White Residential Seclusion and Voting for Donald J. Trump; A Modern Day Implication of Segregationist Policies

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Abstract

Donald J. Trump's extreme nationalist and anti-immigrant platform won him the presidency and the support of the majority of white Americans. To investigate a potential reason for the high levels of support by whites, this research calculated the white index of isolation to explore the relationship between white residential seclusion and supporting Trump in North Carolina. The results show a strong positive correlation between high levels of white residential isolation and high percentages of a community voting for Trump. Or contrarily, communities with greater racial integration voted for Hillary Clinton at higher rates. One potential reason for this finding is the contact hypothesis: in heterogeneous precincts, inter-racial contact led to greater understanding and white Americans rejecting Trump's polarizing platform. In homogenous communities, whites lacked this cross-cultural communication and supported Donald Trump. Based on these conclusions, I claim that the election of Trump can be viewed as a modern day manifestation of the governmental policies of the 20th centuries that promoted the isolation of white communities from minorities

Introduction

Donald J. Trump's presidential victory in 2016 was one of the greatest political upsets in American history. Throughout his campaign and presidency, Donald J. Trump targeted racial and religious minorities, claiming that all Mexicans were rapists and drug users and calling for a ban of Muslims from entering the United States (Burns, 2015). With a highly nationalistic and polarizing narrative, Trump won the presidency. A key explanation for his election is Trump's capturing of the white vote; the majority of white voters—men, women, young and old, rich and poor—supported Trump over Clinton. Evidently, white Trump voters were either motivated by or unconcerned with the extreme nationalist and anti-immigrant principles that were at the core of his campaign.

This paper seeks to investigate a potential explanation of this voting pattern. Although there are countless variables that contributed to an individual supporting Trump, I specifically explore the history and impact of residential segregation in America and how it relates to the 2016 presidential election. In this paper I seek to answer the question: What is the correlation between white residential isolation and voting for Trump in the 2016 election in North Carolina?

This process begins by highlighting the large role the U.S. government played in segregating America. An explanation of Federal and State legislation during the 20th century provides an understanding of the role of policy in perpetuating and mitigating inequality. From there, I review the literature that has analyzed the different social and political impacts of white Americans living in isolation and integration with minority groups. The core of this paper quantitatively investigates how white residential seclusion and inclusion relates to supporting Trump in North Carolina, a swing state. I estimate white residential isolation by calculating the white index of isolation—a statistical index that measures the degree to which whites are isolated

from other minorities—for every precinct in North Carolina, and compare it to the 2016 election results.

My findings point to high levels of white isolation and a strong positive correlation between such white residential remoteness and voting for Donald Trump. One explanation for this is that white Americans living in seclusion lack the daily interactions and contact with minorities that correlate with less support for nationalist political parties (Biggs & Knauss, 2012). Therefore, white isolation was perhaps one factor in generating condition that led to support for the polarizing and nationalist message of President Trump. My study also illustrates disproportionately high levels of white isolation in North Carolina. To bridge this divide, I will recommend four policies that promote integration in the United States.

Background

In order to thoroughly analyze the relationship between the geographic makeup of America and the 2016 election, one must first understand the historic governmental contribution to residential segregation. Numerous researchers have found that specific government policies and institutions influenced and encouraged white communities to isolate themselves from Blacks and other minorities (Rothstein, 2017). The overview of this debate is based in two highly influential works: Douglas Massey's *American Apartheid* (1993) and Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law* (2017). Massey's account details and statistically tracks the history, creation, and impact of the American ghetto—a community where Black minorities live in racial isolation with high levels of poverty. He attributes much of the status of ghettos to public policy. Rothstein observes how government legislation has caused segregation in America. He writes: "Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, racially explicit policies of federal, state, and local governments defined where whites and African Americans should live, " (Rothstein, pg.

vii). These works demonstrate the government's influence on residential segregation, specifically, how restrictive covenants, racial zoning, public housing, and redlining all created the largely segregated America that persists today.

Restrictive Covenants

Restrictive covenants were tied to the creation of neighborhood improvement associations. In the early 20th century, the entirely white neighborhood associations achieved segregation by lobbying city councils for zoning restriction and raising money for public investment that would increase property values and price out Black residents. The most consequential exploit by improvement associations was the enforcement of restrictive covenants.

Massey defines restrictive covenants as, "contractual agreements among property owners stating they would not permit a Black to own, occupy, or lease their property (Massey pg. 36)." Covenants lasted 20 years and legal action could be taken if the homeowner or their descendants did not abide by it, legally preserving all-white communities for decades. Generic covenants stated: "hereafter no part of said property or any portion thereof shall be…occupied by any person not of the Caucasian race," (Zenou & Boccard). All levels of government actively promoted and supported these covenants. The greatest endorsement came from U.S Supreme court, which upheld restrictive covenants as legal private contracts (Rothstein, 2017). Restrictive covenants signify the ways in which segregation grew from informal community values to a federally supported and institutionally accepted practice.

Discriminatory Zoning

Discriminatory zoning, or racial zoning, was a second major legislative tool that segregated the U.S. at the local government level. In the early 20th century, local governments would pass zoning ordinance that explicitly prohibited Blacks from moving into majority white

neighborhoods. In 1917, the Supreme Court overturned such discriminatory zoning laws (Rothstein, 2017). However, this ruling was frequently ignored and the federal and local governments managed to circumvent it by creating strict single use zoning codes. These codes would avert affordable multi-family apartments away from white neighborhoods. Because of the stark racial-income divide, the majority of Black families were thus forced away from white neighborhoods. With no mention of race, the ordinance passed despite the 1917 Supreme Court ruling. The implicit racial discrimination in zoning laws continued throughout the 20th century and played a large role in legally segregating America and creating insular white communities (Rothstein, 2017).

Public Housing

The segregation in public housing further intensified racial separation. The New Deal created the first ever public housing and there were often separate developments for White and Black Americans (Rothstein, 2017). In 1937, the U.S Housing Authority (USHA), which was tasked with providing money to local governments for housing projects, sustained residential segregation by encouraging smaller governments to not place white housing "in areas now occupied by Negroes" (Rothstein 23).

As World War II began, Congress passed the Lanham Act to construct housing for workers in the military industry due to the housing shortage. However, similar to past governmental bodies, projects built under the Act were fully segregated (Rothstein, 2017). Today public housing continues to be mainly located in low income and minority dominant neighborhoods (Labov, 2017). The status of racial segregation in public housing represents government acceptance and even adoption of racial segregation and thus white isolation.

Redlining

The practice of redlining—the discriminatory practice of banks and other institutions not investing in areas based on the demographics of the community—is one of the most impactful causes of modern day residential segregation. The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) established four types of neighborhoods and colored maps to determine loan provision. The lowest rating, colored red, never received any mortgages. HOLC assumed Black homebuyers would be unable to pay off loans and as a result, "Black areas were invariably rated as fourth grade and 'redlined'" (Massey, pg 52). Central city neighborhoods that were Black or ethnically mixed received no funds from HOLC.

In the 1930s, the FHA provided generous mortgage insurance, which made the ability to purchase a house widespread. However, the FHA used redlining maps to determine loan offers and thus this privilege was reserved for whites only. The FHA manual published in 1939 stated: "if a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes," (Massey 54). The Civil Rights Act of 1968 eventually outlawed redlining. However the practice resulted in the isolation of white suburban communities that still exist today (Marciano et al, 2010).

Segregation Today

Although residential segregation was outlawed in 1968, it did not reverse the consequences of the policies from the previous 50 years. There are several reasons why residential segregation persists today. Past governmental restriction of Blacks and other minorities has had trans-generational impacts that have created a substantial economic divide today (Rothstein, 2017). The white suburban houses, which minorities could not buy, appreciated greatly—the suburban Levittown houses sold for $100,000 in today's currency, significantly more than its' original value (Rothstein, 2017). Consequentially, white home-owning families

accrued large amount of wealth—an opportunity never afforded to minority families. Furthermore, the inner city minority neighborhoods that were denied loans continued to struggle due to a smaller tax base. Depreciation of services has helped create a Black-White achievement gap in education, where poorly funded and segregated schools mirrored the segregation and disinvestment of their neighborhoods. Even today, all levels of government continue to reinforce segregation implicitly. Developers of low-income housing use government tax credits to build in lower income communities, which reinforces racial separation (Rothstein, 2017). As these processes continue, the issue of segregation becomes more intractable due to deep entrenchment in social, political, and economic realities.

