

【연구논문】

Intervention of the Third Party Racial Group in American Politics: Is a Friend of Friend a Friend? Is a Friend of Enemy an Enemy?

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1. Introduction

Rapid increasing of the Latino population in the United States considerably affects American politics from the end of 20th century. Before the dramatic change in the U.S. demography, the main interest of politicians and researchers is a relationship between black and white. However, after the big wave of Latino immigration, we have one more racial group which has to be considered in American politics. With the studies addressing the relationship between majority and minority, the inter-minority relation has been an important topic in American politics. The prior studies answer the questions: How the relation between Latino and black is formed? Which factors have influence on the Latino's and black's attitude toward each other? and

Is there any difference between Latino's and black's participation and voting behavior? In McClain et al's work(1990), three hypotheses suggesting several relations, which are cooperation, independent and conflict, are suggested.¹⁾ On this theoretical expectation, a large amount of literature seeks out more empirical evidences and tries to provide a better understanding about racial politics. A dominant perspective for the inter-minority relation is the conflict argument (Meier and Stewart; Gay 2006).²⁾ A theoretical prediction of conflict argument is based on the zero-sum setting, relative social distance with white and so on. However, when we focus more on the electoral coalition, we can find a cooperation between Latino and black with the name of 'Rainbow Coalition' (Munoz and Henry; Rocha 2007).³⁾ In this approach, they argue that the shared discrimination and economic disadvantage make them together in the ballot box. Regardless of the cooperative and competing relationship among racial groups, the prior studies tend to study the relation on the dyadic foundation, which means that there is a little attention to the third party racial group for addressing a specified relationship between two racial groups. In present work, I shed more light on the third party racial group's

1) Paula D. McClain and Albert K. Karnig, "Black and Hispanic Socioeconomic and Political Competition," *American Political Science Review* 84.2 (1990): 535-45.

2) Kenneth J. Meier and Joseph Stewart, "Cooperation and Conflict in Multiracial School Districts," *Journal of Politics* 53.4 (1991): 1123-33; Claudine Gay, "The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos," *American Journal of Political Science* 50.4 (2006): 982-97.

3) Carlos Munoz and Charles P. Henry, "Coalition Politics in San Antonio and Denver," *Racial Politics in American Cities*. Ed. Rufus P. Browning et al. (New York: Longman, 1990); Rene R. Rocha, "Black-Brown Coalition in Local School Board Elections," *Political Research Quarterly* 60.2 (2007): 315-27.

influence on racial attitude toward each other.

Is there some influence of an individual's attitude toward a black on other two racial groups' attitude toward each other? How the attitudes toward black operate the white's attitude toward Latino and the Latino's attitude toward white? As a conventional wisdom, there exists that 'a friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy.' On this wisdom, I hypothesize that the white having a positive attitude toward black, is more likely to have positive attitude toward Latino and the Latino having a negative attitude toward black, is more likely to have positive attitude toward white. The perception toward the third party racial group has an impact on the attitude to other racial group, and the magnitude and direction of attitude formed by the third party racial group could make a variation in the attitude formed by another racial group. For testing this hypothesis, I employ the American Mosaic Project Survey data which was conducted on the national level. There are about 2,000 respondents and racial minority respondents are over-surveyed in compare to the percent of population. I run the ordered-logistic regression model with several control variables. From my empirical test results, I found that in white case, we can apply the conventional wisdom that a friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy, but in Latino case, we cannot apply the conventional wisdom that an enemy of enemy is a friend.

2. Literature Review

At the end of 20th century, the Latino population was dramatically increased in the United States, and in these days the Latino population has the second largest proportion of the American total population. While the prior studies focus mainly on the relation between black and white,⁴⁾ the emergence of large Latino population makes literatures concentrating more on the Latino population and relation between Latino and other racial group. As the Latino population increases, the more literatures concentrate on the inter-minority relation. However, all about the prior studies exploring racial politics are grounded on dyadic setting, such as Latino and white, and Latino and black. When a relatively new racial group turns out in American politics, theoretical and empirical ground should be re-designed by triadic setting, rather than by dyadic setting.

In terms of dyadic setting, lots of works address the inter-minority relation. Some studies emphasize the cooperation between the two minority groups, and others accentuate the competition between them. A zero-sum setting, such as in job market and election, tends to compete with each other, rather than to cooperate.⁵⁾ This competition

4) Before the dramatic increasing of Latino population, the main interest of racial politics has been the blacks' identity, difference in political behavior between black and white, and political consequence determined by relationship between black and white. See the following works about black's identity and the cause and effect of relationship between black and white. Michael C. Dawson, *Behind the Mule*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994); David T. Canon, *Race, Redistricting, and Representation*, (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1999); Susan Welch et al, *Race and Place: Race Relations in an American City*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001).

