobility

DATA AND MEASURES

To test my hypothesis, I conduct a quantitative analysis of public opinion and socioeconomic conditions from 1964 to 2016 using a pair of powerful datasets, the American National Election Survey (ANES) and the 2016 Collaborative Multi-Racial Post-Election Study (CMPS). The primary dependent variable is racial progress attitudes, specifically perceptions of racial progress assessments and racial progress policy. The primary independent variable is socioeconomic context.

American National Election Study (ANES) Time Series Cumulative File

The full American National Election Study Time Series Cumulative File (ANES) dataset consists of 951 variables and over 50,000 respondents

with responses dating back to 1948. For data management purposes, a smaller scaled data set was created, which included a national sample of Black (n=6,509) and Latino (n=3,492) respondents from 1964 to 2012. ANES time series measures of racial progress and racialized public policy views allow for assessment of relative differences in Black, White, and Latino public opinion across space and over time.

The strength of this dataset lies in its breadth, it is very rare for surveys to have Black and Latino respondents dating back to the 1960s. Unfortunately, this survey's major weakness lies in the number of non-white respondents interviewed each year, particularly during the early years. The lack of a substantial number of Black and Latino respondents each year makes for analysis of intra-group divergence in racial attitudes overtime extremely difficult. Additional problems, including the geographical distribution of survey respondents is discussed further in the limitations section.

Collaborative Multi-racial Post-Election Study 2016

Data from the 2016 Collaborative Multi-racial Post-Election Study (CMPS) is 100% user content driven, multi-racial/ethnic multi-lingual, post-election online survey in the United States. Questions were user-generated from a team of 86 social scientists across 55 different universities who placed questions on the survey, including myself. A total of 10,145 completed interviews were collected online in a respondent self-administered format from

December 3, 2016 to February 15, 2017. Overall sample sizes include Black (n=3,102), Latino (n=3,003), Asian (n=3,006) and White (n=1,034) registered voters and non-registered respondents.

In total, 298,159 email addresses were selected and sent invitations to participate in the survey and 29,489 people accepted the invitation and started the survey, for an effective response rate of 9.9%. Among the 29,489 people who started the survey, 11,868 potential respondents were terminated due to quotas being full, which resulted in 17,621 who were eligible to take the survey of which 10,145 completed the full questionnaire for a cooperation rate of 57.6%.

The full data are weighted within each racial group to match the adult population in the 2015 Census ACS 1-year data file for age, gender, education, nativity, ancestry, and voter registration status. In addition to survey and demographic data, the 2012 and 2016 CMPS also includes merged in aggregate level socioeconomic measures from the US Census which allows for nuanced modeling at the neighborhood and metropolitan level.

MEASURES

Primary Dependent Variable: Upward Group Mobility

Upward mobility serves as a dependent variable for regression analysis and is a proxy for racial progress. The ANES presents as unique opportunity for measuring racial progress attitudes. African-American views of racial

progress are measured using responses to a question that asks, "In the past few years we have heard a lot about civil rights groups working to improve the position of the Negro in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the change do you think there has been in the position of Black people in the past few years: a lot, some, or not much at all?" First asked to African-American survey respondents in 1964, this question was and discontinued in 1998.

In 1984 the ANES proxy was reworded to not include the phrase civil rights groups and the term Negro was replaced with Black people. In its immediate interpretation, survey participants are being asked to quantity progress towards achieving racial equality for African-Americans, "in the past few years". By adding the "in the past few years" caveat, it is made clear respondents are not being asked to reflect on changes in Black's position since slavery but rather the question limits respondents evaluation of racial progress to more modern developments. Nevertheless, the question is still considerably abstract in nature and allows for a range of interpretations.

With the support of a grant from UCLA's Institute of American Cultures, I reintroduced the ANES upward group mobility question on the 2016 CMPS survey. Changes were made to make the question more applicable to other racial groups' upward mobility. Wording was added to the original question to be sure respondents were contemplating their economic standing when assessing their group's upward mobility. Lastly, a follow up question

Table 2: Upward Group Mobility Assessments as Proxies for Racial Progress Attitudes

Dataset	Question
ANES 1964-1994	*In the past few years we have heard a lot about civil rights groups working to improve the position of the Negro in this country. How much real change do you think there has been in the position of Black people in the past few years: a lot, some, or not much at all?*
CMPS2016	*How much real change do you think there has been in the economic position of [Respondent's Racial Group] in the past few years: a lot, some, or not much at all*
CMPS 2016	*Now what about in your neighborhood. How much real change do you think there has been in the economic position of [Respondent's Racial Group] in your neighborhood the past few years: a lot, some, or not much at all?*

was included to measure perceptions of local upward group mobility, see details in table below.

Dependent Variable: Racialized Public Policy

The proxy for racialized public policy strategies is support for racialized/racially targeted public policy using the commonly referred to as aid to minorities question, which also operates as a dependent variable. First asked to African-Americans in 1970. The question states, "Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks (1970: Negroes) and other minority groups (1980: even if it means giving them preferential treatment). Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minori-

ties because they should help themselves (1970: but they should be expected to help themselves)." In 1970 the word Blacks was substituted for Negroes.

In 1980 ANES included a caveat for government aid with the wording, "even if it means giving them preferential treatment" and the 1996 version included the phrase, "every possible effort". Responses to the aid metric were given along a 7-point scale, where 1= Government should help minority groups/Blacks and 7= Minority groups/ Blacks should help themselves. Government's assistance is assumed to refer to popularly discussed programs like food stamps, cash assistance, Medicaid or Affirmative action (Tate 2012).

Independent Variables: Local Socioeconomic Context

Local context is measured using a collection of geo-economical factors. The first two relate to the spatial layout, size and concentration. To operationalize the impact of city size, dummy variables (coded 0,1) were created for 4 different metro sizes, Large(), Medium(), Small(), and Rural (). To analyze Black population concentration a dummy variable (coded 0,1) was created where 1= Black population at the zip code level 50% or greater and 0= Black population below 50% at the zip code level. To analyze Latino population concentration a dummy variable (coded 0,1) was created where 1= Latino population at the zip code level 50% or greater and 0= Latino population below 50% at the zip code level. Neighborhood economic context is measured using aggregate measures of income and education at the zip code

level. To conceptualize the impact of local labor and housing market conditions, I focus on poverty, homeownership, and educational attainment rates. The final independent contextual variable examined is local quality of life which is measured using a neighborhood rating from 1 to 5, where 1=Poor, 2=Fair, 3=Good, 4=Very Good, and 5=Excellent.

Independent Variable Controls

Independent individual level control variables include socioeconomic status, ideology, and other demographics. Income and education attainment are used as proxy for socioeconomic status (SES) to test intra-group socioeconomic theory. Education is measured as a categorical variable coded 1 to 5, where 4=Less than a high school diploma and 5=Greater than a bachelor's degree. Income is measured as categorical variable coded 1 to 5, where 1=combined household income less than 20K income and 5 = income more than 50K. Alternatively, to account for constraints on the effects of growing intra-group socioeconomic inequality, feelings of linked fate are measured where 1= belief that what happens to members of one's race, will have something to do with their own life and 0=disagreement.

To control for colorblind racism the analysis includes a measures of systemic discrimination denial using that asks how the amount of discrimination experienced by black today, where 1=alot, 2=some, 3= little, 4=none at all, and 5=Don't Know. The influence of conservatism is measured using

self-reported ideology with 3 dummy variables (1=Conservative, 1=Moderate, and 1=Liberal). To control for collective memories the analysis includes a measure of age cohort. Age cohort coding is based on Pew Research Center (2018) recommendations that use cut points based on key political, economic, and social factors that define one's formative years. In an attempt to focus on differences between millennials and other age cohorts a dummy variable was created where 1 = born between 1981 and 1996, while 0= Otherwise. Millennials are currently between ages 22 and 37 and were old enough to understand 9/11, help get Barack Obama elected, came of age during the internet boom, the Great Recession, and saw the dawning of the Trump Era. Al a unique age cohort given the Gender (1= female) is controlled for as well.

METHOD: A COMPARATIVE SPATIAL ANALYSIS

All analysis within this dissertation is aimed at showing how contextual effects on racial progress attitudes arise due to socio-political and socioeconomic interactions within a spatially defined environment. A regression discontinuity design is employed to address particular moments in history when socioeconomic context varied greatly from one region to another. Through a mix of survey and census data, I show how socioeconomic conditions vary geographically, along with deepening intra-group socioeconomic inequality. From a deep understanding of objective indicators of racial progress I examine how collective memories and dominant ideologies diverge along geographical lines as well.

Logistic Regression Models

A series of regression models will be used to determine if the influence of these contextual factors on racial progress attitudes is statistically significant for African Americans, Whites, and Latinos. To test the statistical significance of various contexts as explanatory variables, I employ a series of Logistic regression models. In each model I control for independent factors known to influence racial progress attitudes at the individual level (age, income, education, ideology, and age). In all of the regression models I am interested in understanding how the statistical significance of individual level factors fluctuates with the introduction of various contextual factors. For example, does the level of significance for individual level education attainment hold when we factors in one's region of residence.

Regression Discontinuity (RD) Analysis to Explore the Timing of Regional Effects

To test fluctuations in regional divergence in racial progress attitudes over time based on periods of significant economic restructuring, I conduct a Regression Discontinuity (RD) analysis. The RD design has high validity and provides a quasi-experimental approach to my question of whether there are particular time periods during which shifts and regional divergence in racial progress views occurs (Lees 2008). Comparisons are made between perceptions of upward mobility leading up to 1980 versus post 1980. I expect to see a discontinuous jump in the relationship between African-American

racial progress attitudes (the causal variable of interest) and time (the forcing, or running variable), in 1980 (the cut-point).

For a falsification test, 1970 is used as a placebo cut-point. In 1980, with the election of Ronald Reagan, marking the official end of the New Deal Era and beginning of the Reagan Revolution serve as a natural cut point (Skowronek 1993). The effects of neoliberalization, economic restructuring, and White backlash, causing regional divergence were apparent soon after the Civil Rights and Black Power movement had begun to fade from national prominence. Widespread conservative political backlash to progressive movements began brewing in the mid 1970s with the election of Reagan in 1980 serving as a peak.

Using Mapping to Understand Racialized Residential Patterns

This study uses spatial analysis to enhance visualization of survey data and analyze geoeconominical patterns. Using GIS the response of CMPS 2016 survey data questions are mapped. Specifically, the percent of "Not much at all" responses are mapped by state and by race. Also included are a series of U.S Census maps that highlight local socio demographic changes over time. Specifically, changes in geographical dispersion, concentration of poverty, and aggregate income levels are compared across regions, cities, and neighborhoods. The purpose of this spatial analysis is to show how the geographical landscape of racial progress attitudes resembles the geographic

landscape of economic growth and decline. County level changes between 2000 and 2015 in median household income are mapped, for Blacks, Latinos, and Whites.

SOME LIMITATIONS

This dissertation is large in scope given its focus on multiple levels of geographic segmentation, across several decades. A multilevel model is most appropriate when working with demographic data at the individual-level survey data, with aggregate level contextual data merged in. Multi-level modeling is also known as hierarchical modeling because of its sensitivity to a multilevel data structure where there is a hierarchy among the levels. Individual survey respondents live in neighborhoods that are nested in a particular city, state, and region within the United States. A hierarchical model helps alleviate concerns about intra-class or cluster correlations resulting in a high Type 1 error rate. Thus, a multilevel/hierarchical model enables one to infer individual behavior from contextual factors while avoiding an ecological fallacy (Robinson 1950, Antipova, Wang, and Wilmot 2011).

Analyzing individual racial attitudes without carefully considering both the regional and neighborhood context in which individual behavior takes place is not the solution. Failure to account for spatial variability may lead to atomistic fallacy (Jones and Duncan 1996, Antipova, Wang, and Wilmot 2011). Unfortunately, given the size and geographic distribution of the CMPS

sample, there are enough respondents nested in each zip code to correctly employ a multilevel model at the local level.

Thus, the logistic regression models presented in this dissertation ought to be seen as a starting point for a study contextual effects on racial progress attitudes, not the ideal or only analytic approach. The analysis that follows allows me to compare the effects of individual and spatial characteristics. I prove the influence of individual demographic factors is conditioned by predictors at a higher level, particularly the regional level. The next three empirical chapters support a theory of spatialized racial progress views.

3

REGIONAL PROGRESS & DIVERGENCE OVERTIME

In this chapter region of residence is considered empirically and theoretically to explain public opinion on racial progress beyond a South/non-South binary. The overall goal is to determine if region, defined in broad categories; Northeast, South, Midwest, and West, matters when it comes to changes in racial progress attitudes overtime. More specifically, in the forthcoming analysis the following questions are asked and answered; (1) Is there a statistically significant regional difference in racial progress attitudes? (2) When does regional divergence in racial progress attitudes occur? (3) Between which two regions exists the largest perceptual gap, across and within racial groups? Based on results, region of residence does have a significant effect on racial progress attitudes. Using a Regression Discontinuity Design, I pinpoint 1977 to 1982 as the beginning of regional divergence in racial progress attitudes. Historically and currently, largest perceptual gap in racial progress attitudes exists intra-racially, between African Americans residing in the Midwest and those living in the South.

While other studies have attempted to analyze contextual effects, the study of regional differences in racial attitudes tends to be cursory. Beginning with V.O Keys (1948) landmark Southern Politics, scholars explaining racial attitudes have limited their concept of regions by focusing on the importance of the South or the former confederate states, thus not considering regions as equally influential. Some dismiss the importance of understanding regional differences all together given its size as a unit of analysis. Furthermore, perceptions that the configuration of regions are arbitrarily determined by the U.S census lends itself to a debate over whether there is any real substantive meaning to the concept of regions.

I believe regions are more than merely the result of arbitrarily drawn geographic boundaries and vary in their socioeconomic context. Variation in regional socioeconomic context is shaped by a combination of three mechanisms, concentration and settlement patterns and the racial inclusiveness of economic development, both of which influence the overall quality of communal life. I argue racial progress attitudes experience spurts of regionalism due to these differences in regional socioeconomic context. Together these underlying mechanisms facilitate regional divergence in public opinion on improvement in a group's social position and discrimination, proxies for racial progress attitudes.

The remainder of this chapter is laid out as follows. First theoretical motivations, along with underlying mechanisms at work are discussed in

more detail. Following the theoretical framework, three models are presented that test the relationship between region, year, and racial progress attitudes. Lastly, the chapter concludes by breaking down regions into subregions to determine how smaller state clusters, connected through history, complicate the racial progress narrative.