Underlying these factors is the complete absence of policies that are actively promoting integration. According to the U.S constitution, if individual preferences segregated neighborhoods, policy cannot reverse this. Because many believe that a wide array of factors such as private prejudice, personal choice, realtor discrimination, and income differences all led to residential segregation, little political action occurs. In reality, governmental policies, several of which have been outlined here, created the current state of extreme residential separation. A study by Lichter, Parisi, and De Valk (2016) analyzed the current level of residential segregation in the United States. They found a clear concentration of U.S. minority populations in major metropolitan area, the South, and along states bordering the Atlantic and Pacific where redlining, restrictive covenants and other segregating practices were common. The prevalence of segregation in the American South is one reason an evaluation of North Carolina is significant. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the context of racial segregation in North Carolina.

Historical Residential Segregation in North Carolina

The history of state-sponsored residential segregation in North Carolina mirrors the processes of residential segregation nationwide. Racial zoning was influential on the residential patterns of North Carolina, several major cities, including Winston-Salem, Asheville, and Mooresville all enforced zoning ordinances that created white and Black residential zones. Water services were limited in Black districts and Black businesses in White zones were illegal, further cementing racial separation (Escott & Hatley, 1992).

Restrictive covenants were commonplace throughout North Carolina. As early as 1898, white neighborhoods in Charlotte, North Carolina enforced covenants that restricted selling houses to Black Americans. Redlining also shaped the residential makeup of North Carolina. Many housing developments were constructed with FHA loans. These loans were only distributed to white Americans who sought to live in white neighborhoods. By 1954, when the Brown vs. Board of Education case was brought to the supreme court, Wlack and White North Carolinians were largely separated. Charlotte, by then the largest city in North Carolina, was one of the most segregated cities in the U.S (Escott & Hatley, 1992).

Modern Day Segregation in North Carolina

North Carolina has experienced large population growth and an influx of migrants in recent decades. The population grew from 4,556,155 in 1960 to 10,273,419 in 2017, with a majority of growth within metropolitan areas (Appold, 2014). NC is 63.5% non-Hispanic white, 22.1% Black, 1.6% American Indian, 2.8% Asian, and 9.1% Hispanic or Latino (U.S Census, 2016).

 A study from the University of North Carolina measured the level of segregation in metropolitan areas, which makes up 70% of the state population. The study found that urban areas are segregated by race, but in equal regards to the national average (Appold, 2014). Black-

white segregation has slightly declined but still persists, while white-Hispanic segregation is increasing. Generally, white North Carolinians are concentrated. Although whites comprise 63.5% of North Carolina's metropolitan population, the average white person lives in a neighborhood that is 78.3% white. This means there are 23% more whites in the neighborhoods inhabited by whites than would be expected, based on the demographics of the state (Appold, 2014). This discrepancy reveals the modern day isolation of whites in North Carolina and the continuing influence of a history of legal residential segregation.

Parallel to the residential makeup of North Carolina, the school system remains highly segregated. A report by the Civil Rights Project found that over the last twenty years, the percentage of intensely segregated schools—which is defined as schools that have less than 10% white students—has tripled from 3% in 1989 to 10% in 2010 (Ayscue et. al., 2014). The report found that in 2010, 50% of the state's students were low-income. While the average Black and Hispanic or Latino student attended schools with 59% low-income students, the average white and Asian student attended schools where 58% of students were middle-class (Ayscue et. al., 2014). The segregation of school districts is strongly correlated with neighborhood segregation and shows the racial separation entrenched in North Carolina.

A key reason for continued racial segregation in North Carolina is the denial of mortgages to minorities. A recent study found that in North Carolina, Black Americans and Latinos were being denied mortgages at much higher rates than their white counterparts (Rao & Stasio, 2018). The study looked at a total of 61 cities, including three in North Carolina. For Black Americans, Latinos, Asians, or Native Americans, "if you made the same amount of money, and you were trying to buy in the same neighborhood, and you were trying to take out the same size loan, you were more likely to be turned down" (Rao & Stasio, 2018). Greenville,

North Carolina had the greatest disparity, where a minority was five times more likely to have a loan request rejected compared to a white counterpart (Rao & Stasio, 2018).

Corresponding with the entire country, North Carolina has a deep history of government policies causing residential segregation. Residential isolation persists (Appold 2014) and continues to worsen (Rao & Stasio, 2018). I argue that this state supported segregation in North Carolina connects with voting for Donald J. Trump in 2016. To understand why, it is crucial to overview Trump's radically nationalist and polarizing campaign.

Donald J. Trump's Political Platform

Trump frequently disparaged minorities and other countries throughout his presidential campaign. He stated that Mexican immigrants are "bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people" (Trump, 2015). Later in 2016, Trump claimed that a federal judge who was hearing a case on Trump University was biased because the judge was of Mexican descent (Kerstcher, 2016). In November 2015, Trump mocked and imitated a disabled reporter in front of a crowd of thousands (Arkin, 2015). These xenophobic comments are unprecedented from a presidential nominee who attempted to identify his campaign with American values.

Trump's presidential campaign was a unique form of nationalism that broke from the precedent of past Republican Party nominees. His nationalist priorities are evident from his inaugural speech:

> From this moment on, it's going to be America First…We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs (Trump, 2016).

To this end, Trump strongly advocates for restricting immigration. He often lauds his own plan to build a wall along the Mexican border (Trump, 2016). Additionally, Trump promised to ban all Muslim immigration into the U.S to prevent terrorist attacks. In a study for the Charleston Law Review, Lindsay Perez Huber (2016), concluded that Trump's campaign is an example of racist nativism, an ideology that seeks to "maintain perceived superiority of whites within a U.S. racial hierarchy" (Huber, 243). Given the extreme nationalism and polarizing comments that were at the core of Trump's campaign, I evaluate how the racial isolation of North Carolina may have correlated with a wider support of his platform. To investigate the crux between residential isolation and voting patterns in 2016, I will review the literature on the impacts of living in insular and diverse communities and how it influences prejudice and political ideologies.

Literature Review

The literature review will encompass and analyze the scholarly work on the social and political impacts of living in racially isolated and integrated communities. It will begin by examining theories on how the presence or lack of interaction between majority and minority groups may influence individuals' political opinions and identifications. The contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) argues that intergroup interaction decreases prejudice while the realist group theory (Campbell, 1965) states that it increases intolerance. A thorough review of each theory will distinguish the ways interaction has impacted majority groups socially and politically. Social experiments observed how interaction impacts the general prejudice of individuals while political studies explored how inter-group contact influences political opinions and preferences.

Realist Conflict Theory and Contact Hypothesis

Within the field of psychology there are two main opposing theories that relate to individuals' reactions to integration and inter-group interaction. The realist conflict theory (RCT), first named by Donald Campbell, states that inter group conflict arises from competition over resources (1965). According to this theory, groups are in competition either for a real or perceived scarcity of social status, political power, money, or other resources. Each group believes that acquiring the resource is a zero-sum game, where the gains of one groups is equal to the losses of the other. This conflict leads to feelings of prejudice and hostility (Jackson, 1993). According to this theory, living in residential integration, not isolation, would lead to prejudice.

Conversely, there is ample research on the potential for intergroup contact to improve intergroup attitudes under the right conditions. Gordon W. Allport was the first to theorize this concept, known as the contact hypothesis (1979). He found that four conditions are necessary to improve intergroup attitudes: members of each group must have equal status, the group must work cooperatively towards common goals, participants must be able to get to know each other as individuals, and the intergroup effort must have institutional support (Allport, 1979). He posited that under such conditions, intergroup interaction is the best form of improving relations between a majority and minority group. Through this interaction and communication, the majority group is better able to comprehend and appreciate the culture and identity of the minority group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The contact theory posits that integration improves inter-racial tolerance. The inverse assumes that isolation from minority groups worsens the prejudice of the majority group. The literature review will now assess studies that support both theories.