5) Paula D. McClain and Albert K. Karnig, *Ibid.*; Kenneth J. Meier, Paula D. McClain, J. L. Polinard and Robert D. Wrinkle, "Divided or Together? Conflict

argument is pretty simple that the limited resource such as job and welfare opportunity, and public support makes the black and Latino to contest with each other for obtaining the more resources. However, several studies suggest that shared identity as a member of minority group, discrimination by the whites, and economic disadvantage are likely to provide more opportunities to cooperate with each other.⁶⁾ Rather than static relationship between the minority groups, some studies address the variation in inter-minority relation conditioned by socio-economic status on individual level, relative size of minority population, and the Latino's common identity.⁷⁾ These studies focusing on electoral coalition and racial attitude assert that the inter-minority relation can become cooperative and competitive, depending lots of individual and aggregated level factors.

While a large volume of literature studies the relation between black and white, relatively handful studies explore the relation between Latino and white. Meier and Stewart show that whites are more likely to form the electoral coalition with Latino rather than black in the school district election.⁸⁾ According to the rainbow

and Cooperation between African Americans and Latinos," *Political Research Quarterly* 57.3 (2004): 399-409.

- 6) Paula D. McClain and Albert K. Kamig, *Ibid.*
- 7) Claudine Gay, "The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos," *American Journal of Political Science* 50.4 (2006): 982-97; Karen M. Kaufmann, "Cracks in the Rainbow: Group Commonality as a Basis for Latino and African-American Political Coalitions," *Political Research Quarterly* 56.2 (2003): 199-210; Paula D. McClain and Steven C. Tauber, "Black and Latino Socioeconomic and Political Competition: Has a Decade Made a Difference?" *American Politics Quarterly* 26.2 (1998): 237-43; Kenneth J. Meier et al, *Ibid.*
- 8) Kenneth J. Meier and Joseph Stewart, "Cooperation and Conflict in Multiracial School Districts," *Journal of Politics* 53.4 (1991): 1123-33.

coalition argument, the shared experience of exclusion from the policy process enhances the inter-minority cooperation in the ballot box. However, they suggest the 'relative social distance' among racial groups. According to them, even though the ideological distance between minority groups is smaller than the distance between white and Latino, the socio-economic status distance between white and Latino is much smaller than the distance between the two minority groups. In this sense, they argue that the whites are more likely to make electoral coalition with Latino than with black. While a number of studies address the relation between black and white on the 'threat and contact hypothesis', it is very hard to find the studies exploring the relation between Latino and white on the typical 'threat and contact hypothesis.' One of the important questions on the study of relation between Latino and white is whether we can apply the same theoretical prediction about relation between black and white into the relation between Latino and white. While the blacks share the same historical discrimination, it is very hard to conclude that the Latino has the identical experience of discrimination with each other. While blacks' common identity is very obvious, Latinos' identity can be varied by an individual's origination. According to McClain and Tauber's work, the competition between black and Latino is being replaced by competition between white and Latino.⁹⁾ As Latino population increases, the white has a negative attitude toward Latino in election. While the difference between Latino and black makes us hesitate to apply the

9) Paula D. McClain and Steven C. Tauber, "Black and Latino Socioeconomic and Political Competition: Has a Decade Made a Difference?" *American Politics Quarterly* 26.2 (1998): 237-43.

theoretical prediction developed by black and white relation into the Latino and white relation, the competition between white and Latino is increased as the Latino population gets larger.

So far, I went over the prior studies addressing the relation between Latino and black. The three basic relations are proposed, which are cooperative, independent and competing one. The prior studies show that relative group size and socio-economic status determines the variation in the individual level's racial attitude. On the prior studies, we have to think about the racial dynamic produced by the foundation which is comprised of three racial groups. There are three major racial groups in American politics and prior studies have tried to address the relation among them. It is noteworthy that the prior studies are mainly based on the dyadic approach. While there are three main racial groups, the prior studies ignore the influence of the third party racial group's intervention on dyadic setting. In the present work, I focus more on the racial dynamic generated by the third party racial group.