UNDERSTANDING REGIONS, STATE CLUSTERS, AND RACIAL PROGRESS

Economic Restructuring and Regional Concentration of Industry

National political economy trends throughout American history, such as globalization, deindustrialization, neoliberalism, and technological progress, have had varying and irreversible effects on each U.S region. Deindustrialization, compounded by the contraction of public sector employment, sent working class communities in the Northeast and Midwest into a state of economic crisis (Bluestone and Harrison 1982, Parks 2011, Crowley, Lichter and Turner 2015, Moretti 2012). African Americans and Latinos are disproportionately impacted due to their higher concentration in select industries as well as their on average lower levels of educational attainment. Some of the factories that closed in the Midwest and Northeast moved down South for a period before heading overseas, given lower land prices and greater availability of large swaths of land to develop.

Today the south continues to be home to more large scale manufacturing plants than its Midwestern and Northeastern counterparts. Often over-

looked in conversations about the regional concentration of industry and its effects on communities of color is Silicon Valley in the west. The west coast has a unique racial makeup where the rise in high tech jobs combined with struggles over funding for education in low income communities of color creates a regional economic boom systematically designed to primarily benefit highly educated whites. The concentration of specific industries, and perhaps the lack thereof , has a large scale and widely felt economic impact across the region. However, the economic impact is not felt equally across all racial groups.

Black and Latino Regional Migration Patterns

Inter-regional migration of African Americans and Latinos is a feedback effect of deindustrialization. From 1970 to 2000 the Northeast and Midwest regions experienced steady rates of net black outmigration, while the South and West experienced net African-American in-migration. Movement of Black back to the South began in the 1970s. As earlier advantages of industrial areas disappeared, and disinvestment persisted, many African-Americans began abandoning heavily populated manufacturing cities during a development commonly referred to as The Reverse Great Migration. Given the Reverse Great Migration, African Americans remain mostly concentrated in the South (Freeman 2004). From 2005 to 2010, the South gained on average of 66,000 African Americans each year (USA Today 2015). African-American movement to the South and to the suburbs is one of the most significant de-

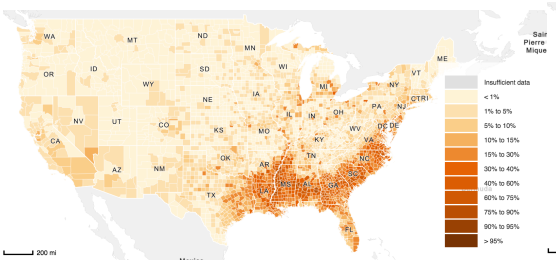
mographic shifts in modern history (Frey 2004, Hunt, Hunt and Falk 2013, Iceland, Sharp and Timberlake 2013, Gay 2004).

Offsetting population decline in the Midwest is the movement of Latinos away from cities and towards the rural areas of the region. Economic conditions in the traditional gateway cities such as New York and Los Angeles have become increasingly bleak since the 1990s. As a result, a considerable segment of the Latino population have moved to new destinations, particularly suburban and rural areas in Midwest and the Southeast (Massey 2008, Kandel and Cromartie 2004, Leach and Bean 2008, McConnell 2008). In fact, since 2010 the old Confederacy has attracted over 1.5 million foreign-born residents, more than the Northeast and Midwest combined (Kotkin 2015). Inter and intra-regional migration has slowed since 2000 but still continues (Iceland, Sharp and Timberlake 2013). For example, between 2000 and 2010, Detroit's population declined 25% and Cleveland's declined 17% (Moretti 2012). existing theories explaining racial attitudes have largely ignored the phenomenon (Frey 2004, Hunt et al. 2013, Iceland et al. 2013, Gay 2004).

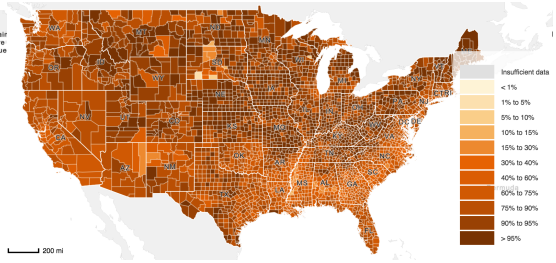
Regional Hyper-Segregation And Isolation at the State Level

As shown in Figure 5, in the Midwest and Northeast African Americans are highly concentrated in metropolitan areas with little dispersion throughout the entire state. Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania all have large Black populations that are concentrated in two or three cities through-

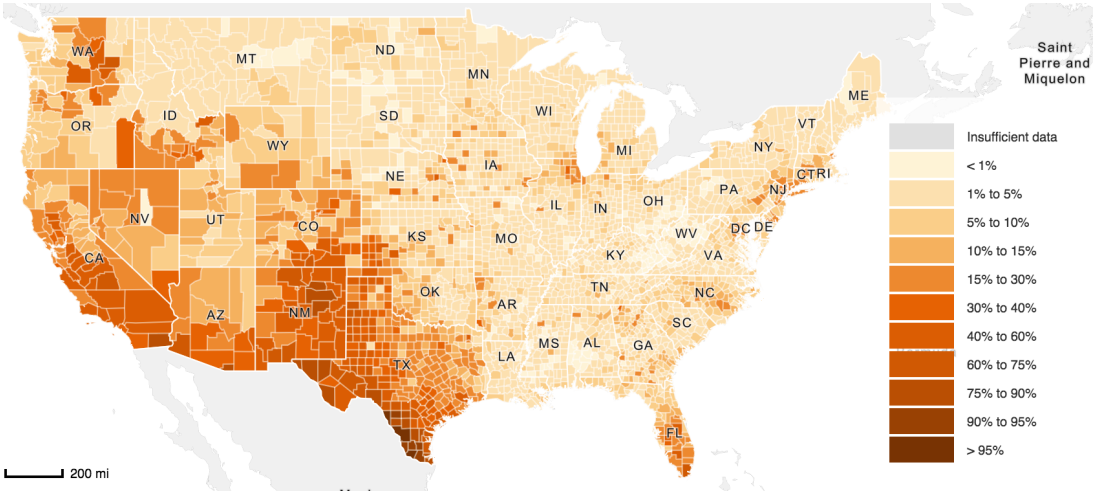
Figure 5: Population Distribution by County



(a) Blacks



(b) Whites



(c) Latinos

Source: US Census, American Community Survey 2015 (5 year estimates)

out the state. In comparison to Southern states, specifically Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina, there are few rural or mid sized Northeastern and Midwestern cities with large African American population. Latino Americans remain highly concentrated in the Western region of the United States. For Latinos Texas and New Mexico stand out as states where Latino are almost evenly distributed throughout the states. In states with New Destination cities like Iowa and rural parts of New York Latino communities are more likely to be politically isolated given their concentration in only one part of state. They do appear to be more geographically dispersed

than African Americans but not as dispersed at Whites. White Americans for the most part are distributed somewhat evenly throughout the United States. However, given the uneven distribution of non-whites throughout each region, whites experience greater social isolation outside the South, particularly in the rural Midwest and the West.

A Long-term Shift In Regional Economic Norms

During the period of economic restructuring most critical to American racial progress the economy from being primarily goods based to service based. African Americans and Latinos were disproportionately impacted due to their higher concentration in select industries as well as their on average lower levels of educational attainment. Drawing minorities to the supposed racially hostile South and away from once booming Midwest and Northeastern industrial centers are the possibilities of buying a home, finding a decent job, and having access to well-established educational institutions (Karnig and McClain 1985, Tolnay 2003, Frey 2004, Gay 2004, Hunt et al. 2013, Wacquant and Wilson 1989, Parks 2011). According to Forbes Magazine (January 2015), the American South holds nine out of the top ten cities where African Americans fair best economically. Despite broad neoliberalization of American political economy, the degree to which that shift was felt by marginalized communities depends on pre-existing regional norms.

Table 3: Regional Differences in Select Indicators of Racial Progress

	Northeast			Midwest		
	2007	2016	*Change*	2007	2016	*Change*
White						
Income	$58,833	$67,033	*$8,200*	$51,347	$56,902	*$5,555*
Homeownership	71.00%	68.90%	*-2.10%*	75.70%	72.60%	*-3.10%*
Black						
Income	$37,758	$41,281	*$3,523*	$30,677	$31,309	*$632*
Homeownership	38.30%	35.60%	*-2.70%*	43.50%	37.10%	*-6.40%*
Latino						
Income	$38,198	$42,138	*$3,940*	$40,851	$43,985	*$3,134*
Homeownership	30.60%	29.30%	*-1.30%*	54.10%	49.60%	*-4.50%*

	South			West		
	2007	2016	*Change*	2007	2016	*Change*
White						
Income	$50,033	$55,212	*$5,179*	$55,976	$61,820	*$5,844*
Homeownership	74.00%	70.30%	*-3.70%*	66.50%	62.70%	*-3.80%*
Black						
Income	$32,245	$36,507	*$4,262*	$40,818	$43,002	*$2,184*
Homeownership	50.60%	46.40%	*-4.20%*	39.60%	33.70%	*-5.90%*
Latino						
Income	$37,211	$42,550	*$5,339*	$42,527	$46,627	*$4,100*
Homeownership	55.60%	52.40%	*-3.20%*	50.00%	45.00%	*-5.00%*

Source: U.S Census, American Community Survey 2015

Economic restructuring overtime has created a new opportunity map, a new racial geography, and induced inter-regional migration. Blacks, Latinos, and later some Whites in the rustbelt situated in the Midwest and Northeast experienced a rapid decline in economic fortunes (See Table 3). While slowly and steadily the quality of life for African Americans and Latinos in pockets throughout the South have improved. The question remains regarding whether these regional economic and social changes have shaped racial progress attitudes. Knowing the the height of job displacement during deindustrialization occurred between 1979 to 1986, points to perhaps a key period of regional divergence in racial progress attitudes. This chapter considers the possibility of regional economic shifts influencing racial progress attitudes overtime.

ANALYTICAL APPROACH

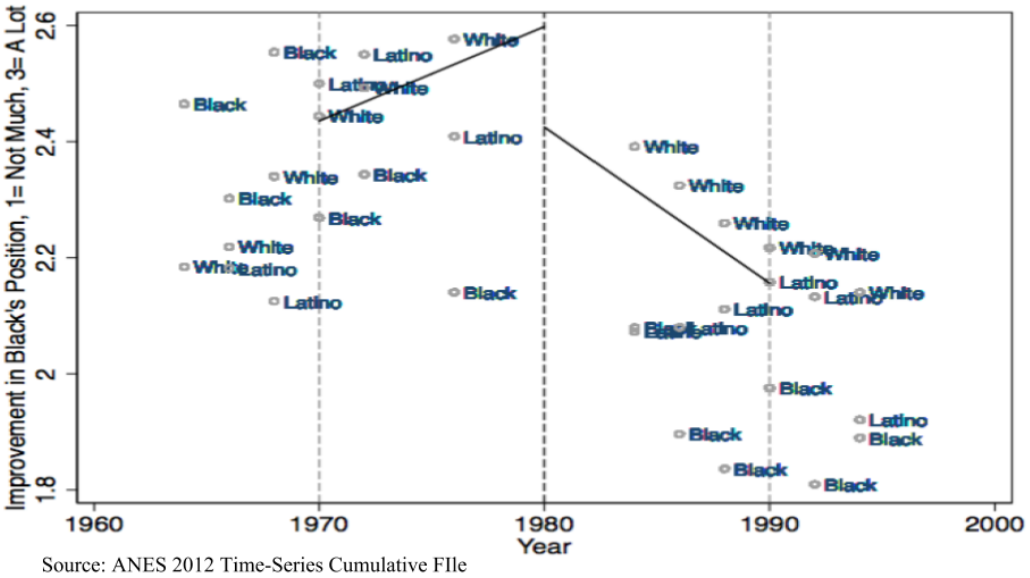
The goal for this chapter is to estimate the overall effect of region of residence on the dependent variable, perceptions of upward group mobility. In all presented models, data has been disaggregated by race to examine both inter and intra-racial divides. Additionally, regional dummy variables are used with the South serving as the reference category. A more detailed description of what states belong to each region can be found in Appendix A. The primary underlying assumption guiding this chapter is that there is no uniform causal dynamic, but rather the causal dynamic varies by region. I expect Midwestern respondents to be more likely to say there has been

"not much at all" real change in their group's economic position compared to Southern respondents.

Regional Effects on Perceptions of Upward Black Mobility from 1964 to 1994

As previously stated in Chapter 1, ANES data used in Figures 1 and Figures 2 show the percentage distribution of views towards African American upward mobility overtime by race using 1964 to 1994. According to the survey, in 1964 African Americans were considerably optimistic about their own advancement. More than half of Black respondents (57%), believed there had been "A Lot" of change in their position, compared to only 38% of whites. Beginning in the late 1970s around the same time the effects of deindustrialization are becoming more apparent, there is a shift in racial progress attitudes and optimism declines. By the mid 1980s around 20% of Blacks believe "A Lot". By 1994 when the question is discontinued only 24% of African Americans hold that view. For African Americans there is a 30% decline in positive perceptions of Black upward mobility from 1964 to 1994, a 30 year time span. This same drastic trend is not the same for white Americans. In 1994 31% believed a lot of change had occurred in the position of Blacks which is only a 7% decline from where they stood in 1964. However, it is important to note that since the culmination of the Civil Rights Movement era Whites have been consistently more optimistic about Black progress than Blacks themselves.

Figure 6: RDD for Perceptions of Black Upward Mobility from 1964-1994, by Race



Source: 2012 ANES Time Series Study

Using the ANES data analysis was employed to understand regional differences in upward mobility attitudes. Across all racial groups, respondents in the South have the most positive perceptions of Black progress. However, the largest intra-group perceptual gap are between Blacks in the South and those living elsewhere. More than 35% of African Americans in the South saw "A Lot" of change in the position of Blacks, almost 10% more than African Americans residing in the Northeast, Midwest, and West. Only 18% of African Americans in the South believed "Not Much At All" change had been made, compared to 24% of Blacks in the Northeast, 28% of Blacks in the Midwest, and 26% of Blacks in the West. Given the extremely low sampling of African Americans in each region, particularly in the 1960s and

1970s, describing regional differences year by year based on this survey may not be generalizable.