Research on Social Impact of Integration and Isolation

In Support Of The Contact Hypothesis

Within the field of social psychology, the contact hypothesis has been tested on many occasions. In 1951, a study of public housing discovered that white residents in desegregated housing "held their Black neighbors in higher esteem" than before (Deutsche and Collins, 1951, 3). Barlow, Louis, and Hewstone (2009) analyzed cross group interactions between Aboriginal Australians and white Australians and concluded that it decreases prejudice and intergroup anxiety. Forbes found that integration and contact, "can cure individual prejudice but not group conflict"(1997, pg. 12). Amir (1969) suggested that intergroup contact has the potential to improve conditions, but it is dependent on the presence of Allport's favorable conditions. Stephan (1987) supported this conclusion, noting that that the specific circumstances and individuals involved could either ameliorate or exacerbate prejudice. Conversely, Lee (2001) found that mere exposure without specific circumstances could enhance interracial relations through reducing intergroup anxiety, and by increasing the knowledge and empathy towards other groups.

In *A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory*, Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp (2006) compiled the results from 515 studies to find trends on the influence of intergroup contact on prejudice. Unlike past reviews of literature, which did not standardize the definition of intergroup contact and included a mix of quantitative and qualitative data, Pettigrew and Tropp only analyzed empirical data "chosen by strict inclusion rules"(2006, p. 753). Because there is debate on the necessity of Allport's four conditions to improve intergroup relations, the authors chose to include studies that both incorporate and ignore his conditions for intergroup contact. They concluded that, "intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup prejudice"(p. 766). Of the 515 studies, 94% had an inverse correlation between the two variables. The studies where

Allport's conditions were incorporated into the experiment had a "markedly higher" impact on decreasing intergroup prejudice. However, these conditions are not necessary to improve intergroup relationships. This groundbreaking study is highly revered and cited frequently; the results have significantly increased the weight behind the merit of the contact hypothesis.

In Support of the Realist Conflict Theory

On the other hand, some have criticized the contact hypothesis. W.S Ford (1986) found the correlation between contact and diminishing prejudice to be insignificant. McClendon (1974) agreed, stating that research on the contact hypothesis has been "unsophisticated and lacking in rigor"(p. 47). Research looking specifically at white-Black relations in the south of the United States confirmed the conclusion that whites in majority Black counties held greater prejudices (Giles and Evans, 1985). Mark A. Fossett and K. Jill Kiecolt (1989) further examined "the question of whether Black concentration affects whites' sense of status threat and racial attitudes" with respect to the entire United States (p. 821). They analyzed survey data from the 1976 and 1977 General Social Survey and found that "whites' perception of threat from Blacks increases, and their support for racial integration decreases, as the relative size of the Black population increases…in the South and outside the South" (p. 833). Lawrence Bobo (1988) analyzed surveys from the Michigan National Election Study of 1986 to find the reasoning for white opposition towards busing Black students to white schools. They concluded that whites saw bussing as a threat to their lifestyle, goals, and educational resources, and that "realistic group conflict motives do help explain whites' opposition to busing" (p. 86). In short, multiple researchers have found evidence for the realist group theory. In the context of my study, if, as the realist group states, integration worsens interracial conditions, racially integrated areas of North Carolina would be expected to support Trump at higher rates than segregated ones.

The literature review thus far has summarized the research on how the presence and lack of intergroup contact influences prejudice. However, this paper is analyzing the impact of intergroup contact on politics. Thus I will now outline the studies that show how the contact hypothesis and realist group theory influenced political beliefs.

Political Impact of Integration and Isolation

In Support of the Contact Hypothesis

Donald R. Kinder and Tali Mendelberg (1995) wrote about the impact segregation has had on the political views of white Americans. They used research from the National Opinion Research Center, which interviewed 1,372 Americans to measure racial stereotypes, views on public policies, and the extent to which the participants interact with Black Americans. The authors first observed the relationship between levels of prejudice and political leanings. In terms of racial prejudice, the surveys showed that the majority of Southern, elderly, and less educated whites view Blacks as dangerous and lacking in economic individualism. To measure the impact of this intolerance on policy, the survey asked for opinions on policies aimed at racial integration, federal government assistance to Black Americans, and government intervention to help Blacks be self-reliant economically. The researchers found that participants with high prejudice also opposed policies that aid Blacks. The correlation was strongest for policies that directly send aid to Black Americans and weakest for policies aimed at assisting economic individualism. From their result, Kinder and Mendelberg contend, "our results leave little room to doubt that prejudice influences white opinion, deeply and profoundly"(p. 420).

The authors then investigated the nexus between racial prejudice, policy, and racial isolation. Given the degree of residential segregation that persists in the United States, they wanted to determine how it might impact political opinions. To determine the extent of isolation,

the researchers asked whites to report on the presence of Blacks in their neighborhood. Half of the respondents reported having none, and roughly 25% reported at least one Black family. The authors found a significant relationship between self-reported proximity to Black Americans and supporting policies that decrease segregation or increase welfare for Blacks. From these results, the authors conclude that proximity allows for everyday contact and exchanges that lead to higher levels of empathy for White Americans (Kinder & Mendelberg, 1995). This conclusion supports the contact hypothesis and evidences the influence of residential integration on decreasing prejudice and support for policies that aid minorities.

Michael Biggs and Steven Knauss researched the impact of white isolation in Britain and support of the British National Party (BNP). The authors tested if the contact hypothesis or realist conflict theory applies to supporting BNP—i.e. does a greater minority population in a city increase or decrease BNP membership. Overall the researchers' discoveries validate the contact hypothesis. They found moderate evidence that, "white British adults are less likely to belong to the BNP in neighborhoods with a substantial proportion of non-whites…"(Biggs and Knauss pg. 642). However, abstaining from the BNP only takes effect when the non-white population surpasses a specific threshold. They found a much stronger correlation between segregated areas and predicted probability of BNP membership. Meaning, a higher segregation level is associated with greater BNP membership (Biggs & Knauss). This finding demonstrates that even in diverse cities, high segregation levels on a neighborhood-level correlate with supporting the nationalist party. These conclusions are important in the context of my study because of the nationalism intrinsic to Trump's campaign. If white supporters of nationalism in Britain lived in segregated areas, one can hypothesize the same occurred in America.

Kaufmann and Harris (2015) analyzed 24 papers that researched the impact of inter-group contact at the ward or tract level (meaning less than 7500 people) and found that 75% of the studies "link local diversity to reduced animosity towards minorities, immigrants, and immigration"(p.1566).

In Support of the Realist Conflict Theory

V.O. Key (1949), in his book, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, found a contrary conclusion for the relationship between integration and public opinion. He discovered that white American who lived in "the Black belt"—named so because it contained the greatest proportion of Blacks during the 1940s—"have the deepest and most immediate concern about the maintenance of white supremacy"(Key, pg. 5). From these observations, Key deduced that greater white interaction with Blacks exacerbated racist attitudes. James M. Glasser (1994) sought to replicate Key's findings using surveys from the National Election Studies (N.E.S). These surveys asked for county of residence as well as many questions gauging support for Black politicians, the civil rights movement, and the redistribution of resources. He confirmed Key's results: there is a strong correlation between White conservatism in Black majority counties. His data showed that 58% of whites in counties that are 30% or more Black believe "that the civil rights movement is moving too quickly"(Glasser, pg. 27). Comparatively, only 30% of Whites in counties that are less than 10% Black held that belief, illustrating the impact of interracial contact on heightening conservative attitudes. Glaser states that this can be rationalized due to the greater threat of Black political progress in Black-majority counties, and thus become more conservative. Key's and Glaseer's conclusions defend the realistic conflict theory by showing the impact integrated neighborhoods have on increasing white prejudice and conservative political views.