The prior studies tend to overlook the influence of the third party racial group in addressing the dyadic relation. It is clear that on the dyadic relation the main two racial groups' attitude toward each other is most important and the attitude is re-produced by the dyadic relation. However, we have to consider the third party racial group's influence on triadic foundation which is comprised of Latino, black, and white. Depending on the attitude the third party racial group, the attitude toward another racial group can be varied. In this sense, I shed more light on the influence of attitude toward black on the relation between Latino and white on individual level. In this work, I

focus more on the Latino's and white's perception toward black for addressing the relation between Latino and white, because of that relatively few works are attentive to the relation between Latino and white in comparing to the relation between minority groups and relation between black and white.

3. Theory

'A friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy' is a kind of conventional wisdom. In this conventional wisdom, there are three actors and the perception toward target is determined by the relation between target and the third party. I apply this conventional wisdom to the present study. I attempt to show how the Latino perception toward white and the white perception toward Latino are affected by one's perception toward black. Prior studies already have shown the individual level variation in racial attitude with lots of factors, but they tend to give a little attention to the third party's intervention in forming a racial attitude.

For addressing the white's perception toward Latino with white's perception toward black, an assumption is necessary; the white considers that Latino and black are friendly. This assumption is not very strong, because a number of existing studies show that the considerable ideological distance between white and Latino, rather than the distance between Latino and black. Griffin et al suggest that the white is more conservative than black, and the Latino is located in between white and black.¹⁰⁾ Also, beyond the ideological gap

between Latino and white, the historical foundation of American politics bears out this assumption. White's dominance in politics have been persisted for long time in American history, and white's preponderance is providing a number of opportunities to cooperate for Latino and black, especially in electoral campaign and welfare policy process. Even though lots of prior studies show the competitive relation between racial minority groups, the white as a majority in the United States can consider that they are friendly with each other. In this sense, the white is likely to recognize Latino as a friend of black.

On the assumption of Latino as a friend of black, the white's perception toward black likely affects to the white's perception toward Latino. There are lots of factors having a significant effect on the white's perception toward Latino on the dyadic approach. A white's socio-economic status, ideology, party identity, residential place can directly affect the white's perception toward Latino. However, we can observe the variation of white's attitude toward Latino under controlling to those factors. I argue that the variation of individual white's perception toward Latino under controlling to those variables can be explained by the mediation of perception toward black as the third party racial group. A white having a positive perception toward black is more likely to have a positive perception toward Latino. In this case, we can apply the wisdom that a friend of friend is a friend. The Latino as a friend of black can be considered as a friend by the whites having a positive perception toward black. In this sense, I hypothesize that

10) John D. Griffin and Brian Newman, *Minority Report: Evaluating Political Equality in America*, (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2008).

H1: A white having a positive perception toward black is more likely to have a positive perception toward Latino.

On the assumption of Latino as a friend of black, we can think another case that there exists a white having a negative perception toward black. Aforementioned, one of the typical arguments addressing relation between black and white is ‘threat hypothesis,’ which is that as the black population gets larger in a certain area, the white’s perception toward black gets worse.¹¹⁾ This argument is basically based on the racial competition in an environment bearing limited resources. When the job positions are limited and benefit of policy is also restrained, the increasing of competitors brings about the negative attitude toward the competitors. Also, The white’s negative perception toward racial minority can be determined by individual level factors, such as education and income level, ideology, party identity and so on. However, there exists the variation of the negative perception under controlling to the individual level factors. I also argue that this negative perception can be affected by the perception toward the third party racial group. A white having a negative perception toward black is likely to have a negative perception toward Latino. In this case, we can apply the wisdom that a friend of enemy is an enemy. A white who consider the black as a friend of Latino is more likely to consider the Latino as another competitor, because I assume that

11) See the following studies for more information about this argument. J. Eric Oliver and Janelle Wong, “Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings,” *American Journal of Political Science* 47.4(2003): 567-82; Robert M. Stein, Stephanie S. Post, and Allison L. Rinden, “Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes,” *Political Research Quarterly* 53.2(2000): 285-303.

black and Latino are friendly. In this sense, I hypothesize that

H2: A white having a negative perception toward black is more likely to have a negative perception toward Latino.