Table 4: Regional Effects on Perceptions of Upward Black Mobility from 1964 to 1994

How much has the position of Blacks changed? (1=not much at all")	(A) Black	(B) Latino	(C) White	(D) All
Year	0.006***	0.005***	-0.000	0.001**
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)
REGION				
Northeast	0.043**	-0.014	0.021***	0.024***
	(0.019)	(0.033)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Midwest	0.071***	-0.012	0.016***	0.020***
	(0.017)	(0.044)	(0.006)	(0.005)
West	0.041*	0.018	0.021***	0.024***
	(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Observations	2,871	1,182	21,289	25,342
Standard errors in parentheses				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10				

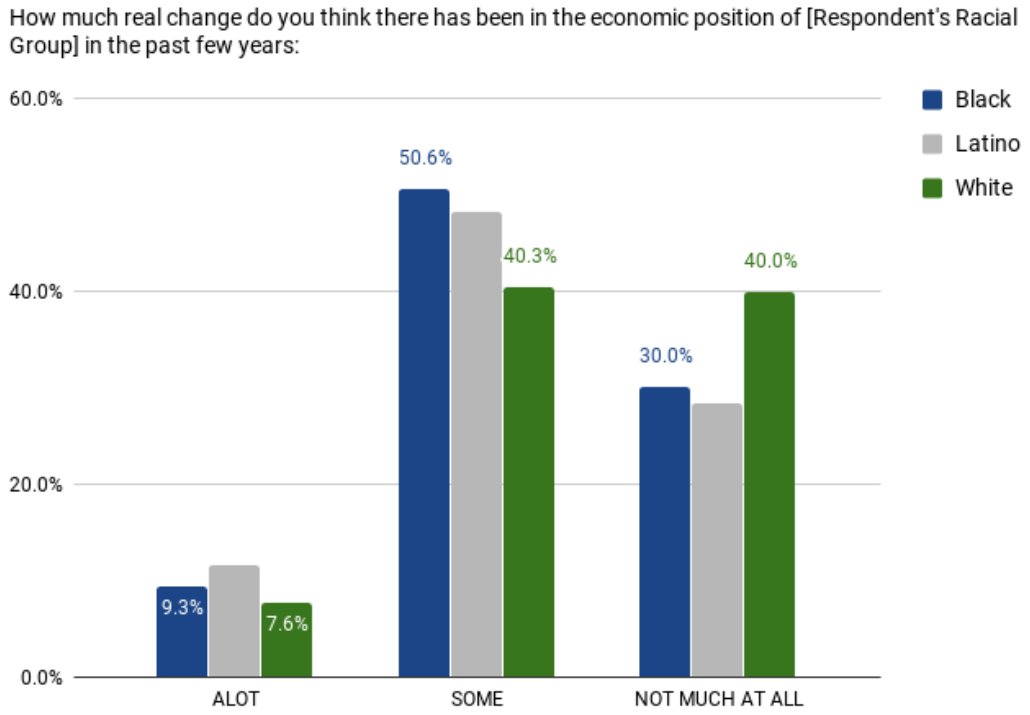
Source: 2012 ANES Time-Series Study

Table 4 shows logistic regression analysis results with the ANES proxy for racial progress, perceptions of upward Black mobility, operating as the dependent variable (Table 4 shows abbreviated model, see Appendix B for controls). I empirically test my hypothesis that residents of the Midwest are more likely see not much at all improvement in Blacks upward mobility compared to those residing elsewhere. Controlling for year, individual socioeconomic status, and demographic factors, there are statistically significant regional effects on assessments of Black progress. Regional effects are apparent for both Blacks and Whites. The most statistically significant perceptual gap is between Blacks in the Midwest and Blacks in South.

2016 Upward Mobility Attitudes

The reminder of the Chapter examines 2016 perceptions of upward group mobility using CMPS data. As a reminder, the questions ask respondents to assess their racial groups improvement in their economic position over the last few years. They are not assessing upward group mobility in racial groups besides their own. Figure 7 shows perceptions of upward group perceptions of national upward group mobility by region and by race. Based the data, only a small percentage of respondents believed their group had experienced a lot of improvement in their economic position, less than 15% across all racial categories. A considerable percentage of respondents saw "not much at all" improvement in their groups mobility. Specifically, 40% of whites saw "not much at all" change , compared to 30% of Blacks, and 28% of Latinos. More than 45% of Blacks and Latinos, believed "some" real change in their economic had occurred.

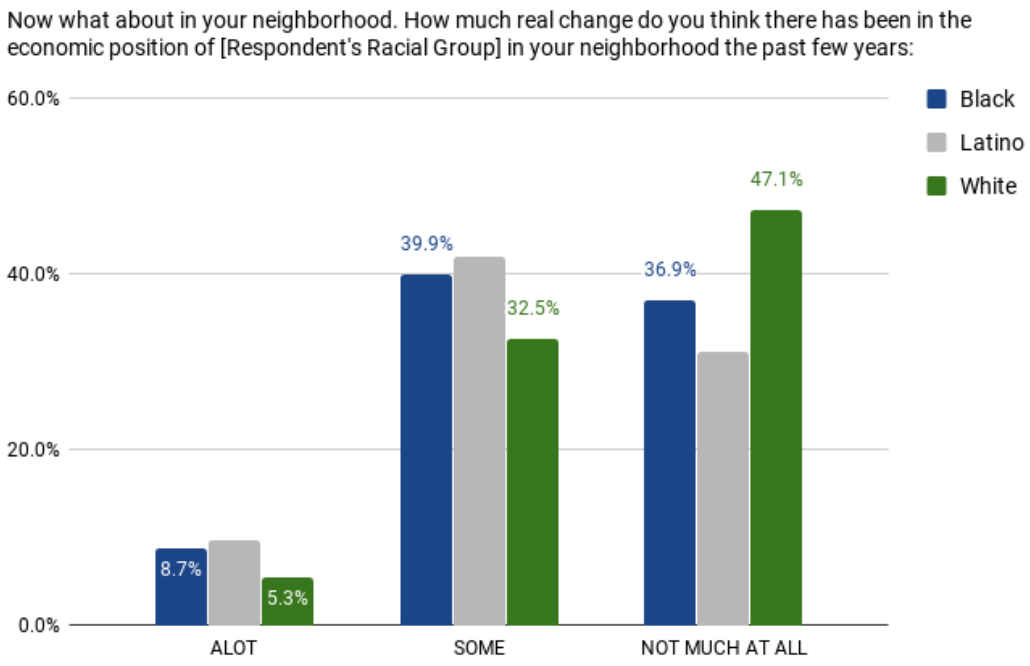
Figure 7: Perceptions of National Upward Group Mobility by Region and by Race



Source:CMPS 2016

Figure 8 displays responses to the next question on the 2016 CMPS survey which asks respondents to consider racial progress in their own neighborhood, 47% of Whites saw "not much at all" change in their group's economic position over the past years, compared to 37% of Blacks, and 32% of Latinos. Across all racial groups the percentage of respondents saying "not much at all" real change upward group mobility goes up once asked to specifically consider local racial progress. Comparing the descriptive statistics presented in Figure 6 and in Figure 7 shows individuals are more disillusioned with how they view their group's local mobility versus their racial groups national economic mobility.

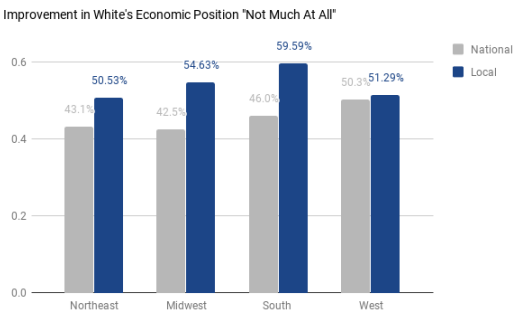
Figure 8: Perceptions of Local Upward Group Mobility by Region and by Race



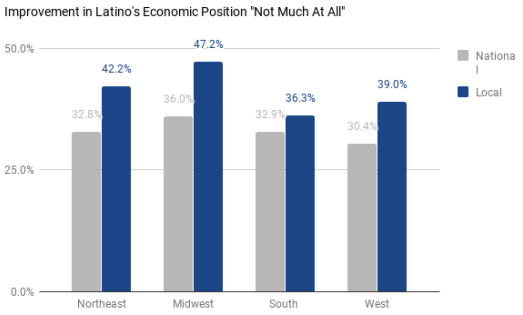
Source:CMPS 2016

Figure 9 focuses on determining if there are regional differences in how individuals view their racial group's local upward mobility. Figure 9 (a) shows African American assessments of upward group mobility the region. When considering local racial progress, 45% of those residing in the Midwest said there had been "not much at all" real change in Black's economic position, compared to 39% of Blacks in the Northeast, 34% in the South, and 34% of those living in the Western region.

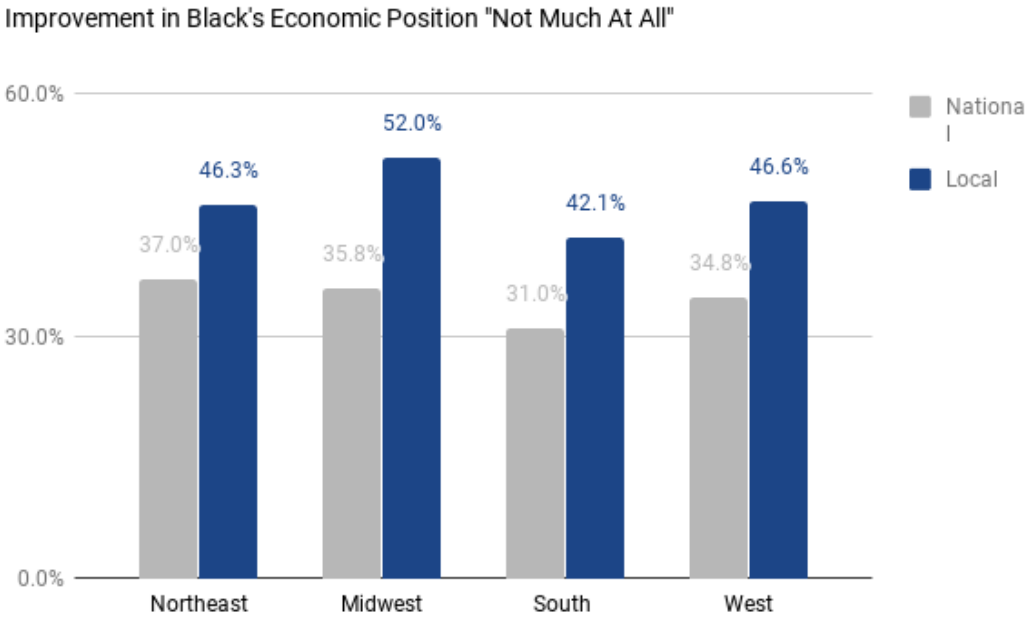
Figure 9: Regional Differences in Local vs. National Upward Group Mobility



(a) White



(b) Latino



(c) Black
Source:CMPS 2016

Figure 9 (b) shows when considering local Latino mobility 36% of Latinos residing in the Midwest assessed "not much at all" real change in their group's economic position, compared to 33% of Latinos in the Northeast, 31% in the South, and 33% living in the Western region. Overall, it appears whites are the most disillusioned about their groups upward economic mo-

Table 5: Regional Effects on Perceptions of Upward Group Mobility in 2016

DV: "Not Much" Local Upward Group Mobility	(A) Black	(B) Latino	(C) White	(D) All
REGION				
Northeast	0.081**	0.036	-0.047	0.056**
	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.059)	(0.024)
Midwest	0.082**	0.065	-0.075	0.066***
	(0.033)	(0.053)	(0.057)	(0.024)
West	0.010	0.013	0.006	0.002
	(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.057)	(0.024)
SES				
Education	0.036***	0.017	0.041*	0.033***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.009)
Income	-0.036***	0.006	-0.009	-0.011
	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.009)
IDEOLOGY				
Linked Fate	0.023	-0.096***	0.046	-0.016
	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.019)
Liberal	-0.035	-0.008	-0.122**	-0.031
	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.051)	(0.020)
Conservative	-0.026	-0.024	-0.031	-0.002
	(0.034)	(0.044)	(0.050)	(0.024)
DEMOGRAPHICS				
Age	-0.000	-0.002*	0.002	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Gender	0.015	-0.032	-0.011	-0.005
	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.018)
Observations	2,401	2,270	774	5,445
Standard errors in parentheses				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10				

Source: U.S Census, American Community Survey 2015

bility in the last few years. However, Figure 9 (c) shows that for whites there is very little regional variation in local assessments of racial progress. African Americans and Latinos exhibit more regional division in local assessments of racial progress. Furthermore, the largest intra-group perceptual gap exists between African Americans living in the Midwest and African Americans living in the South.

Table 5 displays logistic regression analysis results with the CMPS proxy for racial progress, perceptions of upward group mobility, operating as the dependent variable. I empirically test my hypothesis that residents of the Midwest are more likely see not much at all improvement in their group's upward mobility compared to those residing in the South. Controlling for individual socioeconomic status, ideology, and demographic factors, there are statistically significant regional effects on African American assessments of Black progress. Specifically, Blacks in the Midwest and Northeast are significantly more likely to have negative assessments of local upward Black mobility than African Americans residing in the South.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The fundamental argument put forth in this chapter is that there is regional variability in assessments of racial progress attitudes. Perceptions of upward group mobility in one's neighborhood was operationalized as a proxy for local racial progress. Based on my findings there is regional variability assessments of local upward group mobility for African Americans and Latinos racial progress attitudes, less so among whites. The widest perceptual gap appears to be between Blacks residing in the Midwest and Blacks residing in the South. Consistent with my hypothesis, African-Americans residing in the Midwest are significantly more likely to have negative perceptions of racial progress in comparisons to African Americans living in the

South. This regional effects exist for African Americans even when controlling for individual level factors.

In considering objective indicators of aggregate socioeconomic status, I believe regional effects on racial progress attitudes are driven by regional differences in access to employment opportunities and settlement patterns. African American men in the Midwest and Northeast, more so than White and Latino men have been adversely impacted by declines in manufacturing employment and the shift towards a knowledge based economy. The effects of limited local economic mobility are compounded by limited spatial mobility, particularly at the state level. Spatial mobility for African Americans and Latinos is limited in the Midwest due to high levels of racial segregation within cities and low levels of African American dispersion throughout the state.

Feedback effects of economic restructuring on African American communities in former industrial cities throughout the Midwest remain largely ignored. Diverging regional political economies and regional settlement patterns creates intra-group divisions in opportunities for economic advancement. As a region, the Midwest has lagged behind other regions in its progress towards racial equality by spatially and structurally limiting access to opportunities for economic advancement. Based on finding significant effects in two national surveys, I must conclude that there are regional difference in perceptions of local racial progress.