Rune Jorgen Sorensen (2016) analyzed the large immigration influx into Norway from 1977-2001 as a natural experiment on how immigrants affect support for the conservative anti-immigration Progress Party. Similar to Biggs and Knauss, he questioned whether the presence of immigrants (the out-group) diminishes or strengthen xenophobia. Sorensen concluded that, "increases in the size of the non-Western immigrant population, induces more support for the anti-immigration, right wing political party"(Sorensen 4). However, the effect was small and only occurred initially. After the non-Western immigrant population reach 4% of the population, "support for the Progress Party disappears"(Sorenses 26). Sorensen therefore argues that initially the real group theory is at play and causes an increase in anti-immigrant sentiments. But eventually, as the contact hypothesis assumes, "direct contact with immigrants alleviates concerns"(Sorensen 26). This study again directly relates to Donald Trump and his extreme anti-immigration rhetoric.

Residential Geography and President Donald J. Trump

The literature review began by introducing the social and political impact of racial integration and isolation. Allport's contact hypothesis conjectures that contact is the best method to decrease racial bias. The realist group theory states that interaction leads to competition over finite resources, worsening relations. There are a multitude of studies that support each respective theory. Though, as Pettigrew and Tropp discovered, the scale tilts in favor of the contact hypothesis. Further, studies have shown that interaction with minorities both correlate and contrast with anti-immigration policies and nationalist political parties. This literature review

will now focus on the election of Donald J Trump in 2016, and how isolation may have impacted his voters.

As this is a contemporary topic, there is limited literature that investigates the specific intersection between racial isolation and 2016 voting results. Jonathon Rothwell and Pablo Diego-Rosell, however, analyzed a variety of economic and geographic factors that predicted probability of voting for Trump (Rothwell & Rosell, 2017). They utilized Gallup survey data for 125,000 American adults to observe how contact with immigrants or racial minorities impacts the likelihood of Trump support. Rothwell and Rosell found a strong relationship between isolation and supporting Trump: "The analysis provided clear evidence that those who view Trump favorably are disproportionately living in racially and culturally isolated zip codes and commuting zones" (2017, p.19) He goes on to write that, "…constant support for Trump is highly elevated…in neighborhoods that stand out within the larger commuting zone for being white, segregated enclaves, with little exposure to Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics" (p.19). These findings strongly align with the contact hypothesis; low levels of exposure exacerbated prejudice.

While this study is closely related to my research, it differs in that it used survey results and was conducted prior to the actual election. In retrospect, we are now aware that the polling services during this election cycle were highly inaccurate (Newkirk, 2016). This paper will explore the connection between white isolation and the actual results of the 2016 election in North Carolina, thus filling a gap within this field of study. Furthermore, it will ascertain if the contact hypothesis or realist conflict theory motivated Trump supporters.

Research Methods

Research Question: What is the correlation between the white index of isolation in North Carolina precincts and voting for Donald Trump in the 2016 election?

Methods:

This paper is a descriptive statistical analysis that will explore two continuous variables—index of isolation and percentage of a precinct that voted for Trump. It is a correlative study where the independent variable is the index of isolation and the dependent variable is percentage of a precinct voting for Trump. Correlation is a statistical procedure that shows the strength of relationship between two variables. Correlation can be useful in making predictions; if variables have correlated in the past, one can assume they will correlate in the future. Furthermore, with the value of one variable, one can estimate the value of the other variable. However, correlations are never perfect predictions of the future, and correlation doesn't equal causation. In the context of this study, the positive correlation between white index of isolation and voting for Trump does not signify that white isolation caused voting for Donald Trump. There are a host of factors that influence voting patterns and residential isolation is only one.

Data Sources

The focus of this study is on North Carolina. North Carolina was chosen for two key reasons: firstly, it was a key swing state in the 2016 election where the support of the Republican and Democratic parties was relatively equal and unpredictable. In a purple state, where party allegiance shifts by election, residential segregation may have been more of an influential factor

in 2016 compared to consistently democratic or Republican states. Secondly, North Carolina has a large minority population and a deep history of segregation. As a result there is a mix of both isolated and integrated precincts. This will allow for a more nuanced analysis on the influence of inter group contact on voting patterns.

The data on race, which is needed to calculate the index of isolation, was compiled from the Census American Community Survey 2010 decennial survey. The decennial survey counts each resident of the country and is the most accurate representation of where citizens in the US live. Census data on race was received from the National Historical Geographic Information System Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (NHGIS- IPUMS), which is an organization that organizes and tabulates census data. The shapefile was received (the format commonly used in GIS) of the precincts of North Carolina by contacting the North Carolina State Board of Elections (NCSBE). The election results by precincts were received by contacting the NCSBE.

This paper will find the index of isolation for non-Hispanic/Latino whites, a census sub category of white Americans. It is important to distinguish Hispanic/Latino whites and non-Hispanic/Latino whites, because Hispanics and Latinos can be of any race, as race and ethnicity are independent of each other. In a paper focusing specifically on white Anglo-Saxon isolation, the non-Hispanic/Latino white category best fits the analysis.

Data Collection

Because the index of isolation is very sensitive to scale, the index was calculated at the lowest possible level available, census tracts by block, to increase accuracy. Census blocks are the smallest unit of geography that the Census Bureau uses and in the decennial census data on the race composition of each census block is measured.

Calculating the index of isolation requires the aggregation of the component part (in my case, census blocks) to find the index for the larger geographic entity (precinct). However, census blocks do not evenly align into precincts and a single census block often falls into two or more precincts. Without manipulating census data, there is no clear way to calculate the index of isolation for precincts. A Geographic Information System (GIS) was utilized to bypass this problem by assigning every census block to a precinct.

The first step in this process was obtaining the census data for North Carolina census blocks from NHGIS-IPUMS. This gave me an excel sheet with 288,987 rows, where each row included the racial data of each census block in North Carolina as recorded from the 2010 decennial census. Next a shapefile of every census block in North Carolina was obtained from the Census website, which produces cartographic boundary shapefiles at the census block level, which are publicly available online. However, the shapefile only displayed the boundaries of every census block, not the population data of each block. The census gives each block a specific geocode. I was thus able to join the population data for North Carolina census blocks with the shapefile of every census block. After this process there were two shapefiles: One of every census block in North Carolina with race data, and a second of the voting districts of the state.

GIS was used to execute a many-to-one spatial join between each census block and precinct in North Carolina. A spatial join is the joining of the data from two separate layers based on a shared space, into a single layer. Because census blocks do not perfectly fit precincts, I assigned each census block to a precinct based on where the exact center of the precinct falls. To find the exact center, the tool "Calculate Geometry" was used. The figure below visually demonstrates this function. Every red dot is the exact center of a census block. The borderlines

mark the precincts of North Carolina. The highlighted dots are all the blocks that were assigned to the specific precinct selected. In this case, it was precinct "M_Millers" in Alexander County.

Image 1: Census Blocks Assgined to Precinct "M_Millers"
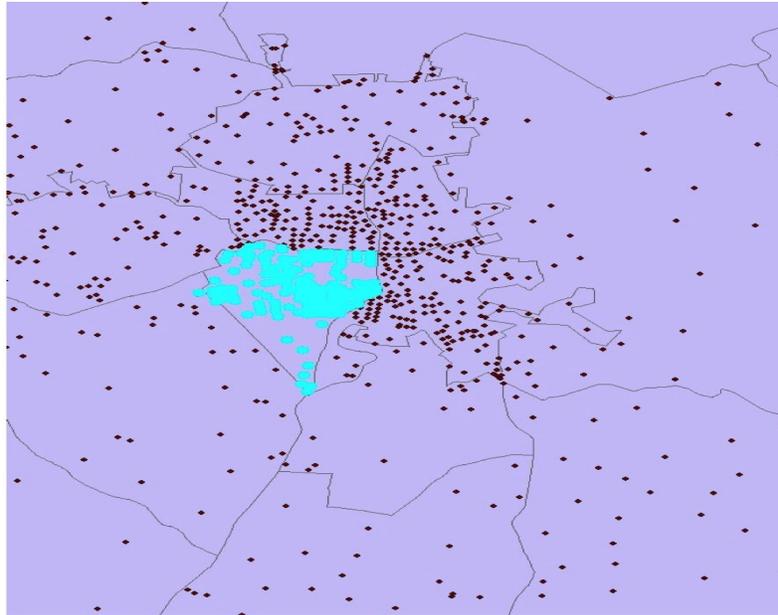
The spatial join gave me an estimation of the racial data of every precinct in North Carolina. It is crucial to point out that this is an estimation of the demographics of each precinct. Using these data collection methods, I created an excel sheet where every census block was assigned to a precinct and the data was analyzed.