So far, I have hypothesized the white's perception toward Latino with white's perception toward black. It is noteworthy that the prior hypotheses are based on the assumption that the white recognizes the Latino as a friend of black. On his assumption, the white's perception toward Latino is fortified by the white's perception toward black. However, the same logic cannot be applied to the Latino's perception toward white with Latino's perception toward black, because Latino is a minority racial group in the United States on the contrary to the white. While the white consider the Latino as a friend of black, I assume that Latino consider black as an enemy of white. In this different assumption, we can find a differed racial dynamic for Latino's perception toward white with Latino's perception toward black. On the assumption white as an enemy of black, the Latino's perception toward black affects the Latino's perception toward white. The studies grounded on dyadic approach suggest lots of factors having a significant effect on the Latino's perception toward white. The typical dyadic approach addressing the relation between black and white is Dawson's work.¹²⁾ In this piece, Dawson shows the monolithic distinctiveness of black community in regard to socio-economic status. According to him, blacks are not highly varied in policy preference

12) Michael Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994).

and ideology under controlling to socio-economic status. For the white's theory, the socio-economic status plays a very important role to predict the policy preference and participation, and we can find frequently this approach form Columbia school's work (Verba, Scholzman and Brady).¹³⁾ However, Dawson shows that the racial heuristic produced by linked fate in racial community has a greater impact on black's policy preference and ideology rather than socio-economic status. One of the important drawbacks of Dawson's argument is that there is no variation among individual black's preference. In Latino's case, we can find the variation in Latino's perception toward white with intervention of the perception toward black. Basically, racial identity and socio-economic status can affect the Latino's perception toward white, but I argue that the variation of Latino's perception toward white can be explained by the intervention of Latino's perception toward black.

A Latino having a positive perception toward black can be less friendly toward white, because the Latino considers the white as an enemy of black. In this case we can apply the wisdom that an enemy of friend is an enemy. This mediation of Latino's perception toward black can be related to the logic of rainbow coalition. The shared discriminative experience and economic disadvantage among black and Latino make them getting together. Behind the rainbow coalition, there exists the underlying assumption that Latino and black share the same perception toward white which is negative one. In this sense, I hypothesize that

13) Sidney Verba, Kay L. Scholzman and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995).

H3: A Latino having a positive perception toward black is more likely to have a negative perception toward white.

On the assumption of white as an enemy of black, we can think about another case. A Latino having a negative perception toward black can be friendly toward white, because the Latino recognizes a white as an enemy of black. In this case, we can apply the wisdom that an enemy of enemy is a friend. The intervention of Latino's perception toward black positively affects the Latino's perception toward white. Each individual Latino can have varied attitude toward black and toward white depending on socio-economic status, party identity and so on. However, I argue that the intervention of the perception toward the third party racial group influences the one's perception toward the other racial group. Latino may have a negative perception toward black on the zero-sum setting, and this negative perception tends to fortify the positive perception toward white, because the white is an enemy of Latino's competitor. In this sense I hypothesize that

H4: A Latino having a negative perception toward black is more likely to have a positive perception toward white.

So far, I hypothesize the white's and Latino's racial perception toward each other with one's perception toward black. The prior studies tend to address the racial attitude on the dyadic approach. However, I include the mediation effect of the perception toward the third party racial group on the hypotheses. On the foundation

comprised of three actors, we have to consider the intervention of the third party because this intervention can provide a better understanding about racial dynamics in America politics. In the section, I suggest two assumptions that white considers black as a friend of Latino, but Latino considers black as an enemy of white. From this assumption, I hypothesize that the white having a positive (negative) perception toward black is likely to have a positive (negative) perception toward Latino, while the Latino having a positive (negative) perception toward black is more likely to have a negative (positive) perception toward white.

A mediation effect of third factor's intervention is not very rare in social science studies, and considering the third party's mediation effect should be required especially in exploring the racial politics in which three racial groups exists. In this part, I concentrate on the Latino's and white's perception rather than black's one, because a number studies gives a great attention to the white's and black's racial attitude on dyadic setting. Main goal of this work is to demonstrate whether the mediation effect of white's and Latino's perception toward black is working in forming of white's and Latino's attitude toward each other, or not.

4. Research Design

For testing my hypotheses, I employ the American Mosaic Project Survey data. This project aims at improving the understanding about the diversity in the United States. The questionnaires in this survey

focus on the racial and religious diversity, and its influence on the life and experience. The survey data is collected by in-depth interview via telephone in 2003 on the national level. 2,081 respondents participated in the survey, and over the 2081, 494 respondents (24%) are black, 399 respondents (19%) are Latino, and 1,184(57%) respondents are white.

