The Terrain of Spatial Justice

Cultural Mindsets of Race and Place in the United States

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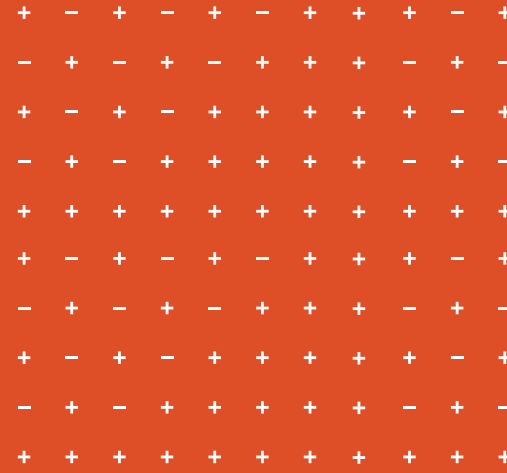Jessica Moyer

FRAME WORKS

Contents

Introduction and Project Background

Introduction

Racism is built into places. It shapes who can live where, how resources are distributed, who gets a say over what happens in places, and more. Places in the United States reflect, perpetuate, and amplify the racism that structures US society. Creating a racially just society requires creating a spatially just society—a society that advances racial justice within and between places.

There are many different types of people and organizations working to advance spatial justice in different ways—from community development organizations to Black-led grassroots organizations looking to build community power, from indigenous movements for tribal sovereignty to policy professionals working to advance inclusive economic development. While these movements and fields have different goals and strategies, many are—as we are—committed to the idea of spatial justice.

These efforts aspire to transform society in fundamental ways, which requires transforming culture. Culture is the soil in which our society grows, the terrain on which our politics happen, and the ground on which we make decisions about our shared social world. If we want to grow something fundamentally different—new actions, policies, institutions, and structures—we need to till and enrich this ground of culture.

Our existing cultural mindsets can alternately enable or, more commonly, stand in the way of the transformations needed to advance spatial justice. Understanding this cultural terrain is essential for the transformative work of spatial justice. We must understand this terrain to develop strategies for shifting mindsets and creating a fundamentally different world.

FrameWorks has conducted extensive research to map this cultural terrain. In this report, we present the findings from this research, outlining the cultural mindsets that shape how members of the US public think about race, place, and their relationship. This research explores how these mindsets support or obstruct the pursuit of spatial justice—how they support or undermine the fundamental beliefs and attitudes that lie at the heart of spatial justice.

This research looks across groups in US society, identifying ways of thinking that are shared while also exploring differences in the salience of mindsets among groups. We believe that narrative-change and mindset-shift work can best support the structural transformation of society by enabling broad multiracial, cross-class coalitions. While specific campaigns or efforts will always target specific audiences, keeping the whole and varied public in mind is, we believe, critical for deep, long-term change. We'll never get everyone to agree with us, of course, but deep social change is more likely when productive mindsets spread widely—not necessarily displacing other mindsets, but becoming available for a large majority of society.[1]

The findings from the research are rich and nuanced, but a few major points jump out:

— Mindsets that naturalize place, individualize thinking about race and place, and attribute place-based challenges to group culture (rather than policies and systems) deeply undermine the pursuit of spatial justice.

— These mindsets are often woven together with anti-Black and racism-denial mindsets that blame Black people and other people of color for the harm that racist policies and institutions create.

— There are—encouragingly—a variety of more systemic ways of understanding place, race, and their intersection that can be leveraged and expanded to advance spatial justice.

— Racial and partisan identity have large effects on thinking about race and place—party seemingly having the greatest effect. Location, on the other hand, does not appear to affect thinking about race or place in meaningful ways.

The map of the cultural landscape around race, place, and their relationship, laid out below, will have different uses for different movements and efforts, as each is positioned differently on the social terrain and has a different specific destination. Yet we believe and hope that this map can be asset for all those looking to advance spatial justice.