Along with that basic conclusion the analysis leaves me with two broad set of questions. First, is my operationalization of upward mobility to narrow? For Latinos and Whites, regional effects may be stronger on perceptions of improvement in political mobility. There are ways to analyze how group based power or respect for marginalized cultures is influenced by regional political economy dynamics. Second, is the US census configuration of regions useful when studying the intersection of race and place? Given regional differences in population concentration and dispersion by race, the use of subregional comparisons may prove more fruitful (i.e. African Americans in the Middle Central Midwest versus the South, and Latinos in the South West versus the Southeast). In assessing regional effects on perceptions of upward mobility, a complete framework of spatialized racial views must undertake the delicate task of analyzing both inter and intra-regional distinctions.

Future research using a spatialized racial progress views model must consider more comparisons across all regions, ideally using mixed methods approach. More exploration is needed to fully flush the exact underlying causal mechanisms driving statistically significant regional effects. More research is needed to fully understand how different racial groups in different locations interact with the local political and economic institutions. For different racial groups certain regional and sub regional comparisons will. Researchers must also be sensitive to the possibility of regional divides in

racial progress attitudes expanding and contracting overtime in alignment with fluctuations in regional political economies. For African Americans right now there is a lot of buzz around good living conditions in the South and bad neighborhoods in the Midwest and Northeast, but that could change.

CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to rebuke and disprove the political science myth that the South deserves to be singled out empirically due to its particularly racial hostile conditions and attitudes. More importantly I aimed to highlight the rapid decline in economic opportunities for Black and Brown people in the Northeast and Midwest. As has been shown, African Americans have the most regionally divergent racial progress opinions and aggregate socioeconomic conditions. The Regression Discontinuity Design reveals two distinct time periods in the discussion of racial progress attitudes. The first time period being 1967 to 1978, when the country was optimistic hopeful given the momentum of the civil rights movement and Black Power movements. The second time period being 1980 to now, when most African Americans and Latinos are more disillusioned with racial progress and regionally divided. Broad economic developments have led to the formation of a very complicated racialized geo-economical landscape. Understanding regions does not provide the full context, but region is where the narrative of spatialized racial progress views must begin in an effort to be comprehensive and sensitive to changes over time.

Through a comparative analysis of perceptions of upward group mobility across all four U.S regions, this chapter provides a foundation for understanding why racial attitudes must be interpreted through a spatial lens. Comparing regional distinctions in racial attitudes, highlights lingering debates and understudied concepts in racial threat, racial resentment, ideological refinement, and inter-regional migration literature. As has been shown, regional effects shape perceptions of upward group mobility for Blacks, and Latinos. While scholars continue to use the South as a special case for studying racial attitudes, we must begin to ask if these models speak to all forms of racial hostility across local and regional contexts. Historical moments such as deindustrialization in the Detroit, the return movement of blacks to the South, movement of Latinos to rural areas, and suburban urbanization all leave an mark on racial attitudes.

4

PROGRESS POCKETS & LOCAL DISILLUSIONMENT

Moving to another layer of geographical segmentation, this chapter examines inter and intra-metropolitan area differences in racial progress attitudes. The overall goal is to determine if city type and neighborhood conditions influence perceptions of racial progress. More specifically, in the forthcoming analysis the following questions are asked and answered; (1) Is there a statistically significant difference in racial progress attitudes by city type? (2) Do neighborhood economic conditions have a statistically significant impact on racial progress attitudes? (3) For which racial group does city type and neighborhood conditions have the largest impact? Based on results, residing in a midsize South-Atlantic city has a significant positive impact on African American racial progress attitudes, while living in a midsize Southwestern city has a significant positive effect on Latino racial progress attitudes. Living in neighborhoods with high rates of unemployment significantly impacts racial progress attitudes, across all racial groups.

Relate results to literature and ongoing debates Cities and neighborhood level contextual effects have been studied extensively. Du Bois (1899) pioneering work The Philadelphia Negro, empirically examines race and economic opportunity within an urban environment. Since, several scholars have studied race and socioeconomic conditions at the local level, with two dominant trends forming. Scholars who study cities and race tend to be primarily qualitative and focused on a singular city. I believe it is necessary to compare socioeconomic conditions across cities for a complete picture of the ways in which different local arrangements impact racial progress. Studies on neighborhood effects and race tend to focus primarily on the concentration of particular groups, ignoring the possible influence of local economic factors. Focusing solely on neighborhood racial composition theoretically assumes that majority Black or majority Latino neighborhoods typically signals some type of deficiency, which is a misguided assumption. I argue racial progress attitudes vary by city type and neighborhood conditions due to similar mechanism discussed in Chapter 3 but on a different scale; settlement patterns, the racial inclusiveness of economic development, both of which influence the overall quality of communal life within cities and within individual neighborhoods.

The remainder of this chapter is laid out as follows. First theoretical motivations, along with underlying mechanisms at work are discussed in more detail. Following the theoretical framework, the process for establishing

a city typology is discussed before presenting models that show the effect of city type on racial progress attitudes. Next, models are presented that show the relationship between neighborhood context and racial progress attitudes. Lastly, the chapter concludes by laying out the connection between region, sub-region, states, cities, and neighborhoods when discussing assessments of racial progress.

UNDERSTANDING CITIES, NEIGHBORHOODS, AND RACIAL PROGRESS AREAS

Hypersegregation and Exasperated Urban Dualism in Select Cities

For a spatialized racial progress framework local residential integration is not the optimal indicator of local racial progress. Economic integration within metropolitan areas is a more appropriate racial progress indicator with exasperated urban dualism operating as an underlying mechanism. Within metropolitan areas, repeated neighborhood change processes and projects have made increased investments in select communities, while neglecting others. White flight, urban renewal, and gentrification, all examples of neighborhood change processes which facilitated the further consolidation and isolation of communities of color.

Each racial and ethnic group has its own story of how they arrived to this country and eventually became dispersed throughout. Due to the Transatlantic Slave Trade route, African Americans have always been heavily popu-

lated throughout the South in a variety of neighborhood types, both urban and rural. Millions of Blacks moved away from the South during the Jim Crow era when the region was largely regarded as more racially hostile than other parts of the country (Key 1949, Pendergrass 2013). During this Great Migration in the midst of a manufacturing economy, African Americans moved to Northern and Midwestern industrial centers with a preexisting urban social structure and landscape/design. Many Northern cities was not prepared or spatially situated to handle an influx of African Americans. Local governments adapted poorly to a rapidly diversifying population (Taeuber 1969). African Americans in the rust belt were limited in their residential choices and remain isolated in select metropolitan areas. There was never migration throughout Northern and Midwestern states.

The continued displacement of Blacks and Latinos to one or two areas within a metropolitan area overtime creates exasperated urban dualism, a tale of two cities. Residential segregation is a national issue. However, it is important to point out that, residential segregation does not always indicate decline and despair in African American and Latino communities. Flourishing high and middle income majority non-white neighborhoods exist throughout the country, particularly along the Sunbelt. Furthermore, the way in which residential segregation is configured varies by metropolitain. In some metropolitan areas, local neighborhoods are separated by racial/ethnic groups. In metros experiencing exasperated urban dualism neighborhoods

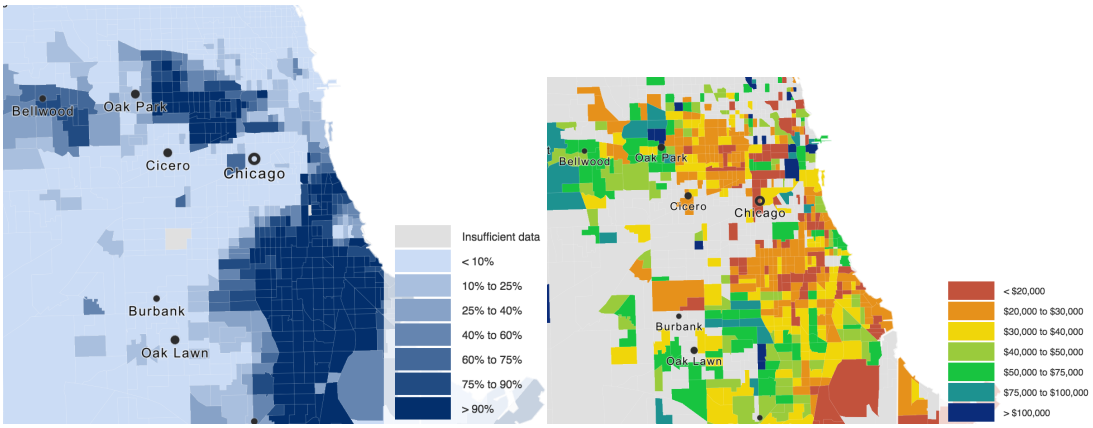
of color are hyper-segregated and clustered together on large swaths of land. Exasperated urban dualism creates a very striking differences in living conditions within a city along racial lines, due to continued disinvestment in consolidated marginalized communities.

Political and Economic Isolation in for Blacks and Latinos in Rust Belt Cities

Metropolitan areas in which African Americans and Latinos are doing the best economically has less to do with residential integration but rather more so economic integration. The location of jobs within cities has changed dramatically since the 1970s, making access to employment more inequitable. According to Fairchild (2008) certain types of residential segregation processes increase the likelihood for entrepreneurship. An increase in the proportion of one's group in the total population of a metropolitan area is positively associated with likelihood for self employment. However, an increase in the poverty level of a person's racial group is negatively associated with one's likelihood for self employment (Boyd, 1998, 1991; Fairlie and Meyer, 1996;Fischer and Massey, 2000). Overtime Black and Latino neighborhoods in the south have become less centralized and poverty is less concentrated compared to conditions in Northeastern and Midwestern cities.

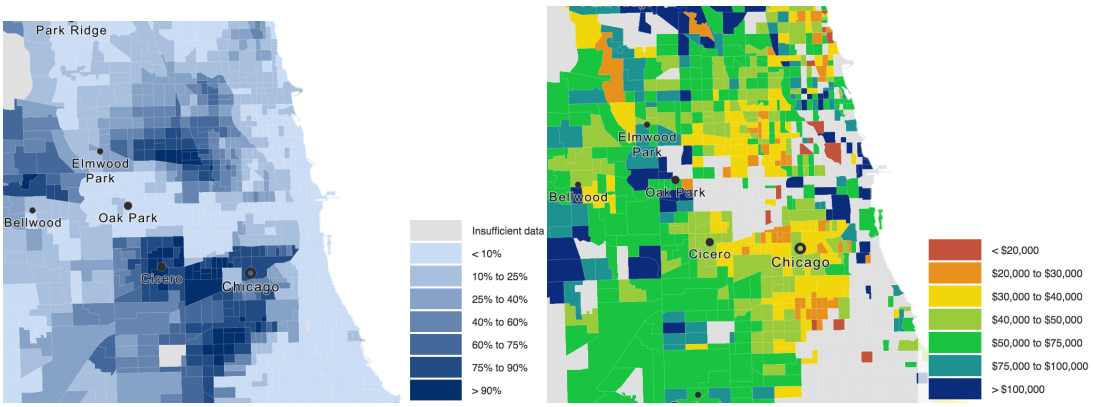
Overtime, African Americans and Latinos in former industrial centers have become more isolated from the central business district and from relocated firms. Figures 10 and 11 show a provide an example of residen-

Figure 10: Black Population and Income Distribution in Chicago



(a) Population (b) Income

Figure 11: Latino Population and Income Distribution in Chicago



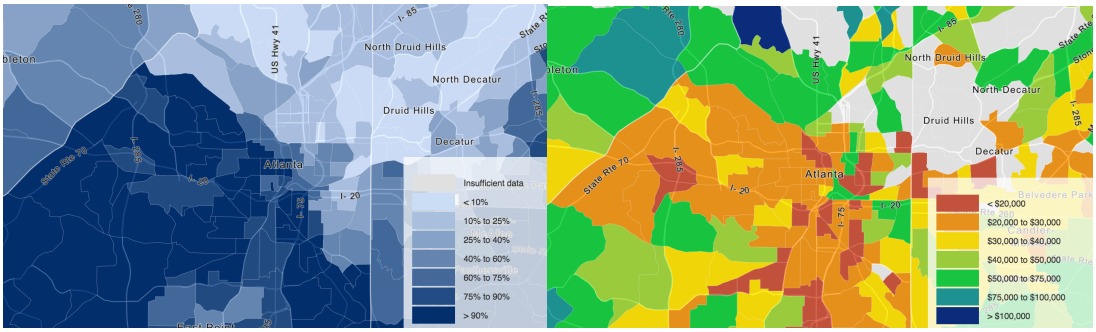
(a) Population (b) Income

tial and economic isolation for Black communities in Chicago and to a lesser degree Latino Chicago communities. Figure 9 shows how Blacks in Chicago remain hypersegregated on the South and West side of the city. Poor, working class, and middle class Black and Latinos are clustered together versus being evenly distributed across the city. The hypersegregation of Black and Latino communities in the Midwest and Northeast are most apparent when compared to similar size Southern cities. For example, see the distribution of Black communities in Atlanta (Figure 11) and Latino communities in Hous-

ton (Figure 12). Overtime Black and Latino communities have been strategically pushed out of the surrounding downtown areas through the process of gentrification.

Economic restructuring helped clear the way for gentrification to occur by facilitating the cleared physical space for inner city redevelopment in old abandoned factories. Gentrifying areas go from being mostly Black or Latino and in the bottom half of the distribution of home prices in a metropolitan area to mostly white and in the top half. Increasing concentrations of Black poverty and continued housing discrimination in major Midwestern and Northeastern cities makes African Americans more susceptible to displacement and political isolation. In addition to individual experiences of economic despair, I suspect concentration of economic despair can also impact racial progress attitudes.