Data Analysis

The white index of isolation measures the percentage of population white in the precinct for the typical or average white person. The emphasis on the index of isolation was chosen as it estimates white exposure to all other races in a community. Observing only the racial breakdown of a county ignores the potential presence of segregation. For example, whites may consist only 20 percent of a precincts population, but all of them could live in all-white neighborhoods. Additionally, unlike the index of dissimilarity, which calculates the separation between two

racial or ethnic groups, the index of isolation measures the percentage of an individual's race or

ethnicity that lives in their neighborhood in proportion to *all* other races. In the context of the

2016 election and Trump's strong opposition against Mexican and Muslim immigration, it is

crucial to analyze white isolation from all minorities in the United States.

The formula for the index of isolation, given by the Population Studies Center at the University

of Michigan, states:

> "w_i = the white population of a component part, for example, census
> tracts, of the larger geographic entity for which the ***isolation
> index*** is calculated.
>
> t_i= the total population of a component part of the larger geographic entity
> for which the
> ***isolation index*** is calculated.
>
> W_i = the total white population of the larger geographic entity for which
> the ***isolation index*** is being calculated.
>
> Then the ***isolation index*** for whites equals:
>
> SUM(w_i / W)   (w_i / t_i)"

This formula reports the percentage of the white population in the census tract, for the

typical or average white person. This index ranges from 0 to 1: A value of 1 indicates complete

isolation from other races and ethnicities while a value of 0 indicates perfect integration with

other groups. If the index is equal to .50, then the average White's neighborhood is 50 percent

White (Massey 23). The index of isolation was calculated using *Microsoft Excel*. Using *Excel* I

also created multiple charts that illustrate my findings.

The Pearson correlation coefficient (r) was used to measure the strength of the

relationship and was calculated in excel. The correlation coefficient ranges from -1 to 1. If r

equals 1, there is a perfect positive relationship, .70 signifies a strong positive relationship, .50

shows a moderately positive relationship, .30 equal a weak positive relationship, and 0 equals no

relationship. The same patterns exist for negative R-values but they all signify a negative linear relationship.

Findings

This paper explores the relationship between the residential segregation of white Americans and voting patterns in the 2016 presidential election. The influence of decades of policies at all levels of government in supporting and enforcing residential segregation is well documented (Rothstein, 2017) and has led to the high levels of racial separation that exists today (Lichter, Parisi, & De Valk 2016). It is also believed that living in isolation from minorities can increase the prejudice and conservative political leanings of the majority group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Therefore, it is worth considering whether American residential segregation, specifically white isolation, is connected to the predisposition of voting for Donald Trump, who ran on a nationalistic and anti-immigration platform. Are Trump supporters more likely to live in areas with high white isolation and little contact with minorities? Or, conversely, are Hillary Clinton supporters more likely to live in integrated communities? Moreover, is it possible to measure the likelihood of certain political affiliations based on levels of residential isolation? In short, could the election of President Donald Trump in 2016 be a modern-day consequence of the policies and practices that have segregated white Americans?

To research the correlation between residential isolation and voting for Donald Trump, I calculated the white index of isolation at the precinct level and compared it to how that precinct voted in the 2016 presidential election in North Carolina.

My analysis found a *positive correlation* between the white index of isolation and voting for Donald Trump in 2016 in North Carolina (Figure 1). As the white index of isolation per precinct increases, the percentage of the precinct voting for Donald Trump also increases. The

correlation coefficient, which ranges from -1 to 1 and measures how correlated two variables are, is .75. This indicates a strong, linear, positive correlation. Figure 1 illustrates the key finding of this study:

Figure 1: Voting for Donald Trump and the White Index of Isolation by Precinct

(Figure: scatter plot. Y-axis labeled "White Index of Isolation" ranging from 0.0 to 1.0; X-axis labeled "% of Precinct that Voted for Trump" ranging from 0 to 100. A positive trend line runs through the data points.)
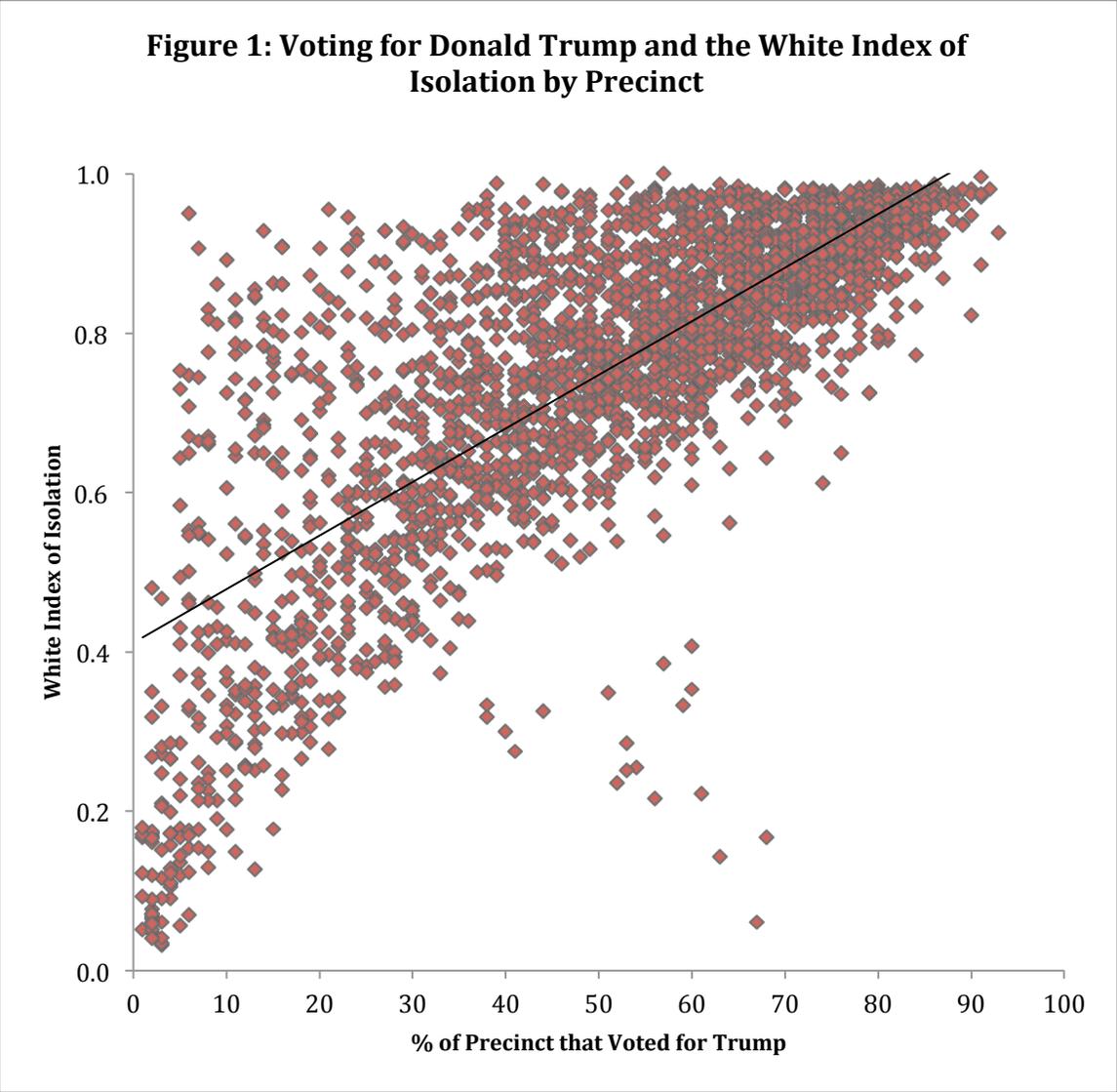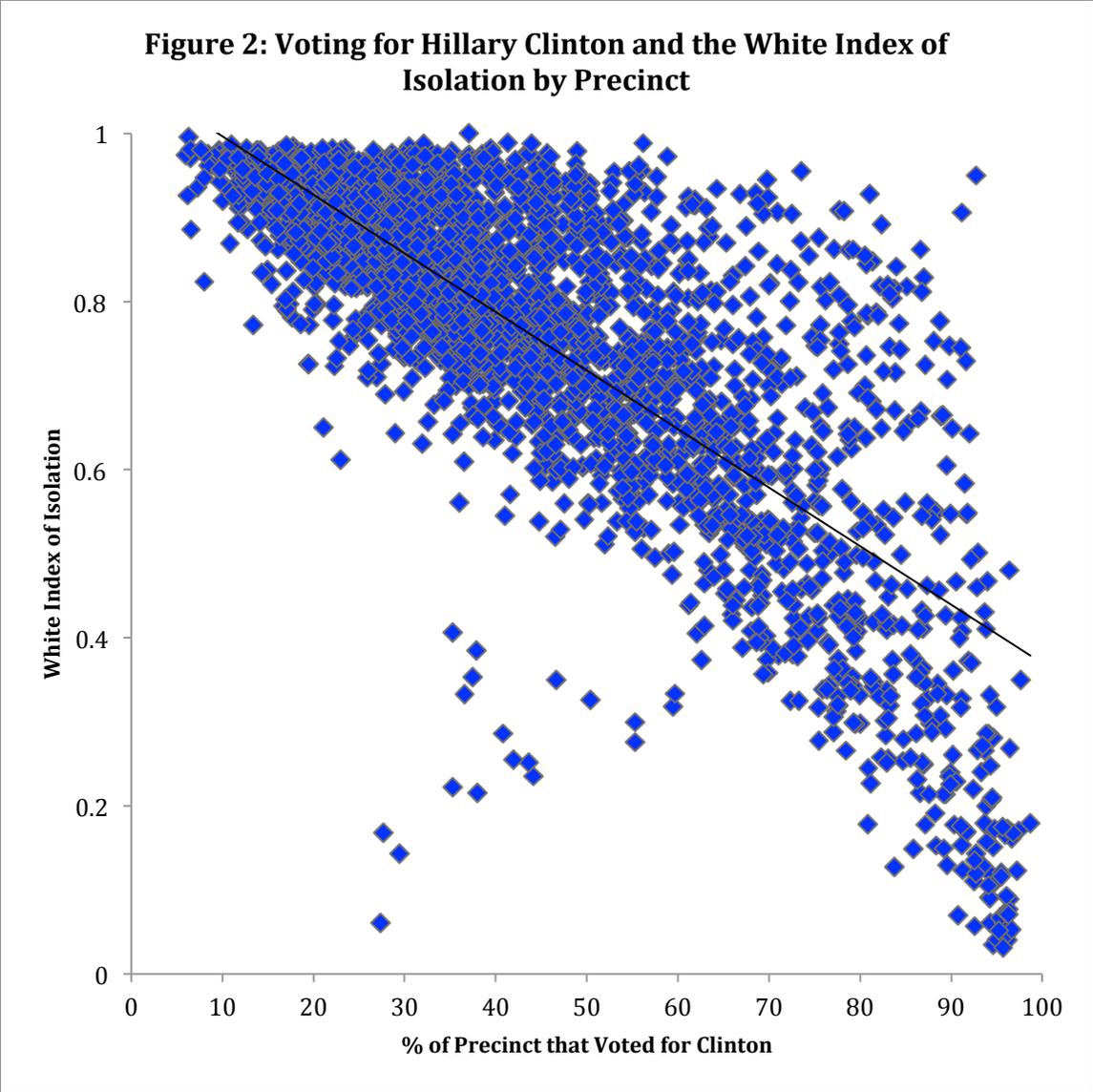
Figure 2 illustrates that there is a negative correlation between voting for Hillary Clinton in 2016 and the white isolation of that precinct. The correlation coefficient is -.771, so as white index of isolation increases, voting for Clinton decreases.

Figure 2: Voting for Hillary Clinton and the White Index of Isolation by Precinct

To obtain a more nuanced understanding of the influence of small-scale isolation, I separated the precincts in the six urban counties of NC, as defined by the census. These are diverse areas, where the white population ranges from 40%-60%, except for New Hanover, where it is 77.2% (Table 2). Analyzing white isolation in these urban counties elucidates if voting for Trump correlates with the index of isolation at a countywide or precinct wide scale. racial makeup of the larger geographic area or residential seclusion on the neighborhood level scale, which the index of isolation measures.

Table 1: Racial Demographics of Durham and Forsyth Counties

|	Durham	Forsyth	Mecklenburg	Wake	New Hanover	Guilford
Total Population	282,422	358,130	1,054,835	1,046,791	226,483	521,330
Non Hispanic White Alone	42.1%	58.2%	47.7%%	60.5%	77.2%	51.2%
Black or African American alone	37.2%	25.8%	32.7%	21.2%	14.2%	34.6%
Hispanic or Latino Alone	13.4%	12.3%	13%	10%	5.4%	7.9%

For urban counties, there is a strong positive correlation between the two variables, with an r-value of .79 (Figure 4). In the diverse urban counties, precincts with a high white isolation voted for Trump at higher rates. In rural counties there is a similarly strong positive correlation of r=.7.

Figure 3: Voting for Donald Trump and the White Index of Isolation by Precinct in Urban Counties
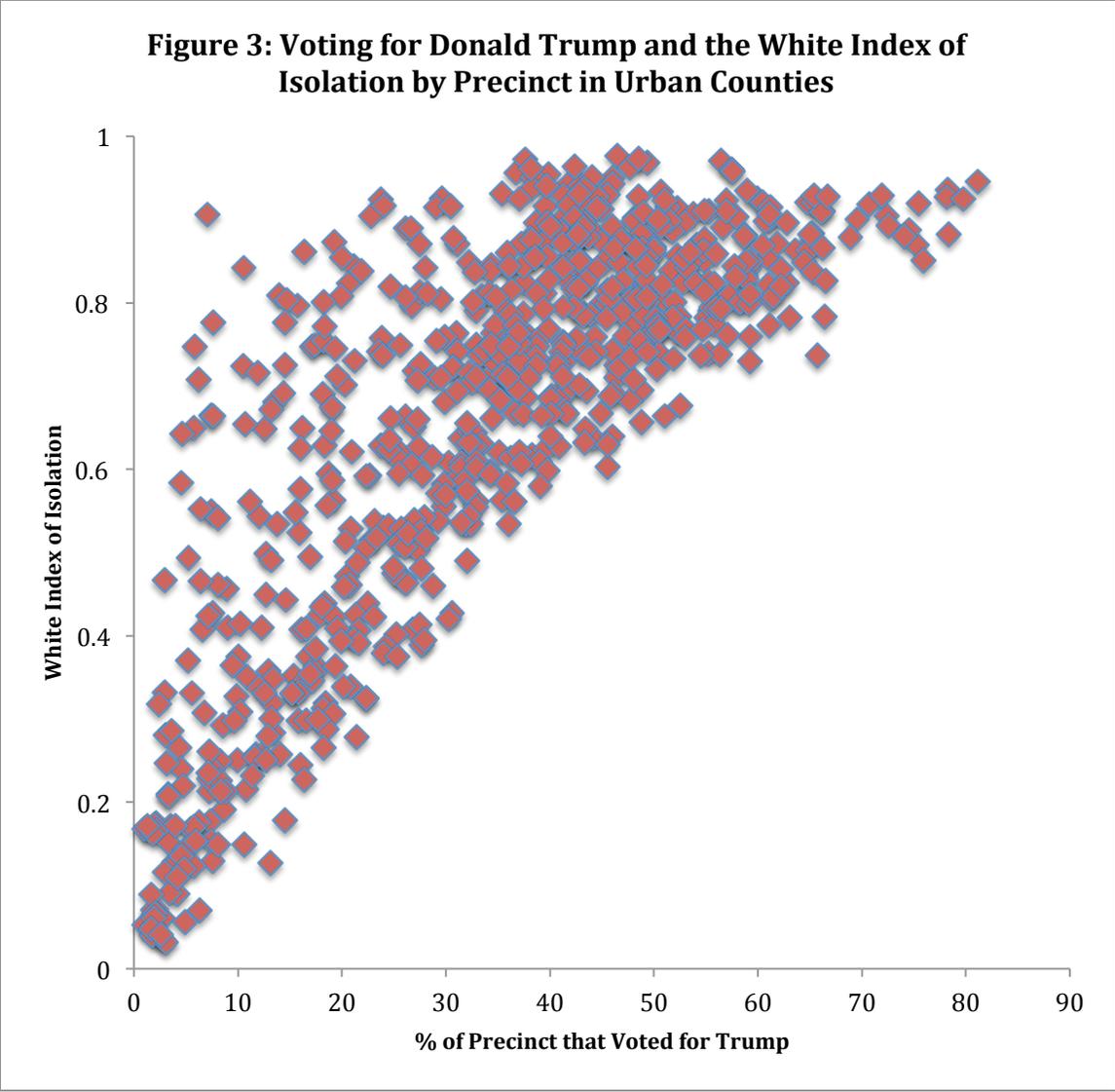
An unexpected finding is that the correlation between the white percentage of a precinct and voting for Trump is the same as the correlation between the white index of isolation and percent of precinct voting for Trump. Both r-values are .75, which indicates equally strong statistical levels of correlation. This finding demonstrates that there is a very strong link between the white index of isolation of a precinct and the percentage of the precinct that's white.