We begin the report with a brief explanation of cultural mindsets and a short description of the research conducted for this project. We then discuss four "target opinions"—four fundamental beliefs and attitudes that lie at the heart of spatial justice. These are opinions that people must hold to support the idea of spatial justice.

The rest of the report offers a deep dive into cultural mindsets of place, race, and their relationship. In the core "Findings" section of the report, we describe these mindsets and discuss how they enable or obstruct the pursuit of spatial justice. In the final section of the report, "Identity, Lived Experience, and the Salience of Spatial Justice," we discuss the ways in which differences in identity and lived experience affect how people engage with cultural mindsets of race and place. These findings provide important nuance and information about which aspects of identity and experience matter most for people's thinking about spatial justice while reinforcing that people's thinking isn't a reflection of any one identity.

This report is accompanied by a short strategic brief, which presents four key insights from this research and discusses their implications for how we communicate about spatial justice.

What Are Cultural Mindsets and Why Do They Matter?

Cultural mindsets (or mindsets, for short) are deep, assumed patterns of thinking that shape how we understand the world and how we make decisions.[2] In shaping how we think, mindsets structure and produce our beliefs and attitudes.

The mindsets that we hold can normalize or problematize aspects of the existing social order. For example, a mindset rooted in individualism makes public policies that support the community good seem off base, unnecessary, and misguided. Individualism focuses our attention on measures that help individual people make better decisions (e.g., health education) and takes our attention off the ways that broader structures and systems affect our lives (e.g., the ways that housing affordability, toxins in our water, or access to quality food affect our health).

We all have multiple mindsets that we can use to think about a given issue. For example, while Americans often think individualistically, we also have access to more ecological and systemic mindsets. When these mindsets are active, they bring into view social systems and the ways that environments shape outcomes alongside individual choices. They also lead us to recognize the need for changes to systems, including via policy change.

Cultural mindsets are highly durable. They emerge from and are tied to cultural and social practices and institutions with deep historical roots. In our research, we focus on cultural mindsets that emerge from common, national social practices and institutions—mindsets that are shared across our national culture. It is important to recognize, however, that different people and groups will engage with these common mindsets in different ways. For example, a mindset can be more salient—more frequently drawn upon and more consistently used in thinking—for one group than for another. In addition, cultural subgroups within society also have access to distinctive mindsets that emerge from institutions and practices specific to these groups.

How Does Cultural Mindsets Research Differ from Public Opinion Research?

Public opinion research examines the explicit attitudes and preferences that people hold about specific issues. Cultural mindsets research explores the deeper, underlying ways of thinking that shape and explain these patterns in public opinion. Where public opinion research examines *what* people think, cultural mindsets research examines *how* people think. For example, public opinion research might demonstrate that people support health education programs more than they support policies that support access to healthy housing. Cultural mindsets research explains why this is, revealing the role that the mindset of health individualism plays in driving these opinions and preferences.

For more on cultural mindsets and mindset shifts, see *Mindset Shifts: What Are They? Why Do They Matter? How Do They Happen?*

Methods

To map cultural mindsets, we employed two methods:[3]

1. **In-depth interviews.** FrameWorks conducted 52 one-on-one, two-hour-long, in-depth, semi-structured interviews with members of the US public from May–June 2022. These interviews were then analyzed to identify the cultural mindsets used to think about place, race, racism, and their relationships. To ensure that our findings about mindsets represent thinking across groups and to enable us to attend to differences in thinking, we sampled 10 people with each of the following identities: Asian American/Pacific Islander (AAPI), Black, Latinx, and white; and 12 people identifying as Native American.

2. **Descriptive surveys.** Following the analysis of the interviews, researchers designed and fielded two descriptive surveys, with a total of 3,003 participants, that examined cultural mindsets and their relationships to target opinions. These surveys had three purposes:

    —   *Measuring salience.* These surveys allowed us to measure how strongly people endorse different mindsets, which provides a measure of their salience in public thinking. While people hold multiple mindsets simultaneously and draw upon different models at different times, some mindsets more strongly and consistently shape public thinking. Understanding the relative salience of cultural models of place, race, and their relationship helps us to understand their relative importance and impact on thinking.