The dependent variable in this work is the white's perception toward Latino and the Latino's perception toward white. The dependent variables are measured by the survey questionnaire about vision agreement for American society with other racial group. For instance, the white respondents are asked the question that 'How much do members of Latino group agree with your vision of American society?' and the Latino respondents are asked the question that 'How much do members of white group agree with your vision of American society?' The respondents on this questionnaire can answer with 4 scale answers which cover from 'not at all' to 'completely agree.' Over the answer of respondents, the answer 'completely agree' is coded by 4, and the answer 'not at all' is coded by 1. The higher value in this variable indicates the more agreement of vision of American society with the other racial group.

The key independent variables in this work are the white's and Latino's perception toward black. Over the concept of perception toward black, I employ three independent variables. The first key independent variable relies on the questionnaire that 'How much do members of black group agree with your vision of American society?' This questionnaire is asked for both of Latino and white. The respondents can answer with 4 answers which are same with the

dependent variable. The higher score in this variable denotes the more agreement of vision of American society with black. Another two independent variables are related to white's and Latino's threat perception toward black. The perceived black threat can be recognized separately in job, welfare, and crime area. Those two independent variables depend on the two questionnaires in this survey; 'Do African Americans pose a greater threat to public order and safety than other groups, a lesser threat or about the same as other group?' and 'Would you agree with the following statements? African Americans take away resources that should go to others, like job and welfare.' Those questions are answered on the 3 and 4 scale answers, in which the higher score indicates the larger threat perception toward black. When I check the correlation among the three key independent variables, I found that the vision agreement and threat perception are highly correlated with each other. Thus, I put separately those variables in each model.

With the key independent variables, several control variables are included in models. The prior studies show that socio-economic status, ideology, party identity, residential region and other demographic attributes have influence on the racial attitude. In this sense, I include the several control variables which are party identity, ideology for ethno-centric and social issue, income and education level, age, gender and residential area. Party identity variable is coded by Republican, Democrat and Independent on binary base, and Ideology for ethno-centric and social issue variable is coded by the respondent's answer for questionnaire about each issue with 5 scales from very conservative to very liberal. Income variable is coded by respondent's yearly total

family income with 8 scales from less than \$10,000 to more than \$100,000, and Education variable is coded by respondent's highest education level with 6 scales from high school or less to post-graduate. Finally, Residential variable is coded by categorical ground with East, West, South and North East.

I run the ordered-logistic regression model with two separated samples which are white sample and Latino sample. The dependent variable is coded on the 4 scale ordered basis, so I choose the ordered-logistic regression model. I classify the sample into white sample and Latino sample. In the white samples there are 1,082 observations and in the Latino sample, there are 399 observations.

5. Empirical Test Result

I run six statistical models; Model 1, 2, and 3 are for the white observations and Model 4, 5, and 6 are for the Latino observations. In general the test results are mixed. While the test results are supportive to hypothesis 1 and 2, they are not supportive to hypothesis 3 and 4. In hypothesis 1 and 2, I assume that the white considers that black and Latino are friendly, and I hypothesize that the white having a positive(negative) perception toward black is more likely to have a positive(negative) perception toward Latino. I apply the conventional wisdom that a friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy. In hypothesis 3 and 4, I assume that the Latino considers that white and black are unfriendly and I hypothesize that the Latino having a positive (negative) perception toward black

is more likely to have a negative (positive) perception toward white. I apply the conventional wisdom that an enemy of friend is an enemy and an enemy of enemy is a friend. For testing intervention of respondent's perception of black as the third party racial group, I employ white's and Latino's threat perception toward black and vision agreement with black.

Table 1. Ordered Logistic Regression Test Results

	<i>White's Vision Agreement with Latino</i>			<i>Latino's Vision Agreement with White</i>		
	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>	<i>Model 6</i>
Threat Perception (Crime)	-.190 (.136)	-.178 (.133)		-.326* (.180)	-.304* (.176)	
Threat Perception (Job & Welfare)	-.450*** (.083)	-.440*** (.081)		.040 (.127)	.010 (.126)	
Agreement with Black			2.046*** (.103)			.771*** (.129)
Republican	.275* (.159)	.279* (.150)	.213 (.159)	1.047*** (.294)	.917*** (.283)	.730** (.287)
Democrat	.285* (.155)	.281* (.154)	.161 (.164)	.000 (.244)	.009 (.240)	-.162 (.251)
Education	.082* (.042)	.085** (.042)	.182*** (.042)	-.012 (.069)	-.023 (.069)	-.038 (.062)
Income	-.000 (.002)	-.000 (.002)	-.001 (.002)	.000 (.004)	.001 (.006)	-.000 (.004)
Age	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)	.000 (.000)
Female	.123 (.118)	.142 (.117)	-.224* (.127)	-.111 (.197)	-.145 (.194)	-.203 (.200)
Ideology (Ethno Centric)	-.083 (.095)			.168 (.158)		