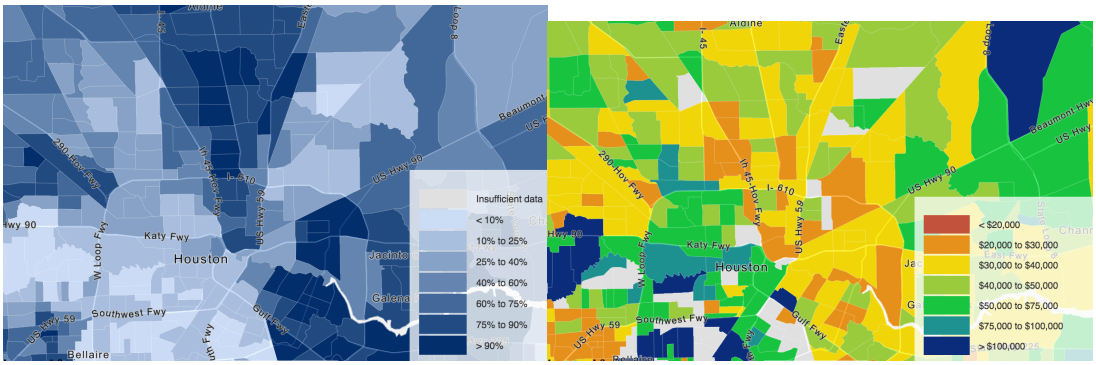
Figure 12: Black Population and Income Distribution in Atlanta



(a) Population (b) Income

In regards to African Americans among major Southern metropolitan areas such as Dallas, Houston, and Miami that have African American populations over 1 million, Atlanta stands out. The Atlanta MSA, "The Black

Figure 13: Latino Population and Income Distribution in Houston



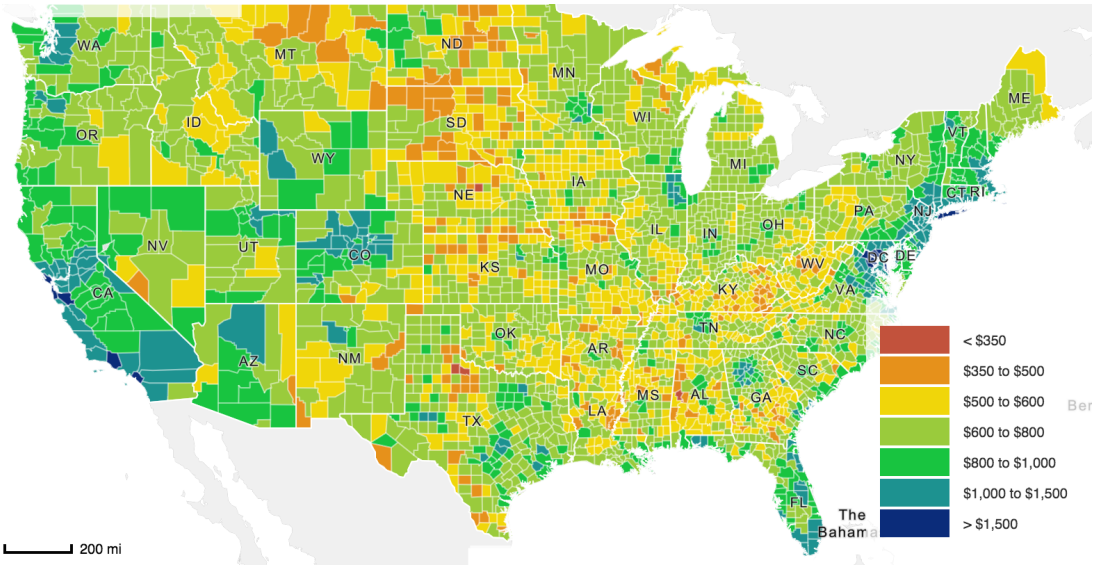
(a) Population (b) Income

Mecca" is home to 1.8 million Blacks, and they make up over 30% of the total population. Furthermore, it is not uncommon in the Southwest for Latinos and for Blacks in the Southeast to reside in small and midsize MSA's where they make up more than 50% of the total population, majority Black cities. Also, now with the increased migration of Latinos to the Southeast as a new destination, Southern MSA are becoming even more likely to be majority non-White cities. While many scholars focus on the concentration of African Americans at the neighborhood level and its effects on politics and political behavior, comparing the concentration of Blacks at the MSA level highlights different contexts in which Black communities exists.

Black and Latino Home Buying Power

Home buying power operates as a defense mechanism against the negative effects of spatial inequality. Differences in urban organization, local concentration of non-whites, and non-white home buying power impacts metropolitan area wide development efforts and neighborhood change pro-

Figure 14: Median Rent by County



Source: U.S Census

cesses. During the Civil Rights Movement many Southern cities also experienced a net loss of Whites but the movement did not significantly impact housing conditions to the same degree as white flight in the Northeast and Midwest. African Americans and Latinos have greater home buying power in the South due to a normalization of homeownership in the region overall, relatively low housing prices (see Figure 13), and higher than average median household incomes. Greater home buying power means Blacks and Latinos have more housing options and are more likely to benefit from neighborhood change processes versus being displaced. Overall, home buying power impacts local Blacks and Latinos' access to mortgage loans, political clout, and overall inclusiveness in development efforts. Home buying power is a powerful indicator of a groups upward mobility. Declining Black and Latino home buying power in rust belt metropolitan areas points to limited racial progress in the region.

Racially Exclusive Economic Development Policies and Practices

Table 7 shows U.S Census data for select major American metropolitan areas. It appears midsize cities in the Sun belt who have experienced economic growth in the post-industrial economy. Non-whites living in Sun Belt cities subregion higher than average aggregate incomes and greater home buying power garners them more political clout in neighborhood change process. These socio-economic contextual factors also speak to the organization of a city. Sharkey (2013) ties persistent economic equality to economic progress within urban environments. There is a racial and ethnic hierarchy of neighborhoods in every American city. However, the sheer volume and dispersion of African Americans and Latinos throughout the Southern region makes it more probable that local city planners will consider their interests.

Cities are a place where racial inequality is transmitted overtime through political decisions and social policies. Local political decisions and social policies have facilitated continue disinvestment in majority Black and Latino neighborhoods. Selective demolition of dwellings, new housing construction, and occupancy is typically designated based on racial bias. I suspect part of these cities widespread growth is related to relatively racially inclusive government arrangements and more racially inclusive economic development efforts. The ways in which individual cities attempt to bounce back from the effects of economic restructuring varies. Black and Latino poverty is less geographically concentrated in the South than in the Midwest,

Northeast, and West, which impacts urban planning and economic development strategies. Based on objective indicators, I believe Southern metropolitan areas are better at racially integrated economic progress than their Midwestern and Northeastern counterparts.

The next step for this project is to examine how metropolitain and neighborhood level socioeconomic context shapes racial progress attitudes. I suspect varying susceptibility to detrimental neighborhood change process creates divergent attitudes about discrimination and upward group mobility. Putting individual circumstances aside, I suspect African Americans and Latinos living in booming metros along the sunbelt to have more positive views of local upward group mobility than those living old industrial centers where economic displacement, disinvestment, and decline is more prominent.

ANALYTICAL APPROACH

In this chapter I add an additional level of geographical context to a spatialized racial progress framework by including metropolitan area and neighborhood level socioeconomic context. Continuing with use of the CMPS 2016 dataset, I conduct empirical analysis that include previously employed regional dummy variables, along with measures of city size, population concentration, and aggregate measures of median household income at the zip code level. I expect Whites living in suburban or rural areas are more likely to be disillusioned with racial progress that those living in central cities. I

Table 6: Descriptives for Major Metros by Race (Part 1)

	Population (Total and Percent)			Median Household Income		
MSA	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, California	4,002,459 30.40%	849,153 6.40%	5,932,201 45.00%	$68,765	$42,739	$48,630
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, District of Columbia	235,722 35.80%	312,557 47.40%	69,106 10.50%	$119,564	$40,560	$60,848
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, Florida	1,913,183 32.30%	1,200,309 20.30%	2,573,322 43.40%	$53,104	$38,558	$43,788
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, Georgia	2,740,530 48.80%	1,846,744 32.90%	584,778 10.40%	$69,625	$45,057	$43,471
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, Illinois	4,540,215 52.50%	1,444,561 16.70%	1,929,794 22.30%	$73,937	$36,406	$49,681
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, Michigan	2,881,734 67.10%	957,367 22.30%	180,396 4.20%	$61,941	$31,693	$45,057
New York-Newark-Jersey City, New York	5,891,533 44.00%	2,369,346 17.70%	3,351,860 25.10%	$81,771	$46,289	$42,484
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, North Carolina	1,237,800 61.30%	445,279 22.10%	212,360 10.50%	$62,724	$40,073	$40,208
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, Pennsylvania	2,511,356 61.60%	886,781 21.80%	339,458 8.30%	$74,600	$34,392	$35,095
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, Texas	2,447,607 37.80%	1,090,671 16.80%	2,354,515 36.30%	$66,967	$43,509	$45,965

Source: U.S Census, American Community Survey 2015

Table 7: Descriptives for Major Metros by Race (Part 2)

	Unemployment			Homeownership		
MSA	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, California	7.80%	14.20%	9.10%	52.80%	33.70%	38.00%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, District of Columbia	3.10%	16.80%	6.20%	47.80%	35.90%	30.90%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, Florida	7.00%	14.10%	7.60%	64.30%	44.80%	52.30%
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, Georgia	5.90%	12.50%	7.10%	73.10%	47.20%	44.70%
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, Illinois	6.20%	18.90%	9.00%	71.30%	39.80%	51.40%
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, Michigan	6.70%	18.40%	10.80%	77.20%	42.70%	58.60%
New York-Newark-Jersey City, New York	6.00%	12.20%	9.50%	56.70%	31.10%	23.30%
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, North Carolin	6.40%	13.70%	8.90%	72.20%	43.10%	41.60%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, Pennsylvania	6.30%	15.50%	13.20%	72.50%	46.90%	42.00%
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, Texas	5.50%	11.30%	6.50%	65.60%	42.40%	52.10%

Source: U.S Census, American Community Survey 2015

also expect individuals living in communities with a low aggregate median household income to be more disillusioned with racial progress than those living affluent communities.

RESULTS

City Size and Concentration

Table 8 displays logistic regression analysis results with the CMPS proxy for racial progress, perceptions of upward group mobility, operating as the dependent variable. I empirically test my hypothesis that population concentration and aggregate socioeconomic context influences perceptions of upward group mobility. Across all racial groups city size has a statistically significant influence on assessments of racial progress. More specifically, for African Americans residing in a large city in comparison to a medium sized city makes one less likely to have negative views of improvement in Blacks economic position. However, African Americans residing in rural areas are significantly more likely to have a negative assessment of improvement in Blacks economic mobility in comparison to African Americans residing in medium sized city. For Latinos, in comparison to residing in a medium sized city, those residing in a small city are significantly more likely to view not much improvement in their groups economic position. Interestingly, whites living in rural areas are less likely to be disillusioned with their groups economic mobility in comparison to Whites residing in medium sized cities.

Next in Table 8, population concentration effects on racial progress attitudes are examined using two dummy variables, majority Latino and majority Black. Majority Black measures whether the respondent resides in a zip code that is over 50% African American. Majority Latino measures whether the respondent resides in a zip code that is over 50% Latino. According to results, African Americans residing in majority Black communities are significantly more likely to see "not much at all" improvement in their group's local economic position in comparison to those who do not live in majority African American communities. Residing in a majority Latino community has the opposite effect on Latinos. Latino residing in communities that are over 50% Latino are less likely to see "not much at all" local upward group mobility in comparison to those not living Latino majority communities.

Theoretically and based on my spatial analysis living in a majority Black community in the Midwest and Northeast may differ drastically from living in a majority Black community in the South. To test the influence of region and local concentration an interaction variable was created. Based on the results, residents living in a majority Black Southern community are more likely to have positive assessments of Black economic progress than those in majority Black communities outside of the South. Whether or not Whites lived in a majority Black or majority Latino community does not appear to have a significant impact on their racial progress assessments. However, given

Table 8: Local SES Effects on Perceptions of Upward Group Mobility in 2016

DV: "Not Much" Local Upward Group Mobility	(A) Black	(B) Latino	(C) White	(D) All
Region				
Northeast	0.096***	0.049	-0.044	0.069***
	(0.034)	(0.045)	(0.061)	(0.025)
Midwest	0.065*	0.061	-0.079	0.043*
	(0.034)	(0.054)	(0.058)	(0.026)
West	0.008	0.011	0.021	0.012
	(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.059)	(0.025)
City Size				
Median City	0.097***	0.022	-0.084	0.038*
	(0.033)	(0.037)	(0.055)	(0.023)
Small City	0.027	0.165***	-0.011	0.077**
	(0.045)	(0.054)	(0.071)	(0.033)
Rural Area	0.087*	-0.018	-0.150*	-0.009
	(0.052)	(0.076)	(0.080)	(0.039)
Population Concentration				
Majority Black	0.009**	-0.008	0.005	0.006**
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.003)
Majority Latino	0.005	-0.011**	-0.022	-0.008**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.018)	(0.003)
Aggregate Socioeconomic Status				
Median Household Income (zip code)	-0.031*	-0.029	0.032	-0.018
	(0.017)	(0.021)	(0.028)	(0.012)
Percent BA Degree and Above (zip code)	-0.008	0.025	-0.050	-0.005
	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.034)	(0.015)
Interactions				
South and Majority Black	-0.010**			-0.008**
	(0.005)			(0.004)
West and Majority Latino		0.009		0.007
		(0.006)		(0.005)
Observations	2,378	2,242	766	5,386

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Source: CMPS 2016

how segregated the country at the state and local level, the probability of Whites living in a majority Black or Latino community is low.

Aggregate median household income is used as a proxy for local economic conditions. Only for Black respondents is local median household income a significant predictor of views towards upward group mobility. The higher the local median household income the less likely are Black respondents to believe there is no improvement in their groups economic condition. It is important to note that despite the influence of several local level factors and individual level factors, statistically significant regional differences remain.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The fundamental argument put forth in this chapter is that local socioeconomic context influences racial progress attitudes. A combination of factors, including population concentration, city size, aggregate socioeconomic status were used as a proxy for local socioeconomic context. Based on my findings there is local variability in perceptions of upward group mobility. City size has a significant influence on intra-group divisions in racial progress attitudes. Across racial groups, the magnitude and direction of city size effects varies. In regards to population concentration, residing in a majority Black community has a significant negative impact on African American perceptions of improvement in their group's economic position. Contrastingly,

Residing in a majority Latino community has a significant positive impact on Latino's perceptions of improvement in their group's economic position. Interestingly, an increase in aggregate socioeconomic status had a significant positive influence on African American racial progress attitudes only. It is also important to note, that even when local factors are included, regional effects hold in a spatialized racial progress views model.