    —   *Mapping relationships between mindsets and between mindsets and opinions.* By measuring endorsement of mindsets and opinions, the surveys also enabled us to examine whether and how strongly mindsets are related to one another and to opinions. Understanding how mindsets and opinions are related enables us to identify the mindsets that are the biggest obstacles to the pursuit of spatial justice as well as the mindsets that can best support this pursuit.

    —   *Understanding how identity and lived experience shape thinking.* The surveys allowed us to analyze how demographic variables relate to the endorsement of mindsets and target opinions. This analysis provides critical information about how cultural mindsets do—and don't—vary between groups.

Together, these methods provide a detailed map of the cultural mindsets members of the US public use to think about place, race, and their intersection. For more detail on methods, see the Appendices.

The Ideas Behind Spatial Justice: Four Target Opinions

To explore, in research, how existing cultural mindsets enable or obstruct the pursuit of spatial justice, we needed to identify a set of basic ideas that lie at the heart of spatial justice. Mindsets enable spatial justice when they lead people to embrace these ideas. Mindsets obstruct spatial justice when they lead people to oppose these ideas.

To identify these core ideas—these tenets of spatial justice—we need to start with a brief articulation of spatial justice. **We understand spatial justice as the distribution of power and resources within and between places needed to establish racial equity.** Moving toward this goal will require changes to policies, institutions, and structures to redress the racism built into places. By "places" we primarily mean local geographic communities at various levels, including neighborhoods, cities, suburbs, towns, and counties. We recognize that spatial justice also operates on larger scales—at the levels of provinces or states, countries, regions, and continents—but for this project we focus on the local level.

This general articulation of spatial justice, of course, raises a range of questions, and different movements and efforts answer these questions in slightly different ways. And specific movements and efforts have more specific focuses, fleshing out what spatial justice involves in a particular place, on a particular issue, or with respect to a particular group. For our purposes, this general articulation suffices as it enables us—drawing on learning from key partners and stakeholders—to identify four fundamental ideas that lie at the heart of the idea of spatial justice but that are not widely shared by members of the US public.

For research purposes, we can think of these ideas as "target opinions"—the opinions that those pushing for social justice want to advance. By measuring agreement with these target opinions and their relationship to mindset endorsement, we can analyze the relationship between these opinions and the cultural mindsets described below. This empirical analysis allows us to understand how some existing cultural mindsets obstruct the pursuit of spatial justice and how others can facilitate organizing and advocacy around spatial justice.

Here, we identify and describe the four target opinions.

Opinion #1: Structural racism affects place.

The goal: Members of the public must recognize that structural racism has historically played and continues to play a fundamental role in shaping how places, especially at the local level, are constituted.

In order for people to recognize and support steps to redress the ways in which structural racism is built into places, they must first recognize that structural racism has fundamentally shaped and continues to shape places in the United States. As we discuss below, this will require a fundamental shift in American cultural mindsets, as this reality is not widely recognized.

In order for people to understand the role of racism in shaping place, they will need to understand the role of policy in shaping place more generally—something that is, as we discuss below, more widely, but not consistently, recognized.

Opinion #2: Spatial justice is an important issue.

The goal: In their consideration of public affairs, members of the public must regularly think about the link between racial equity and place. In addition, they must prioritize policies that redress the racism built into places and that build racial equity in and through places.

Racism and racial justice have long been salient public issues—though often not prioritized—and the places people live are salient to them. Yet the link between racial equity and place is, as we discuss below, not top of mind for members of the public. Place often falls out of public conversations about racial equity, and racial equity is rarely centered in public conversations about place.

To transform places in ways that promote racial equity, this link needs to become more salient, and people must, in their consideration of public affairs, prioritize policies aimed at this goal.

Opinion #3: Spatial justice is a collective responsibility.

The goal: Members of the public must believe that society has the responsibility, as a collective moral agent, to act through collective institutions to redress racist place-shaping policies and practices and to create racial equity between and within communities.