Ideology	.076			.117		
(Social Issue)	(.083)			(.130)		
Northeast	.072			.646		
	(.187)			(.427)		
West	-.096			.240		
	(.171)			(.376)		
South	.150			.341		
	(.157)			(.378)		
N	1,061	1,061	1,051	384	384	370
LL	-1207.261	-1209.214	-970.044	-448.316	-450.973	-415.951
χ^2	73.73***	69.82***	519.06***	26.67**	21.36***	53.50***

Standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 1 shows the ordered logistic regression test results. From Model 1 to Model 3, the white’s vision agreement with Latino is regressed on black threat perception and vision agreement with black, and from Model 4 to Model 6 the Latino’s vision agreement with white is regressed on black threat perception and vision agreement with black. In Model 1 and 4, I include two black threat perception variables generated in crime area and job/welfare area and all control variables. The test results, in Model 1 and 4, present that ideology and residential area do not have impact on the white’s and Latino’s vision agreement, so in Model 2, 3, 5 and 6, I exclude those variables having no impact on it.¹⁴⁾

14) Inclusion of control variables does not make a big difference in test result of Model 2, 3, 5 and 6. With no impact of control variables in Model 1 and 4, there is another rationale to exclude the variables in the models. Lots of studies have shown the determinant of individual’s attitude toward black, which are ideology, socio-economic status and residential area. Thus, in Model 1 and 4, multicollinearity between key independent variables and some of control variables is highly suspected. In this sense, I check the test results without

In terms of white observations, the white's vision agreement with Latino is influenced by the black threat perception in job/welfare area. We can see that in Model 2, the coefficient on black threat perception in job/welfare area demonstrates statistically significant negative one on the conventional level, which means that a white choosing higher score in black threat perception is more likely to choose lower score in vision agreement with Latino. This test result is consistent with the hypothesis 1. In Model 3, we can see that the coefficient on vision agreement of black presents a statistically significant positive one on the conventional level, which means that a white choosing higher score in vision agreement with black is more likely to choose the higher score in vision agreement with Latino. This test result is also supportive to hypothesis 2. The black threat perception and vision agreement with black variable represent the intervention of the third party racial group for white's vision agreement with Latino. On the assumption of white's recognition that black and Latino are friendly, the hypotheses are supported by the empirical test results. In white's case, we can apply the conventional wisdom that a friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy.

In case of Latino, the test results are not supportive the hypotheses. On the assumption of Latino's recognition that black and white are not friendly, I apply the conventional wisdom that an enemy of enemy is a friend and an enemy of friend is an enemy. Thus, I hypothesize that Latino having a positive (negative) perception toward black is more likely to have a negative (positive) perception toward

control variables in Model 2, 3, 5 and 6.

white. However, the test results are not very supportive to those hypotheses. In model 5, we cannot see the statistically significant coefficient on black threat perception on the conventional level. I expect that the Latino having a negative perception toward black is more likely to have a positive perception toward white, but the coefficient on black threat perception is negative. In Model 6, the test result is not consistent with my expectation. I hypothesize that the Latino having a positive perception toward black, is less likely to have a positive perception toward white. From the table, we can see the statistically significant positive coefficient of Latino's vision agreement with black on the conventional level, which means that the Latino having a positive perception toward black is more likely to have a positive perception toward white. This test result is not consistent with my expectation.

When we compare the white's vision agreement with Latino and Latino's vision agreement with white, we can find the two interesting findings from Table 1. First one is that while the education level is a significant and positive impact on the white's vision agreement with Latino, there is no influence of education level on Latino's vision agreement with white. This finding is in line with Dawson's work which is that while the white's opinion on the policy and racial attitude depends on the socio-economic status, the black's one does not depend on it. The education level is the best proxy indicating the respondents' socio-economic status rather than the income level. This finding presents that the for the white case, the higher educated white has more positive perception toward Latino, but for the Latino case, there is no difference in perception toward white between highly

educated Latino and not highly educated Latino.