I believe local contextual effects are driven by differences in inter and intra-metropolitan settlement patterns and overall quality of life. A key feature of American life that varies is the amount of economic and political power African American and Latino hold within a city. In some cities, mostly Southern metros, Blacks and Latinos have a great deal of home-buying power, access to educational, and employment opportunities. cities are making more of a concentrated effort to include Black and Latino community leaders in economic development efforts. Perhaps, primarily due to the sheer proportion of Black and Latino local homeowners which increases their likelihood of political engagement. Blacks and Latinos who live in in low income communities with a high concentration of poverty and renters are less likely to be seriously engaged politically. A lack of substantial political engagement means local Black and Latino economic mobility issues are never meaningfully addressed.

Geographically, the combination of hyper-segregation and large areas of highly concentrated poverty in select cities helps explain local variation

in racial progress attitudes. There is some degree of Black-White and Latino-White separation in every major city. Differences lie in non-White settlement patterns. How majority Black and majority Latino neighborhoods are situated within the larger metropolitan context varies. Black-White residential separation in Southern metropolitan areas continues to be less pronounced than Black-White separation in major metropolitan areas in the Northeast and the Midwest (Massey and Rothwell 2009). Metropolitan areas in the Northeast and Midwest tend to be hyper-segregated which involves a clustering of marginalized neighborhoods to form a large contiguous settlement, such as what is seen on the South side of Chicago. Hyper-segregation helps facilitate the concentration of poverty, while increasing isolation from major business districts, city centers, and other communities. Based on analysis of both objective and subjective indicators, I must conclude that regional and local context shapes perceptions of racial progress.

Along with that basic conclusion the analysis leaves me with two broad set of questions. First, are there other measures of local socioeconomic context that better predict racial progress attitudes that are not considered? This analysis includes only two measures of local socio economic context, aggregate median household income and levels of educational attainment. Other aggregate measures, including poverty and homeownership levels were considered, but based on preliminary findings the results were not included. Despite aggregate levels of individual educational attainment not being sta-

tistically significant, I am curious to know how the agglomeration of colleges impacts racial progress attitudes. Specifically, more research ought to be done on how the number of local the impact of HBCUs and primarily minority serving education institutions impacts perceptions of upward Black and Latino mobility.

Second, how does a spatialized framework consider the effect of gentrification on racial progress attitudes? Gentrification is a modern initiation of racial segregation and "urban renewal", all of which particularly painful. It continues a tradition of displacement, deceptiveness, and racial exclusivity found in most American neighborhood change process. Gentrification is uniquely disruptive to existing residential patterns of cities. It is also one of many examples of how government facilitated spatial transformations can have detrimental effects on Black and Brown people. Missing from this dissertation is an explicit discussion of how gentrification influences intra-group divisions in racial progress attitudes.

Future studies on racial progress attitudes should consider exploring interactions that consider the ways neighborhoods vary across regions. In this chapter I considered the interaction between region of residence and local population concentration. More qualitative research is needed to understand how majority Black, Latino, and White communities differ politically, economically, and socially, both inter and intra-regionally. Developing a spatialized racial progress views city typology based on region, size, population

concentration, racial and residential history could be helpful to better organize distinctions. I am particularly interested in knowing how Latinos in new destination cities view racial progress from Latinos in old destination cities, within the same region and across regions. For example, do Central Americans residing in Des Moines, Iowa perceive Latino economic mobility similar to Puerto Ricans on the West side of Chicago. Furthermore, the findings presented in this Perceptions of upward group mobility vary by both local racial composition and regional context.

CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to show the ways cities and neighborhoods vary in their degree of racial progress, both objectively and subjectively. Within metropolitan areas high levels of unemployment, job loss is the most significant predictor of racial disillusionment. Metropolitan areas that are perceived as being racially hostile environments are at risk of losing upwardly mobile African Americans and Latinos. Widespread perceptions of racial hostility brands a metropolitan area. Rumors of growth in particular cities, through formal and informal networks continues to impact migration patterns as it did during the Great Migration, and will continue to for generations to come.

A comparative spatial analysis shows how cities and neighborhoods vary in their residential patterns which shape everyday interactions. What type of conditions individuals drive past on their way to work, to church,

or to the beach can influence their views about racial progress. Local experiences with race and quality of life is slightly different in every city. The rate of economic growth and decline of varies within and across cities. In areas with rapid decline and high levels of unemployment such as the cities in the rust belt, residents are more likely to be disillusioned about their group's upward mobility. Geography and economic restructuring both interact to cause a divergence in racial progress attitudes across cities and across neighborhoods, both inter and intra-racially.

5

PREDICTING RACIAL PROGRESS POLICY PREFERENCES

The first two chapters examined assessments of American racial progress, this chapter examines strategies for American racial progress. The overall goal is to determine if place shapes racial progress assessments and racialized social policy preferences. More specifically, in the forthcoming analysis the following questions are asked and answered; (1) Is there a relationship between assessments of racial progress and prefered strategies for racial progress? (2) Are there geographical distinctions in racial progress strategy attitudes that mirror geographical distinctions found in racial progress assessment attitudes? (3) For which racial group is the relationship between geographical differences in racial progress assessments and prefered strategy most closely related?

Scholars have offered several theories to account for the lingering policy-principle gap in America, which remains a hindrance to racial progress. The debate typically stems from a disagreement over what type of policies will facilitate racial progress, universal or targeted. Division over social poli-

cies that have racial undertones, often relating to redistribution of wealth or forced integration in housing and education is mostly attributed to one's race and ideology. I believe the relationship between race and ideology varies by place. Dominant political ideology, varies by place which can cause intra-racial attitudinal divisions on policy related to racial progress. Building on my previous chapter's argument that socioeconomic context impacts one's assessments of racial progress, in this chapter I argue spatialized racial progress assessments of racial progress influences racial progress policy views. How someone views their group's local upward mobility and the degree of discrimination, shapes their perceptions of affirmative action in education, aid to the poor, and the Dream Act, proxies for racial progress.

The remainder of this chapter is laid out as follows. First theoretical motivations, along with underlying mechanisms at work are discussed in more detail. Following the theoretical framework, models are presented that test the relationship between place, racial progress assessments, and racial progress strategies. Lastly, the chapter concludes by summarizing the complete spatialized racial progress views framework.

ANALYTICAL APPROACH

The goal for this chapter is to examine the influence of context on racialized policy views. I include region of residence and perceptions of local group mobility as independent variables. Again, regional dummy variables

are used with the South serving as the reference category. Support for racial policy serves as the dependent variable in three logistic regression analysis. In all presented models, data has been disaggregated by race to examine both inter and intra-racial divides. I expect those who believe there has been "not much at all" improvement in their groups economic position to be more likely to support the principle of government assistance, aid for the poor, and affordable housing than respondents who believe there has been "some" or "a lot" of improvement.

RESULTS

Table 9, there is a strong regional effect on support for targeted government assistance. Between 1970 and 1994, ANES respondents residing in the Northeast are 7 percent more likely to support government assistance for Blacks and other minorities compared to respondents residing in the South. Perceptions of upward Black mobility also had an impact on support for government assistance from 1970 up until the question was discontinued on the survey in 1994. Individuals who saw " not much all" Black progress were 5.7 percent more likely to supporting government assistance for Blacks and other minorities compared to those who thought there was "a lot" or " some" improvement. As to be expected Party Id has a strong effect. Democrats compared to moderates are significantly more likely to support government assistance, while conservatives are significantly less likely. and Republicans The effect of party does appear to be increasing overtime.

Table 9: Contextual Effects on Support for Government Assistance for Blacks and Other Minorities

DV: Government should Help	(A) 1970-1994	(B) 1995-2012
Year	-0.006***	-0.004***
	(0.000)	(0.001)
CONTEXTUAL EFFECTS		
Northeast	0.069***	0.037***
	(0.009)	(0.011)
Midwest	0.055***	0.013
	(0.009)	(0.011)
West	0.064***	0.045***
	(0.010)	(0.010)
City	0.042***	-0.031**
	(0.008)	(0.015)
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS		
Income	-0.041***	-0.031***
	(0.005)	(0.005)
Education	0.056***	0.039***
	(0.004)	(0.005)
IDEOLOGY		
Black Improvement Not Much	0.057***	
	(0.012)	
Democrat	0.073***	0.102***
	(0.010)	(0.012)
Republican	-0.067***	-0.111***
	(0.011)	(0.015)
Observations	18,347	10,429
Standard errors in parentheses		
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10		

Source: 2012 ANES Time-Series Study

Federal Funding for Aid to the Poor

Table 10 shows the effect of several factors on support for increased funding to aid the poor. Blacks in the Midwest are 10.3 percent more likely to support aid to the poor than Blacks in the South. Conversely, Blacks in the west are 5.3 percent less likely to support aid to the poor. It would be interesting to know if and how "poor" is being racialized in the minds of the respondents. In other words, when they think of "the poor", who are they

thinking of? Who do they think the funds go to now? Nevertheless, I have shown there is regional variation in racialized funding priorities.

Perceptions of discrimination against Blacks, the proxy for colorblind racism, appears to be a strong predictor racialized policy attitudes across all racial groups. Individuals who believe there is very little discrimination against blacks or claim to be unaware are more more likely to not support aid to the poor compared to those who are aware of racial discrimination. As to be expected, for Whites being a conservative makes one 10 percent less likely to support aid to the poor. Conservatism does not have the same effect on Blacks and Latinos. This finding supports claims that conservatism operates differently and holds different values than conservatism for Blacks and Latinos.

Interestingly, seeing "not much at all" improvement in one's group upward mobility only had a significant impact on Black and Latino views of aid for the poor, but it was opposite effects. Blacks who believes there had been "not much at all" local upward group mobility" were 5 percent more likely to support aid to the poor. The effect of local upward mobility was stronger than the effect of linked fate. How perceptions of local upward group mobility, in addition to individual socioeconomic status, complicates how linked fate impacts racialized policy attitudes ought to be explored more. Unfortunately, local upward group mobility was not a significant predictor of support for aid to the poor for Whites and Latinos.

Table 10: Contextual Effects on Support for Aid to Poor

DV: Increase Spending on Aid to Poor	(A) Black	(B) Latino	(C) White	(D) All
CONTEXUAL				
Northeast	0.054*	-0.053	0.093	0.024
	(0.029)	(0.042)	(0.070)	(0.024)
Midwest	0.103***	-0.044	-0.020	0.027
	(0.029)	(0.047)	(0.063)	(0.023)
West	-0.053*	-0.021	0.050	-0.000
	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.063)	(0.022)
Large City	-0.008	0.016	-0.038	0.009
	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.051)	(0.018)
Median Household Income (zip code)	-0.010	0.000	0.011	-0.006
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.023)	(0.009)
INDIVIDUAL				
Education	0.006	-0.033***	-0.031	-0.015*
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.026)	(0.009)
Income	-0.002	-0.044***	-0.036	-0.024***
	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.009)
Homeowner	-0.038	-0.103***	-0.147**	-0.087***
	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.057)	(0.019)
Local Group Mobility "Not Much"	0.050**	-0.049*	0.056	0.008
	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.046)	(0.017)
Linked Fate	0.034	0.069**	0.039	0.053***
	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.050)	(0.017)
Liberal	0.035	0.058*	0.253***	0.071***
	(0.023)	(0.031)	(0.061)	(0.019)
Conservative	-0.000	-0.000	-0.109**	-0.026
	(0.027)	(0.037)	(0.055)	(0.021)
Discrimination Against Blacks	-0.047***	-0.099***	-0.118***	-0.082***
	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.026)	(0.009)
Millennial	-0.040*	-0.089***	-0.021	-0.065***
	(0.022)	(0.029)	(0.060)	(0.018)
Female	0.050**	-0.025	0.054	0.033*
	(0.021)	(0.028)	(0.049)	(0.017)
Black				0.194***
				(0.022)
Latino				0.140***
				(0.023)
Observations	2,378	2,243	766	5,387
Standard errors in parentheses				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10	.	.	.	.

Source: 2016 CMPS

The strongest and most negative predictor of Latino and White support for aid to the poor is individual homeownership. Latino homeowners were 10.3 percent less likely to support aid to the poor compared to Latino non-homeowners. White homeowners were 14.7 percent less likely to support aid to the poor compared to White non-homeowners. I see the most intimate layer of geographic segmentation of a spatialized racial progress views framework. The significance of homeownership highlights its importance in as a status symbol and role in shaping political behavior.

The Salience of Affordable Housing as a Community Issue

Table 11 shows ways contextual factors shape the salience of affordable housing as a community issue, including perceptions of local group mobility. There are clear regional effects. Latinos residing in the Midwest are 6 percent less likely than Latinos residing in the South to see affordable housing as an important community issue. This may be a result of Latino moving outside of midwestern major cities and into rural areas with cheaper housing. This could also have something to do with rapidly rising rent levels in booming Southern metropolitan areas with large Latino populations like Austin,Tx. However, Latinos in the Northeast and West are about 4 percent more likely to see affordable housing as a community issue compared to Latinos residing in the South. African Americans in the west are 6 percent more likely to view affordable housing as a major community issue compared to Blacks in the South. Though housing discrimination and disparities are a national

problem, I believe the extreme rise in housing prices in the West is driving intra-group divisions on the issue of affordable housing. These regional differences in the importance of affordable housing further confirms claims that diverging housing markets are driving Black and Latino intra-regional migration patterns.