Not only do existing cultural mindsets tend to obscure the links between racism/racial equity and place, but many existing mindsets also blame Black and brown people and communities for the outcomes of racist policies. When people think in these ways, it absolves society of responsibility. Fostering a widespread sense of collective responsibility for spatial justice is a cultural precondition for transformative change.

Opinion #4: We can achieve spatial justice by acting collectively.

The goal: Members of the public must believe that society has the ability, through collective institutions such as government, to reshape places in ways that redress racist place-shaping policies and create racial equity between and within communities.

Fatalism is a widespread challenge across social issues, and this issue is no different. People frequently assume there are limits to how much policy can do to change what places are like. More profoundly, people across groups frequently assume that racism is an intractable problem that won't get better. This fatalism is a barrier to transformative change, as it can fuel hopelessness and apathy and undermine willingness to act in support of change.

While the barriers to change are large and real, transforming society is possible through collective action. Building a sense of collective efficacy is a precondition for this transformation.

As we note above, these four opinions are basic and general. They do not involve a deep understanding of all the ways in which racism is built into places or the many steps needed to equitably redistribute power and resources in, between, and through places. They are opinions we must promote to be able to advance spatial justice, though efforts to advance specific policy, institutional, and structural changes will necessarily involve additional work to build understanding of the need for these changes.

Survey Evidence: How Target Opinions Are Related to One Another

In our descriptive surveys, we measured support for the four target opinions. This provides baseline measurement that could be used for evaluation at later points in time and helps us better understand these opinions and how they are related to cultural mindsets.

In the surveys, we used five scales to measure the four opinions described above, breaking the first opinion—belief that structural racism affects place—into two discrete measures. This idea is complex, as it involves, first, believing that structural racism exists and, second, believing that government policies shape places.[4] Only when people believe these two separate ideas can they understand that structural racism affects place.[5] For clarity of measurement, we developed questions that gauged belief in these two more basic ideas, so this opinion is indirectly captured by these two constructs.

Below, we present correlations among these five scales, which show us how these opinions are related to one another (see Table 1). The first two columns of the table represent the two separate constructs that feed into the broader belief that structural racism shapes place.

All of the target opinions are positively correlated. (When ideas are positively correlated, this means that the more strongly someone agrees with one idea, the more strongly they tend to agree with the other.) All of the correlations are statistically significant. The first four measures, capturing the first three ideas described above, are *very* strongly correlated. This makes intuitive sense. When people think systemically about racism, they are also more likely to think systemically about how places are constituted. When they think systemically about racism and place, they're more likely to see spatial justice as a priority issue and to believe we have a collective responsibility to advance spatial justice.

The attitude that stands out as *less* strongly linked to the others is collective efficacy. While still positively correlated with the other opinions, these correlations are small or moderate. While this might seem surprising, on inspection it makes sense. People can recognize that structural racism exists, that government actions and policies shape places, and that spatial justice should be a priority and is a collective responsibility, but still be skeptical about our society's ability to fix the problem.

Table 1: Correlations among target opinions[6]

	Understanding: Structural racism exists	Understanding: Government shapes place	Salience of spatial justice	Collective responsibility
Understanding: Government shapes place	0.75**			
Salience of spatial justice	0.76**	0.68**		
Collective responsibility	0.72**	0.68**	0.80**	
Collective efficacy	0.27**	0.28**	0.35**	0.38**

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

The good news is that understanding the extent of the problem doesn't *undermine* collective efficacy—if this were the case, we would see a *negative* correlation. When the full, systemic nature of social problems becomes clear, it can sometimes lead people to worry that the problems are too big to fix. That is not true for this issue. When belief in structural racism and the role of government in shaping places goes up, typically, so does collective efficacy. This means that organizers, advocates, and communicators don't have to worry that in building understanding of the systemic nature of the problem, they're undercutting efficacy.