Second one is the distinctive effect of Republican party identity for Latinos. The Republican party identity has a significantly positive impact on the Latino's vision agreement with white on the conventional level, which means that Latino having the Republican party identity is more likely to have a positive perception toward white than independent Latino. However, in Latino's case, the Democratic party identity has no impact on the vision agreement with white. In white case, both of the Republican and the Democratic party identity have no impact on the vision agreement with Latino.

Table 1 displays the ordered-logistic regression test results, thus it is very hard to make sure the substantive effect of black threat perception and vision agreement with black on the white's and Latino's vision agreement. The following tables show the substantive effect of black threat perception and vision agreement with black on the white's and Latino's vision agreement. Table 2 reports the white's expected probability of choosing score for the vision agreement with Latino, based on the black threat perception. As we can see from the table, the white in higher score of black threat perception is less likely to choose the 'completely agree' on the question of vision agreement with Latino.

If a white chooses the highest score in the black threat perception, the probability that the white chooses the 'completely agree' on the question of vision agreement with Latino is only 5.4%. However, if a white choose the lowest score in the black threat perception, the probability that the white chooses completely agree on the question of vision agreement with Latino is 17.7%. According to the black threat perception, we can know that the probability that the white

Table 2. White's Expected Probability of Selecting Vision Agreement with Latino, according to Black Threat Perception of Respondent

Vision Agreement With Latino	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Not at all
Blacks take away welfare resources				
Strongly Disagree	17.7%	62.2%	15.7%	4.4%
Somewhat Disagree	12.1%	59.8%	21.5%	6.6%
Somewhat Agree	8.1%	54.1%	27.8%	9.9%
Strongly Agree	5.4%	46.1%	33.9%	14.6%

Note: To simulate difference of expected probability of selecting white's vision agreement with Latino, the baseline was set gender as a female, party identity as a independent, ideology as a moderate and mean value for age, education level and income. When the simulation was conducted, the quality of interest was differentiated with holding other qualities.

Source: American Mosaic Project, 2003

chooses completely agree on the vision agreement question is varied very much. As the opposite case, if a white chooses the higher score in the black threat perception, the probability that the white chooses 'not at all' on the question of vision agreement with Latino is 14.6%, while if a white chooses the lowest score in the black threat perception the probability of that is only 4.4%. When the white's answer for the black threat perception moves from the lowest score to the highest score, the probability that the white chooses 'not at all' on the question of vision agreement with Latino increases by more than three times.

Table 3 presents the expected probability of white's vision agreement with Latino in accordance with the white's vision agreement with black. In general, we can see that the white's higher vision agreement with black is associated with the higher vision agreement with Latino in consistent with the hypothesis. If a white chooses 'completely

Table 3. White's Expected Probability of Selecting Vision Agreement with Latino, according to Vision Agreement with Black of Respondent

Vision Agreement With Latino	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Not at all
Vision Agreement with Black				
Not at all	0.2%	2.4%	49.3%	48.0%
Somewhat Agree	1.8%	15.5%	72.0%	10.7%
Mostly Agree	12.4%	49.5%	36.6%	1.5%
Completely Agree	52.2%	40.4%	7.2%	0.2%

Note: To simulate difference of expected probability of selecting white's vision agreement with Latino, the baseline was set gender as a female, party identity as a independent, ideology as a moderate and mean value for age, education level and income. When the simulation was conducted, the quality of interest was differentiated with holding other qualities.

Source: American Mosaic Project, 2003

agree' on the question of vision agreement with black, the probability that the white chooses same answer on the question of it with Latino would be 52%, while if a white chooses 'not at all' on the question of vision agreement with black, the probability that the white choose 'completely agree' on the question of it with Latino is very close to 0%. From the table 3, we can know that the association between white's vision agreement with black and white's vision agreement with Latino is clearer than the association between white's black threat perception and white's vision agreement with Latino.

On the assumption that the white recognizes that Latino and black are friendly, I apply the conventional wisdom that a friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy. In consistent with the ordered-logistic regression, the substantive effect of Table 2 and Table 3 confirm again the hypothesis 1 and 2. We can conclude that a white having a positive (negative) perception toward black is more

Table 4. Latino’s Expected Probability of Selecting Vision Agreement with White, according to Vision Agreement with Black of Respondent

Vision Agreement With White	Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Not at all
Vision Agreement with Black				
Not at all	4.9%	16.6%	64.8%	13.8%
Somewhat Agree	10.0%	27.1%	56.0%	6.9%
Mostly Agree	19.3%	36.7%	40.7%	3.3%
Completely Agree	34.1%	39.2%	25.1%	1.6%

Note: To simulate difference of expected probability of selecting Latino’s vision agreement with white, the baseline was set gender as a female, party identity as a independent, ideology as a moderate and mean value for age, education level and income. When the simulation was conducted, the quality of interest was differentiated with holding other qualities.