Overall, my findings support past research (Appold, 2014) that illustrate the intensity of racial segregation in North Carolina. The median white index of isolation is .80 and the mean is 0.75. Figure 6 illustrates the white index of isolation in map form. The darker the purple, the higher the white index of isolation. This map shows the severity of white residential isolation, because most of the state is a dark purple it signifies that the state has high levels of white residential isolation.

Figure 4: White Index of Isolation in North Carolina
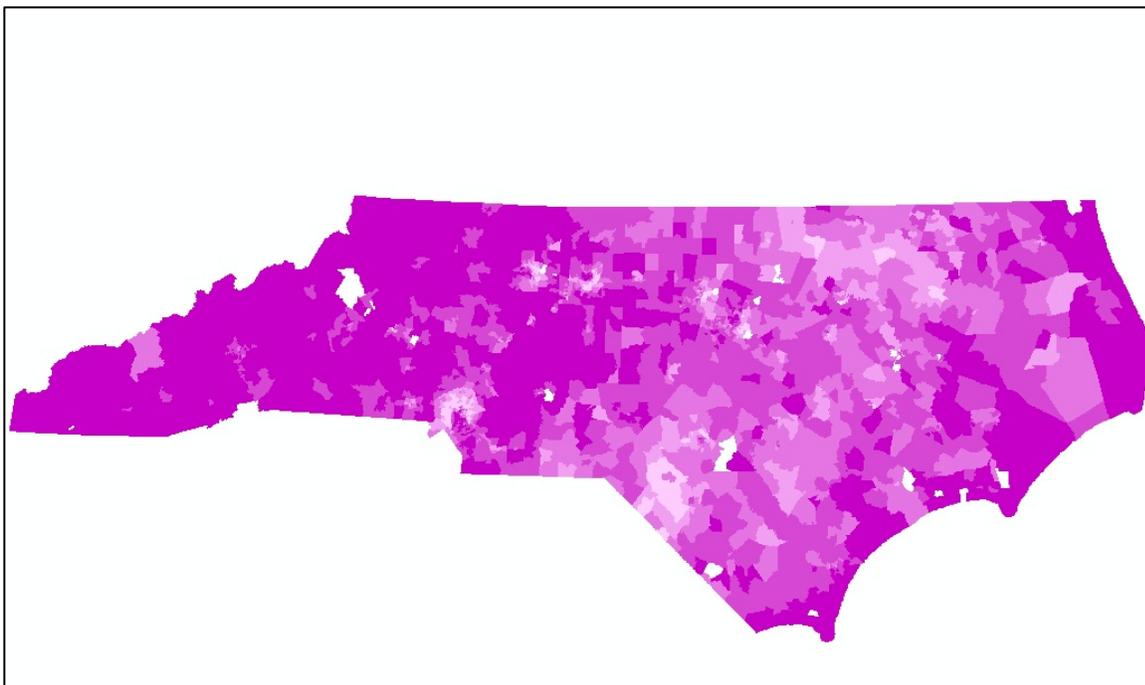
Several outliers are present in the data set. Precinct TH_Town Hall is 63% white and has a white index of isolation score of .73. These demographics typically would link to a Republican dominated precinct, but only 5% of that precinct voted for Trump. Twelve other precincts had a similar trend. Precinct 35_Prospect is only 0.03% white and has an insignificantly small white index of isolation of .060. Breaking from the trend, 67% of this precinct voted for Donald Trump in 2016. A last outlier is present in precinct ID_Iron Duff, where the white population is

extremely isolated (white index of isolation =.988), however, this precinct only voted 39% in favor of Donald Trump (Table 3).

Table 3: Example of Outliers in Data

Precinct:	TH_Town Hall	35_Prospect	ID_IRON DUFF
Percent White Population:	63%	.03%	99%
White Index of Isolation	.729	.060	.988
Percent Voting for Trump	5%	67%	39%

In short, after analyzing the election results and the white index of isolation for all 2604 precincts in North Carolina, the study reveals that greater levels of white isolation is generally associated with higher rates of voting for Donald Trump, while low levels of isolation correlate with supporting Hillary Clinton. This findings holds up for precincts that are majority white and precincts within urban counties of North Carolina. Why is this the case and what does that inform about the impact of living in isolated or integrated communities?

Discussion

Limitations

Before discussing the implications of these findings, it is necessary to outline the limitations of the study. The most important qualification is that correlation does not equal causation—meaning living in racial isolation didn't cause whites to support Donald Trump. Income, occupation, religion, age, education level, and numerous other factors influence voting—residential isolation is only one. This study did not control for any of the numerous other variables that influence voting patterns, or interview actual North Carolinians. Therefore I simply can say that these two variables associate, and postulate the potential explanations for this.

A second limitation of my study was the lack of white voting records. I am specifically exploring how white isolation influences white voting. However, other than the survey data of exit polls, there is no exact data on how white North Carolinians voted in the 2016 presidential election. By using the election results of the precincts, I am only receiving an estimation of how white Americans voted in North Carolina.

Additionally, the technique I used to assign census blocks to a precinct outputted an estimation of the population data for every precinct. As a result, the white index of isolation I calculated was an approximate number. A final limitation is the lack of survey data to supplement my findings, which could have offered a more nuanced understanding of the extent of interaction North Carolinians have with minorities and how that influences political opinion.

Analysis

The two main findings of this study illustrate a strong connection between precincts with high levels of white isolation supporting Donald Trump and precincts with low levels of white isolation (i.e. racial integration) supporting his opponent, Hillary Clinton. One possible explanation for these correlations is the contact hypothesis, which posits that intergroup contact reduces feelings of prejudice and anxiety between majority and minority groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). As stated in the literature review, past studies have found that this interracial contact has correlated with a reduced predisposition of supporting nationalist parties (Biggs and Knauss 2012) and anti-immigrant parties (Sorensen, 2016). One explanation of my findings, therefore, is that due to greater interracial contact, precincts with higher levels of integration did not vote for Trump, i.e. the contact hypothesis. Or inversely, precincts where whites are secluded lacked this interaction and supported Donald Trump. However, this is just one potential

explanation and my findings do not elucidate why the North Carolinian precincts supported Trump.