To the contrary, the positive correlation suggests that building understanding of systems can advance a sense of collective efficacy—likely by fostering a sense that these systems can be changed. However, the fact that collective efficacy is less tightly linked with the other opinions than they are with each other suggests that those pushing for spatial justice may need dedicated strategies for building a sense of collective efficacy. Building understanding of systems, salience, and a sense of collective responsibility may not automatically produce a sense of efficacy.
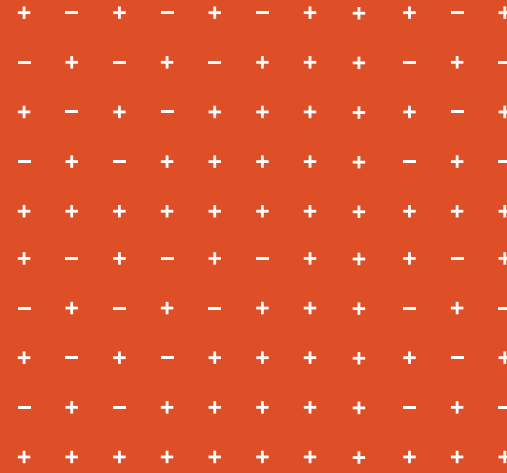
Cultural Mindsets of Race and Place

Cultural Mindsets of Race and Place

This section of the report describes the cultural mindsets that members of the US public use to think about place, race and racism, and the intersection of race and place. All of these mindsets are available across racial, partisan, and other identities, though there are—as we discuss in the next section of this report—some differences in the relative salience of mindsets by group. Here, we describe these mindsets and discuss their general salience for the public taken as a whole, their relationships with each other, and their relationships with the target opinions introduced above. We occasionally allude to differences in salience by group, but we largely reserve discussion of this for the next section of the report.

FINDING #1

Mindsets that naturalize place or attribute the characteristics of places to residents' choices and character are a major challenge. But people sometimes recognize that place is designed.

The dominant mindsets that people use to think about place are mostly unproductive. When thinking with these mindsets, people either naturalize places—seeing them as an organic and inevitable outgrowth of markets beyond our control—or attribute places' characteristics to the people who live there. Both ways of thinking make it difficult for people to recognize how public policies shape places, much less how social institutions and structures do. As a result, when communities face challenges, people either conclude that they are unfixable or—worse—that they are the fault of the communities themselves.

However, there is an alternative way of thinking that people have access to, grounded in the idea that places are designed through policy choices. This mindset is, as we discuss below, quite thin—it doesn't give people a clear model for *how* policies shape places—but it's a useful starting point for building an understanding of our collective ability to redesign places.

We review each of these mindsets in turn and discuss their implications for field and movement stakeholders.

The *Housing Market Naturalism* cultural mindset

When drawing on this mindset, people assume that housing costs are determined by a market that is largely outside of our control. This mindset treats the market as a natural reality rather than a designed creature of policy.

This mindset is a specific application of a more general mindset that people use to think about the economy as a whole—the *Market Naturalism* mindset. The core idea of this mindset is that markets function by natural laws that we can't control; if we try to interfere with them, we'll just interrupt the proper functioning of the economy and get an economy that doesn't work well.

In other research, we've found that this mindset has become less dominant in people's thinking about the economy as a whole.[7] Yet housing is a domain in which this way of thinking remains strong. Our interviews and surveys for this project indicate that people continue to naturalize the housing market and see it as something that is simply outside effective collective control.[8]

When thinking with this mindset, people recognize that affordability structures and constrains people's choices; they just assume that these costs are beyond our control. The model is often apparent in people's talk by what they *don't say*, as in the following quote:

> *If the neighborhood is mostly property owners, that's based on, could you afford to buy the house? Does your job afford you enough money to pay the mortgage every month?*
>
> Black, female, rural, Democrat

Housing costs are taken for granted here—they simply are whatever the market dictates. When people draw on this mindset, they don't see how housing policies (e.g., restrictions on building, zoning policies) shape housing costs nor do they see how policies shape the resources that exist within neighborhoods.