Source: American Mosaic Project, 2003

likely to have a positive (negative) perception toward Latino.

Table 4 presents the Latino’s expected probability of vision agreement with white in accordance with the vision agreement with black. As we can see from the table, the Latino’s higher vision agreement with black is associated with the Latino’s higher vision agreement with white, which means that a Latino having a positive perception toward black is more likely to have a positive perception toward white. If a Latino chooses ‘completely agree’ on the question of vision agreement with black, the probability that the Latino chooses ‘completely agree’ on the question of it with white would be 34.1%, while if a Latino choose ‘not at all’ on the question, the probability that the Latino chooses ‘completely agree’ on the question of vision agreement with white would be only 5%. When a Latino’s choice on the question of vision agreement with black moves from the lowest score to the highest score, the probability that Latino chooses

'completely agree' on the question of vision agreement with white gets larger by more than six times.

6. Conclusion

In the present work, I focus on the intervention of white's and Latino's perception toward black for addressing the relation between Latino and white. The prior studies tend to keep silence about the intervention of the third party racial group. I show the reinforcing force of white's perception toward black on the white's perception toward Latino. Under controlling to the individual level attributes, there is an independent deriving force of intervention of third party racial group in white's case. A white having a positive (negative) perception toward black is more likely to have a positive (negative) perception toward Latino. In the white case, I can find that the conventional wisdom that 'a friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy,' can be applied on the relation between white and Latino. This finding is based on the assumption that white recognizes that Latino and black are friendly with each other. Even though the prior studies present the competitive relation between Latino and black, I show that the recognition of white is appropriate for addressing the intervention of the third party racial group.

One of the interesting findings in this work is that the effect of positive perception toward black is stronger than the effect of negative perception toward black, on white's perception toward Latino. From the Table 2 and 3, we can see the substantive effect of

white's positive and negative perception toward black on the white's perception toward Latino. And in Table 1, we can also compare the coefficients on black threat perception and vision agreement with black in Model 2 and 3. The coefficient on white's vision agreement with black in Model 3 is larger than the coefficient on white's black threat perception in job/welfare area in Model 2. We can conclude that the reinforcing force of positive perception is stronger than the reinforcing force of negative perception in white case.

I find that the assumption that Latino recognizes that black and white are not friendly is not very realistic. In Latino's case, we cannot apply the conventional wisdom that an enemy of friend is an enemy and an enemy of enemy is a friend. The underlying assumption for the Latino models may be problematic. Even though the Latino is a racial minority, the Latino may not recognize that black and white are not friendly.

From this work, I find several future directions to progress this research. First, I address the intervention of perception toward black as the third party racial group in this work and find the reinforcing force in white's case. The Latino can be the third party racial group for addressing the white's perception toward black and black's perception toward white. In this work, I limit empirical tests with several variables because the limitation of the data. On the American Mosaic Project Survey data, there are several questionnaires asking perception toward black for Latino respondents, but there is no questionnaire asking perception toward Latino for black respondents. Second, I include the residential areas as the control variables which are South, Northeast and West. However, those regional variables

show no significant impact on the white's perception toward Latino and Latino's perception toward white. Because the data limitation, I do not able to include the % of black and % of Latino of the respondent's residential area. The proportion of minority has a greater impact on the perception toward the minority racial group. However, the dataset does not have those kinds of information for each respondent.

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Abstract

**Intervention of the
Third Party Racial Group in American Politics:
Is a Friend of Friend a Friend?
Is a Friend of Enemy an Enemy?**

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After dramatic increasing of Latino population, politicians and researchers have great interest in the inter-minority relation as well as the relation between white and minority in American Politics. Prior studies mainly concentrate on the dyadic foundation for addressing the relation. This study focuses more on the intervention of the third party racial group for exploring the racial attitude toward each other. I apply the conventional wisdom which is a friend of friend is a friend and a friend of enemy is an enemy for analyzing the Latino's attitude toward white, and the white's attitude toward Latino with consideration of one's attitude toward black. For testing this hypothesis, I employ the American Mosaic Project Survey data and conduct the ordered-logistic regression model. Empirical evidence displays that in white case, we can apply the conventional wisdom, but not in Latino case.

Key Words

Racial Politics, White, Latino, Black, Perception