City size and local income levels had no effect on the salience of affordable housing as a community issue. This means across all racialized policy view dimensions examined actual local income levels had a weak effect. This was not what I expected. However, it is still clear that region and perceptions of upward mobility, both proxies for local socioeconomic context, is shaping racialized policy preferences. Together with final results presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. These final results prove the last piece of the spatialized racial progress views framework, socio economic context influences assessments of racial progress and racialized social policy preferences aimed at fostering racial equality.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The fundamental argument put forth in this chapter is that assessments of local racial progress influences racialized policy preferences. Three separate racialized policy dimensions were examined, including support for targeted racial policy, support for increased federal spending on a racialized issue, and the salience of a racialized issue. Regional effects were found for all

Table 11: Contextual Effects on Viewing Affordable Housing as an Important Community Issue

DV: Affordable Housing Important Community Issue	(A) Black	(B) Latino	(C) White	(D) All
CONTEXTUAL				
Northeast	0.032	0.043**	0.007	0.031**
	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.013)
Midwest	-0.003	-0.062**	0.006	-0.009
	(0.025)	(0.028)	(0.014)	(0.015)
West	0.061**	0.039**	0.029**	0.045***
	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Large City	0.017	0.015	-0.010	0.009
	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Median Household Income (zip code)	-0.006	-0.003	0.001	-0.004
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.006)
INDIVIDUAL				
Education	-0.020*	0.003	-0.009	-0.008
	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Income	-0.019*	-0.009	-0.001	-0.012**
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Homeowner	-0.095***	-0.094***	-0.032***	-0.088***
	(0.023)	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Local Group Mobility "Not Much"	0.008	0.015	-0.015	0.005
	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Linked Fate	-0.010	0.002	-0.013	-0.007
	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Liberal	0.002	-0.011	0.003	-0.002
	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.011)
Conservative	0.020	-0.014	0.018	0.002
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Discrimination Against Blacks	0.011	0.002	-0.025***	0.000
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Millennial	-0.032*	-0.005	-0.019	-0.017
	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.011)
Female	0.032*	0.034**	0.015	0.033***
	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Black				0.062***
				(0.018)
Latino				0.003
				(0.019)
Observations	2,378	2,243	766	5,387

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Source: 2016 CMPS

three dimensions. Findings show regional effects on support for government assistance as early as the 1970s. From 1970 to 1995 residing in the South made one significantly less likely to support government assistance for Blacks and minorities in comparison to living in other regions. This negative Southern effect holds even when controlling for race. During the same period, residing in a city made one more likely to support the principle of government assistance than respondents who lived in the suburbs or rural areas. Perceptions of upward Black mobility was significant predictor of support for government assistance for Blacks in the 1970s, 1989s, and early 1990s. Overall, the results confirm a significant decline in support for targeted racialized policies between 1970 and 2012.

According to 2016 CMPS data, there are regional effects on racialized funding priorities and racialized issue salience. Significant regional differences in support for aid to the poor, my proxy for a racialized funding priority were found only for African Americans. Again the largest perceptual gap existed between African Americans in the Midwest and African Americans residing in the South. My proxy for local racial progress, local upward group mobility does help predict African American support for increased federal funding to aid the poor, but not for other groups. Most interesting was the strong influence of individual homeownership on both support for increased spending on aid to the poor and the salience of affordable housing as a community issue.

Variation in regional and local political economy conditions help explain intra-group divisions in racialized policy preferences. We must begin to ask if using a South-non-South dummy variable in racialized policy models speak to all forms of racial hostility across local and regional contexts. I believe when looking use of the South as a special case for studying racial attitudes is becoming outmoded because of rapid demographic and economic transformation in the region. Spatialized developments such as the destruction of public housing, gentrification, and suburban urbanization all leave a mark on racial policy attitudes. Housing conditions and access to housing is playing a role in racialized policy preferences. Based on analysis of both objective and subjective indicators, I must conclude that regional and local context shapes perceptions of racial progress.

Along with that basic conclusion the analysis leaves me with two broad set of questions. First, am I able to generalize these findings to other racialized policies? Furthermore, are these results specific only to racialized policies related to economic advancement? For example, there could be regional effects on support for gun control across racial groups. Local group mobility may shape intra-group divisions in support for bilingual education or a range of educational policy issues. Second, does the model presented truly test the influence of spatialized group mobility on racialized policy attitudes? Perhaps, an interaction between region and local upward group mobility attitudes would have been a been a better test of theoretical framework.

I am concerned that I am only testing the influence of local group mobility attitudes while controlling for region of residence, not the interaction of the two factors.

Future research on racialized policy attitudes ought to consider how regional effects create other intra-group policy divisions. This line of research will help discover on what issues creation of a national policy agenda may be particularly difficult. Another line of research that can be explored is varying intra-group indicators of status. My results point to a prominent divide between homeowners and non-homeowners within racial groups. Knowing there are regional differences in access to homeownership this may be another instance where a regional interaction is useful. When thinking about the full continuum of geographical segmentation, future studies using a spatialized racial progress views framework ought to conceptualize housing tenure and dwelling type as the bottom layer.

CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to highlight the relationship between spatialized assessments of racial progress attitudes and spatialized strategies for racial progress. Additionally, I wanted to show intra-group differences in racialized social policy preferences. As has been shown, all African Americans do not think the same about the principle of government assistance. All Latinos do not see affordable housing as an important community issue. It is important

to note that the degree of intra-group division varies by social policy and by place. Furthermore, intra-group divisions on racialized social policy are shaped by local socioeconomic conditions. Regression analysis reveals that individuals who are disillusioned with their group's upward mobility, are more likely to support racialized policies. Geography and economic restructuring both interact to cause a divergence in racial progress assessments and strategies, both inter and intra-racially.

6

CONCLUSION

REVIEW OF MAJOR FINDINGS

In this dissertation I examined Black, White, and Latino racial progress views. Based on findings from this study, geographical differences in assessments of racial progress further widens America's policy-principle gap. Variation in racial disparities and economic despair shapes support for racialized policies. Theoretical and empirical evidence presented shows how existing theories are not able to fully explain spatial distinctions in racial progress attitudes. In addition to individual level factors, place is shaping perceptions of local group economic mobility, which is in turn impacting their policy positions.

The employed regression discontinuity design points to a significant sharp decline in perceptions of African American economic mobility between 1978 and 1980. During time period the regional effects of globalization, deindustrialization, and declines in public sector employment were becoming more apparent (Allen and Farley 1986, Bluestone and Harrison 1982, Carring-

ton, McCue, and Pierce 1996). Based on my findings regional factors shape both perceptions of local upward group mobility and support for racialized policies that would help alleviate racial inequality. The largest regional upward group mobility perceptual gap exists between African Americans residing in the Midwest and African Americans residing in the South.

These regional effects are driven by regional differences in access to homeownership, jobs, levels of segregation, and types of racism, all of which contribute to regional political economy and culture. For African Americans and Latinos, access to homeownership and higher education is an important public good. Consequently, education spending and housing costs factor into their moving decisions, in addition to non-economic variables such as social climate. Blacks and Latinos are leaving subtler prejudice, higher levels of residential segregation, and greater constraints on economic opportunity in the Northeast and Midwest, for more overt prejudice, increased employment opportunities, and easier access to homeownership in the South (Pendergrass 2013, p.2).

In addition to regional effects, both city size and population concentration influence racial progress attitudes. African Americans residing in larger cities have a more positive views of local upward group mobility that Blacks living in medium size, smaller cities, or rural communities. City size only slightly impacts white local group mobility attitudes. Population concentration has an effect on local group mobility attitudes. African Americans

living in predominantly Black neighborhoods compared to those who do not are more likely to see "not much at all" improvement in local group economic positions. However, living in a predominantly Black neighborhood in the South has the opposite effect. Overall, based on my findings I concludes there is more geographic variability in African American racial progress attitudes in comparison to Latinos and Whites.

The SPRV Model and Homeownership

Three racialized public policy areas were examined, aid for minorities, aid for the poor, and affordable housing. For all three I found attitudinal divisions along racial and spatial lines. Aid to the poor continues to be a racialized public policy. Whites associate poverty and social welfare programs with African Americans and Latinos (Gilens 1996). Given the racial wealth disparity gap in America, aid to the poor and aid to minorities are closely aligned policy issues. However, based on my results, who individuals think of when they think about the poor may vary by place.

Region is a highly significant predictor of intra-group division on the issue of affordable housing. Blacks, Whites, and Latinos residing in the West are more likely to view affordable housing as an important community issue than their counterparts in other regions. One could argue the issue of affordable housing has become less racialized overtime and more spatialized overtime. The influence of individual homeownership on racial progress atti-

tudes deserves more attention. Owning a home impacts how African Americans assess local group mobility. Owning a home is a very strong significant predictor of racialized policy attitudes. Across all racial groups, homeowners were less likely to see affordable housing as an important community issue. Homeownership is a status symbol. However access to homeownership varies across class, race, and place. Socioeconomic inequality theorist mostly speak about income blurring perceptions of racial progress.The unevenness of homeownership is a source of intra-group division for African American and Latinos. Homeownership, as a clear indicator of individual wealth, blur perceptions of racial progress and complicates the fight for affordable housing.

USING THE SPATIALIZED RACIAL PROGRESS VIEWS MODEL

Creating Coalitions by Place

Due to spatialized racial progress views creating a national Black or Latino political agenda is becoming more difficult. Multi-racial political coalition building is also becoming more difficult. For example, Blacks and Latinos in large Western metropolitan areas may be willing to come together to fight for racial discrimination in housing practices. However, Blacks and Latinos in Southern cities may not see racial discrimination in housing as a major issue. Paying attention to subtle geo-economic complexities is key to not only understanding racial views, but also the practicality of particular political arrangements.

In regards to achieving racial equality, varying conditions require varying strategies. There is intense polarizing debate over whether or not government intervention is the best solution for ensuring racial progress. What a spatialized racial progress theory calls for is a tailored approach. African Americans and Latinos in former industrial cities require a big push in order to recover from the rapid devastation of economic restructuring and decades of disinvestment. However, what African Americans and Latino in a city like Detroit needs is different from what African Americans and Latinos in Houston need.

Though Blacks and Latinos have both experienced marginalization for generations, the effects of marginalization and current racial threats vary. Blacks in one city may want an end to mass incarceration and Latinos in the same city may want an end to mass deportation, similar struggles but still different. As racial inequality grows, I believe feelings of racial resentment and racial threat will also increase in some areas more than in others. Thus, political scholar/activist must carefully consider the regional context in which they operate including particular racial dynamics, political and economic conditions. Declining opportunities for Blacks and Latinos in urban areas will increase economic anxiety, and possibly feelings of racial threat between the two groups, thus further complicating local coalition building efforts.

Discovering Racial Progress Pockets

National political economy trends such as globalization, deindustrialization, neoliberalism, and technological progress had varying and irreversible effects on each region, state, and metropolitan area. In the new formal economy there are some winners, mostly coastal and sun-belt "brain hubs" thriving with a well educated labor force and a strong innovation sector. In select Southern metros political and business elites have somewhat calmed racial tensions by improving economic opportunity across all racial and ethnic groups. I suspect culture (not easily examined in a strictly quantitative study), in conjunction with widespread opportunity is fostering a racial synergy of sorts in parts of the South. Thinking about racial enlightenment theory, urban white Southerners are perhaps becoming more enlightened than their rural and non-Southern counterparts through greater exposure to thriving African American institutions of higher education, minority homeowners, and minority conservative values (Hyman and Sheataley 1956).

Pockets of Racialized Despair

Booming Southern Metros are in contrast with Northeastern and Midwestern losers, old rust-belt cities that were dominated by traditional manufacturing, but are currently characterized by rapid job, population loss, and lower salaries (Moretti 2012). Most older rust-belt cities that experienced an economic boom during the industrial age have failed to generate widespread

revitalization in modern times. Large rust belt cities like Chicago Detroit, and Pittsburgh have focused revitalization efforts on central city big business and appealing to white millennials. Local politicians and urban planners continuing to ignore the rapid decline of local communities of color. Black and Latino neighborhoods in mid-size cities like Youngstown, OH, Flint, MI, and Gary, IN are declining even quicker given a shrinking tax base which exacerbates financial constraints (Moretti 2012).

The economic deprivation in select Midwestern Black communities needs more attention. Often these communities are framed as violent or steeped in crime, but rarely is the criticism placed in context. When the crime in Chicago, IL., Detroit, MI., or Gary, IN., there must be sensitivity to the generational effects of rapid economic decline due to deindustrialization. Many of these communities were on an upward trajectory in the 1960s and early 1970s, and began to fade into decay as job opportunities for young black men went away. Today, there are very few creative big push efforts aimed at creating economic opportunity in forgotten Black and Latino neighborhoods in response to economic restructuring during the 1970s and 1980s.

To improve perceptions of racial progress, creating policies that will significantly impact economic mobility is the best place to start. Some Americans are living in opportunity desserts. For young people graduating from high school today there are few middle class jobs available that do not require a college degree. That was not the case 40 years ago. Big push policies are key,

whether targeted or race neutral. In the 2016 election, it is no coincidence that voters, Midwestern voters in particularly were excited by Bernie Sanders and Trump. They were the candidates with the biggest ideas, free college and a wall. This research shows that people are divided in their racialized policy preferences. However, despite divided opinion, I think there are spatially tailored big push policies that can garner support across racial lines.

RESEARCHING RACIAL ATTITUDES IN THE TRUMP ERA

It is easy for one to look at the results from this research and tell a story about white anger about their declining economic standing. Finding white respondents were the most disillusioned about their upward group mobility was a distraction that I wanted to ignore while conducting this research. In regards their economic standing white disillusionment with their progress is delusional. Economically and politically whites, in particularly white men, continue to have unmatched power in all major American institutions (i.e. the number of white Senators, the number of white Presidents, the number of white judges, the number of white police officers, the number of white CEO's, the number of white mortgage loan officers, etc.) Whites are not falling behind. Whites still have higher homeownership rates, educational attainment rates, household incomes, etc.

This is not a call for scholars to minimize the significance of whiteness as a long standing feature of identity politics. I am calling for scholars

to remain measured and put the current flare up of white rage in its place. There being "not much at all" improvement in Whites economic mobility may be true for a select few places. But there is no county or city in America where whites are worse off than Blacks and Latinos. The marginalization of Black and Brown people is real and the current level of white racial hostility has daily deadly consequences. The election of Trump due to forgotten white voters is a manipulative ploy of laissez-faire racism that evokes empathy while maintaining white supremacy. When discussing racial progress, white economic mobility is not the most pressing issue.

This project stresses the need for more empirical research on intra-group divides, particularly in regards to Blacks and Latinos. There is argument over whether high income Blacks and Latinos base their assessments of racial progress on pocketbook evaluations, or whether they make group related evaluations. I believe depending on the type of community someone lives and local level of intra-racial income inequality, they may make purely pocketbook decisions or be more sensitive to group wide issues. In order to fully examine spatial and intra-racial complexities with large datasets, the geographical structure of survey data must taken into serious consideration. This research could have benefited from a large sample of Whites, Blacks, and Latinos in a select few major cities to allow for better intra-racial comparisons within and across localities.

FINAL THOUGHT: RACIAL PROGRESS = ECONOMIC JUSTICE

The American racial progress narrative has been sanitized over time. There is an increasing tendency to fashion a simple story about slavery, one of the most fraught and consequential developments in human history. Latino American history in the U.S, is often conveniently ignored, including contributions to early economic development. In reality, American investments in "whiteness", particularly as an economic ideology, have not decreased since settler colonialism. Ideological refinement has led to more sophisticated articulations of White elite economic interest in the public sphere. Whiteness continues to exist within the law "as an abstraction". In reality investments in whiteness creates unequal access to citizenship, property, quality education, and employment (Lipsitz 1995, p.370).