The data also illustrated that the strong positive correlation persists in the precincts within urban counties in North Carolina. As shown in Table 2, these counties all have diverse populations so there is likely greater inter-racial contact compared to North Carolina's majority white rural counties. But even in diverse counties, racially isolated precincts were more likely to support Trump. Again, one explanation for this finding is that lack of interracial contact influenced white individuals' support for Trump, and this remained true for racially homogenous neighborhoods in diverse counties. Similarly, Biggs and Knauss found that even in diverse cities in Britain, whites in very secluded neighborhoods were more likely to support the British National Party (2012). Assuming interracial contact increased support for Clinton, this finding perhaps highlights the prerequisite for smaller-scale, neighborhood level integration. Though, many other variables may have influenced these precincts.

An important qualification to these conclusions is that the correlation between white isolation and supporting Trump only takes effect if the minority population is greater than 10%. When isolating the precincts where the white population is greater than 90%, there is close to no correlation between the white index of isolation and that precinct voting for Trump (r=.16). Generally, the connection between racial integration and voting patterns only becomes important when minorities make up at least 10% of the precinct. Therefore, if contact with minorities was one motivation for supporting Clinton, it only took effect in a precinct with a minority population greater than 10%.

Outliers

The realist conflict theory, which states that racial integration can worsen white prejudice and lead to greater support of conservative policies, can offer a potential reasoning for several outliers. Thirteen precincts had low levels of white isolation (less than 0.5) but a majority of voters within the precinct voted for Donald Trump. Perhaps in these districts the racial integration in fact led to higher levels of social and economic competition, worsening interracial standings and leading to an increased backing of Trump.

The outliers with high white isolation levels that did not vote for Donald Trump can be explained by outside factors. In interpreting these outliers, it is important to remember that a host of causes influence voting patterns and other confounding variables shaped the voting results.

Segregation in North Carolina

Regardless of voting results, my study found a very high white index of isolation in North Carolina. The mean white index of isolation is .75 and the median is .80. This means that the average white person in North Carolina lives in a census block that is approximately 75% white, and half of the state live in neighborhoods where their neighborhood is 80% white or greater. Furthermore, non-Hispanic whites only make up 63.5% of North Carolina. This is a sizable discrepancy; if the residential makeup of the state matched North Carolina's demographics the mean white isolation would be .635. The difference evidences the segregation within North Carolina.

As articulated in the background, policies at all levels of government played a significant role in the segregation of America (Rothstein 2017). The negative consequences of residential separation are well documented: racial segregation restricts access to good education, public services, jobs, and other important resources (Williams & Collins, 2001). Conversely, less segregated regions have higher levels of educational attainment, average incomes, and lower

homicide rates (Acs et al, 2017). Segregation is one of the greatest issues in the U.S and policies

to integrate the country must be implemented to alleviate it. Policy, not the individual decisions

of Americans, caused segregation. Therefore policy intervention is needed to spur desegregation

(Rothstein, 2017). To that end, this paper will offer four policy recommendations that could

create greater residential integration.

Policy Recommendations

Inclusionary Zoning

Inclusionary zoning laws are a feasible method of promoting racial and economic

integration. Inclusionary zoning either incentivize or require housing developers to make a

percentage of the housing units affordable to either moderate or low-income residents. The

government incentivizes inclusionary zoning by providing cost deductions—bonuses that allow

the developer to build more units than zoning allows—or permits that catalyze the development

process (HUD, 2013). Although inclusionary zoning explicitly aims for income integration,

income is often a proxy for race, so the result of successful inclusionary zoning laws is often

racial integration (Labov, 2017).

There are several examples of inclusionary zoning successfully producing integration.

Zoning laws in UC Davis generally increased integration in the city by placing affordable units

near the city center, in majority white areas, and providing the units with social services

(Holmqvist, 2011). A famous case of inclusionary zoning occurred in Montgomery County,

Maryland. From 1973 to 1998, the Montgomery program produced 10,000 affordable housing

units and significantly enhanced racial integration—by 1996 the white population decreased

from 92% to 73% (Roisman, 1995).

Inclusionary zoning laws would be a fitting reversal of the exclusionary zoning laws that allowed for heightening residential segregation in the early 20th century. Furthermore, because inclusionary zoning mandates income integration, the voting populous is more likely to accept it compared to policies than mandate racial integration, which is often viewed as social engineering.

Housing Mobility Program

A second policy that could promote integration is housing mobility programs. Such programs allow for individuals and families who live in extreme poverty to move to higher income neighborhoods and receive rent subsidies. Successful housing mobility programs have spurred social and economic benefits on multiple occasions. The Gautreaux program—which explicitly sought to promote racial integration—placed 7100 families into higher income, mostly white suburbs. A longitudinal study has pointed to greater school performance and job opportunities for the relocated families (Roisman, 1995). Based on the success of Gautreaux, HUD implemented the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, which relocated low income Americans to higher income neighborhoods. A study found "robust evidence that children who moved to lower poverty neighborhoods saw substantial benefits"(Labov, 2017). Other programs have been less successful, often because families are relocated to neighborhoods with only a minimally smaller poverty level. Therefore, any policy aiming for integration must ensure that significant income mixing occurs.

Reinforce Fair Lending

Fair lending laws forbid lenders from considering race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status, or disability when considering applications for residential mortgage loans.

As stated earlier, multiple studies have shown that minorities in America often are rejected or receive worse loans than whites with similar credit scores. Evidently, racial discrimination persists despite Fair Lending Laws, which leads to further segregation of American neighborhoods.

Greater enforcement of fair lending laws is crucial to promoting residential integration. This can be achieved through requiring lenders to give detailed information about their customers, including race, credit score, and age. With this information, HUD could investigate lenders accused of discriminating. Stronger enforcement of fair lending laws will help to decrease discrimination in the lending market and support residential integration (Borak, 2018).

Reimplementation of Obama Administration's Fair Housing Rules

In 2015, to combat the high levels of residential segregation in the U.S., the Obama administration passed "Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing" (AFFH) to reinforce the Fair Housing Act, which forbade residential discrimination. The AFFH required that any community that receives funding from HUD must thoroughly assess the status of Fair Housing and make clear plans to reverse any presence of segregation. To help achieve this, HUD provided cities and governments who receive funding from HUD with data on income, race, disability status, and other measures measure segregation within a community.

Recently, under the Trump administration, HUD postponed the AFFH. As a result, communities no longer need to create plans to fight residential segregation and HUD will stop reviewing and assessing plans. While this does not repeal the plan, the postponement effectively halts any federal efforts to decease segregation. Implementing AFFH is therefore a key political step in promoting integration (Badger & Eligon, 2018).

Conclusion

My analysis began by outlining the role the U.S. government has played in both creating and supporting residential segregation. The modern day consequence of such policies is apparent in the persisting separation of whites and minorities across the country. I then explored if white residential isolation correlated with voting for Trump in the 2016 election in North Carolina. My data points to a strong connection between these two variables; as the white isolation of a precinct increased, the percentage of that precinct supporting Donald Trump also increased. While innumerable factors influence voting, this paper postulated one potential reason being the contact hypothesis; in racially integrated precinct, inter-racial contact led to the individuals in the precincts rejecting Trump's polarizing platform. However, because my paper lacked any qualitative understanding of the North Carolinians in my data, I can only hypothesize the reasoning for how they voted.

Future research should supplement this study by conducting surveys and interviews of North Carolinians who live within homogenous and integrated precincts. Such data collection can determine the extent of interracial contact and political views on an individualist level. This information would add importance to understanding why supporters voted for Trump and to what extent it connected to residential geography. While I found a positive correlation in North Carolina, I believe this study can be used as the basis for other researchers hoping to understand and analyze the relationship between isolation and supporting Trump in the entire country.

Though my study did not speak to why individuals voted for Trump, almost 18 months into his presidency, the implications of his election have become clear. Deportation arrests have increased by 25% since 2016 (Associated Press, 2017), Trump is attempting to pass an executive order entirely banning Muslims immigration from seven countries (White House, 2017), he

failed to condemn the alt-right neo-Nazi protest in Charlottesville (Keith, 2017), and recently he banned transgender people from enlisting in the U.S. army (Talev, 2018). The stark social and political divisions that culminated in the election of Donald Trump are directly related to the segregationist policies of the 20th century. New strategies are needed to addresses these issues at the root; a change in housing policy is necessary to cultivate greater cross-cultural communication and understanding.

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