Racism is not just a residual consequence of slavery, it is the unyielding and ever evolving mechanism used to protect whiteness. Racism has reformed, refined, and reconfigured itself to maintain white supremacy and structures that reinforce whiteness since the ending of slavery. Historically and currently racism operates both institutionally and at the individual level. Racism is not static or abstract. Racism is real, economically devastating, and rather dangerous, making racial progress an endeavor that warrants urgency.

The impact of racialized policies on the lived experiences of American minorities cannot be overstated and larger questions remain unanswered.

Will targeted policies ever be used to overcome racial disparities? Or will political elites continue to allow racial policies that negatively impact minority communities and foster racial resentment? Bigger ideas are needed and a real honest effort must be made in order to jump start American racial progress. There are real wounds that need to be healed. Widespread sustainable racial progress requires both national and local efforts that specifically and meaningfully address racial issues. In order to form a more perfect union and move forward America has to solve its economic and race problems. Economic justice must be at the center of a racial progress agenda. Continuing to rely on symbolic gestures and outdated policy strategies is not an effective strategy.

The narrative of contemporary American racial progress continues to be one of reform and retrenchment, further complicated by geographic context. There is no singular story of racial progress. This dissertation speaks to the many local stories about race and oppression that remain untold. Racial progress in America has not been fully understood given the lack of attention to spatial differences. If current economic and regional minority migration patterns continue, individual assessments of upward group mobility will become even more differentiated by local context overtime. Furthermore, inter and intra-racial policy preferences will become further divided at every level of geographic segmentation, from region of residency to dwelling type.

A

APPENDIX: CODING AND ADDITIONAL LOCAL DATA

Table 12: Region, Subregion, and State Coding

Midwest		Northeast	
East North Central	Illinois	*Middle Atlantic*	Delaware*
	Indiana		New Jersey
	Michigan		New York
	Ohio		Pennsylvania
	Wisconsin		Washington DC*
West North Central	Iowa	*New England*	Connecticut
	Kansas		Maine
	Minnesota		Massachusetts
	Missouri		New Hampshire
	Nebraska		Rhode Island
	North Dakota		Vermont
	South Dakota		
South		**West**	
East South Central	Alabama	*Mountain*	Arizona
	Kentucky		Colorado
	Mississippi		Idaho
	Tennessee		Montana
South Atlantic	Florida		Nevada
	Georgia		New Mexico
	Maryland		Utah
	North Carolina		Wyoming
	South Carolina	*Pacific*	Alaska
	Virginia		California
	West Virginia		Hawaii
West South Central	Arkansas		Oregon
	Louisiana		Washington
	Oklahoma		
	Texas		

Table 13: Black Homeownership Rates in Select Cities, by Age

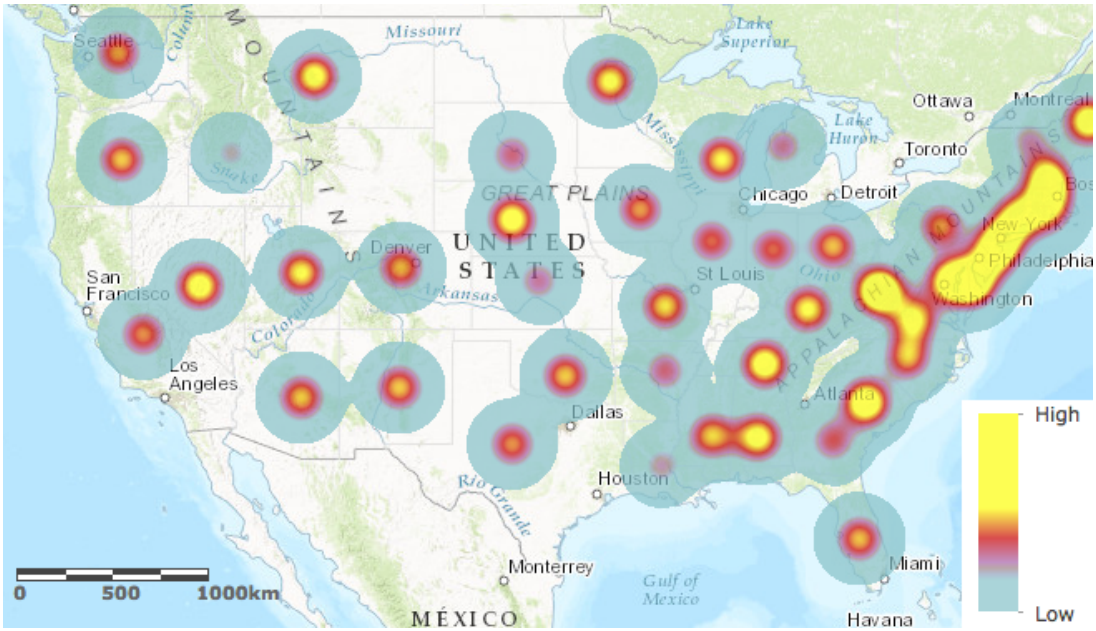
	Total Number of Urban Area Black Homeowners	% Householder Under 45	% Householder 45 to 64	% Householder 65 years and older
Atlanta, GA	297173	40.97%	45.97%	13.05%
Baltimore, MD	129847	30.27%	47.86%	21.87%
Charlotte, NC	58062	41.56%	43.42%	15.01%
Chattanooga, TN	11262	24.75%	49.52%	25.73%
Chicago, IL	246251	25.74%	46.55%	27.71%
Durham, NC	18256	32.64%	47.35%	20.01%
Houston, TX	152981	32.88%	47.96%	19.16%
Jackson, MS	30420	34.67%	46.87%	18.46%
Los Angeles–Long Beach–Anaheim	121057	19.48%	47.61%	32.90%
New Orleans, LA	61421	26.64%	49.59%	23.77%
New York–Newark,	366713	26.21%	49.09%	24.70%
Philadelphia	222385	28.98%	46.21%	24.81%
Richmond, VA	54301	28.25%	50.08%	21.67%

Source: U.S Census, American Community Survey 2015

B

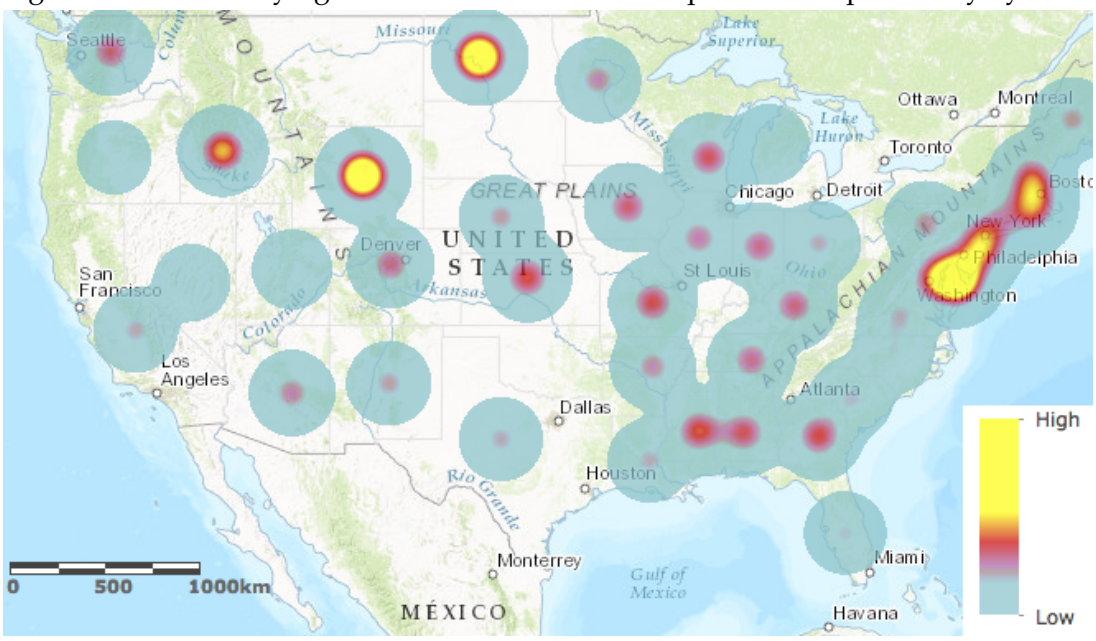
APPENDIX: REGRESSION CONTROLS AND SAMPLE DESCRIPTIVES

Figure 15: Whites Saying "Not Much At All" Local Upward Group Mobility by State



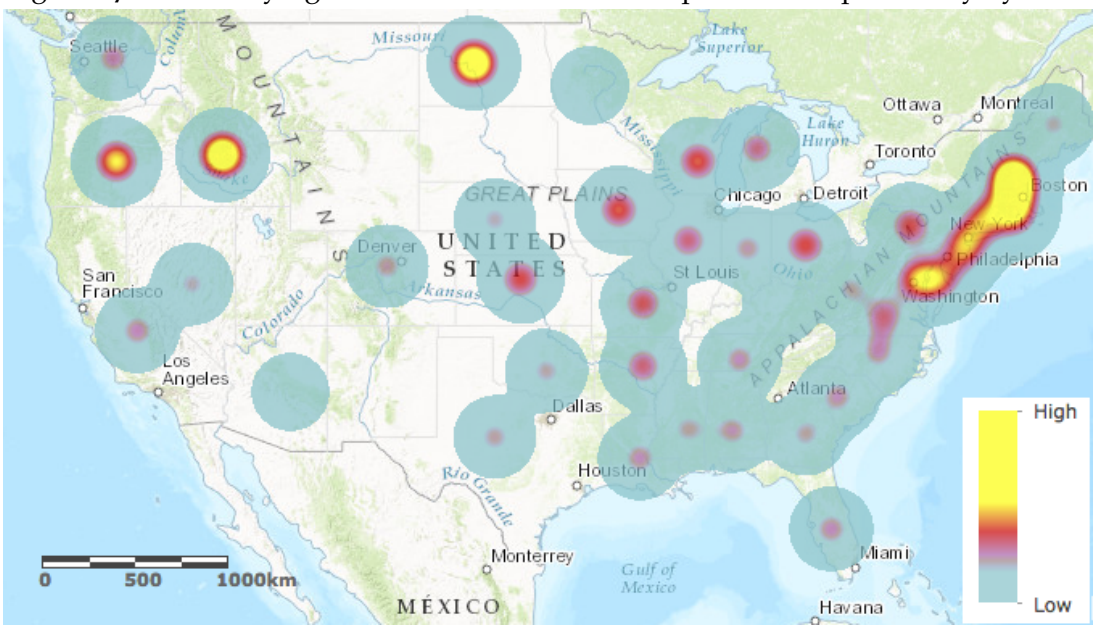
Source:CMPS 2016

Figure 16: Latinos Saying "Not Much At All" Local Upward Group Mobility by State



Source:CMPS 2016

Figure 17: Blacks Saying "Not Much At All" Local Upward Group Mobility by State



Source:CMPS 2016

Table 14: Chapter 3 ANES Model, Logistic Regression Controls Only

DV: Improvement in Black's Position (A Lot)	(A) Black	(B) Latino	(C) White	(D) All
Socioeconomic Status				
Low income	-0.005	-0.068**	-0.013*	-0.014**
	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.007)	(0.007)
High income	0.050	0.123**	0.077***	0.076***
	(0.037)	(0.054)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Eigth grade or less	0.027	-0.015	-0.057***	-0.041***
	(0.021)	(0.034)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Some college	0.010	-0.058*	-0.019**	-0.018**
	(0.023)	(0.033)	(0.009)	(0.008)
BA or more	-0.077**	-0.063	-0.065***	-0.063***
	(0.036)	(0.043)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Party ID				
Democrat	0.081***	-0.026	0.008	0.013
	(0.026)	(0.033)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Republican	0.101***	0.061	0.035***	0.042***
	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Demographics				
Age	0.001	0.002*	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Gender	-0.038**	-0.066***	-0.014**	-0.019***
	(0.016)	(0.024)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Black				-0.102***
				(0.011)
Latino				-0.067***
				(0.016)
Observations	2,871	1,182	21,289	25,342
Standard errors in parentheses				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10				

Source: 2012 ANES Time-Series Study

Table 15: Chapter 3 CMPS Logistic Regression Model, Controls Only

DV: "Not Much" Upward Group Mobility	(A) Black	(B) Latino	(C) White	(D) All
Education	0.035**	0.011	0.042*	0.026***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.009)
Income	-0.033**	-0.001	-0.017	-0.017*
	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.009)
Homeowner	-0.044	0.006	0.048	-0.006
	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.053)	(0.021)
Linked Fate	-0.001	-0.092***	0.047	-0.031
	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.019)
Liberal	-0.044*	-0.009	-0.126**	-0.036*
	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.052)	(0.020)
Conservative	-0.030	-0.029	-0.033	-0.014
	(0.035)	(0.044)	(0.051)	(0.024)
Discrimination Against Blacks	-0.073***	-0.026	-0.012	-0.038***
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.010)
Millennial	-0.024	0.017	-0.039	-0.011
	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.052)	(0.020)
Female	0.011	-0.034	-0.018	-0.014
	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.044)	(0.018)
Black				-0.114***
				(0.024)
Latino				-0.149***
				(0.026)
Observations	2,400	2,269	774	5,443
Standard errors in parentheses				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10				

Source: 2016 CMPS

Table 16: Chapter 4 CMPS Model, Logistic Regression Controls Only

DV: "Not Much" Local Upward Group Mobility	Black	Latino	White	All
Education	0.036**	0.002	0.048**	0.024**
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.009)
Income	-0.022	0.009	-0.016	-0.009
	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.010)
Homeowner	-0.052*	-0.004	0.035	-0.011
	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.053)	(0.021)
Linked Fate	0.002	-0.091***	0.041	-0.031
	(0.028)	(0.032)	(0.045)	(0.019)
Liberal	-0.045*	-0.014	-0.131**	-0.035*
	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.054)	(0.020)
Conservative	-0.040	-0.037	-0.045	-0.018
	(0.035)	(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.025)
Discrimination Against Blacks	-0.072***	-0.028*	-0.015	-0.039***
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.023)	(0.010)
Millennial	-0.023	0.007	-0.044	-0.015
	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.052)	(0.020)
Female	0.010	-0.025	-0.017	-0.012
	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.044)	(0.018)
Black				-0.122***
				(0.026)
Latino				-0.146***
				(0.027)
Observations	2,378	2,242	766	5,386
Standard errors in parentheses				
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10				

Source: 2016 CMPS

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