When using this mindset, people assume that where people live is, inevitably, a function of what they can afford given market realities. When participants were pushed to think about how to make housing more affordable, this mindset led them to focus on giving people more money—so they can afford more—rather than trying to lower housing costs, since this was assumed to be impossible.[9]

The *Individual Choice* cultural mindset

People sometimes assume that where people live is simply a function of individual choice and preference. In other words, people are free to live where they want, and residence is a reflection of this free choice. This mindset allows for different types of preferences: people might choose where to live based on their preferences about neighbors and community, access to nature, neighborhood resources, proximity to or distance from the city center, or anything else that someone might value.

I think it comes down to what a person likes. If they like a more relaxed lifestyle, they want to get away from all the busy-ness, like in an urban place where there's a lot of traffic, a lot of people... it just all comes down to what somebody likes.

White, male, suburban, Republican

I grew up in the urban area. That's where I was raised. That's where I got my values. Where I learned things in the nest. But, also, I learned that that was not where I wanted to be. So, when I went off to college, after college I got married and my husband was from the suburbs by chance—really different—but I moved out of the city. So, I've been in the suburbs since then. [...] Now that I'm retired, living in the South looks good. Maybe I'll want to get away from the suburbs and move to that quiet life which I've never been used to. [...] It's according to what you decide at whatever point in your life where you want to be. That's a personal choice.

Black, female, suburban, Democrat

Constraints on choice are backgrounded in people's thinking when they draw on this mindset. While people might recognize at some level that people's choices are affected by what they can afford, where their job is located, or any number of other circumstantial realities, when drawing on the *Individual Choice* mindset these constraints are assumed to be limited. This mindset leads people to assume that the main determinant of residence is individual preference. Qualitative analysis suggests that this is a widely drawn upon, but not dominant, way of thinking.

The *Character Shapes Place* cultural mindset

The core assumption of this mindset is that the characteristics of places are a direct reflection of the people who live in them—"good" places are a reflection of "good" people, and "bad" places are a reflection of "bad" people. In other words, the character of the people in the community is seen as the main determinant of what a place is like.

Interview participants frequently drew on this mindset to account for the differences between "good" and "bad" neighborhoods. According to this way of thinking, neighborhoods that are safe, clean, and close-knit communities are that way because the people who live their "care" about their neighbors and the environment. When neighborhoods are unsafe, dirty, and disconnected, this is because the people there *don't* care about their neighbors or the neighborhood environment. The quote below illustrates this type of talk:

> *I think it depends on who is in that place, who takes a role in that place and what are they bringing to that place [...]—what are their intentions for that place, what is their motivation for being part of that place? How do they contribute to the energy in that place? And what are they bringing to that place?*
>
> Latina, female, urban, independent

As we discuss below, this mindset is often combined with racist stereotypes and mindsets, and talk about "good" and "bad" neighborhoods is frequently racially coded. The *Character Shapes Place* mindset is not always applied with race in mind, but it does, as we explain below, open the door for racist thinking.

The *Place Is Designed* cultural mindset

This mindset is grounded in the recognition that places are designed and shaped by government decisions and public policies. When people use this mindset, they recognize that what neighborhoods, cities, and other places are like, and who lives in them, is shaped by government decision-making.

In our research, participants more frequently applied this mindset to talk about the past. Many participants had an easier time thinking about how past policy decisions or government actions shaped what a place has come to be, as in the following quote:

> *If you start tracing that back, at least in the United States, maybe there was something from the government that created this community in terms of the land here was now allowed to be owned by certain people, and then those people sectioned it up and [...] there was community development. And so, this community maybe has always had people from these 20 families living in it and they liked it so they raised their kids there and it's generationally, "this is ours."*
>
> Black, female, urban, independent

At times, participants also applied the mindset to think about current rules or policies—or decisions about investment—that shape places.

> *Government [has] an influence on whether they want to help certain areas. [...] There's a lot of areas in the US that are lower income and everything and the government has a lot of influence in the resources that they make available, minimum wage. [...] The government has a lot of control at the end of the day because that's the bottom line, the law of things.*
>
> Native American, female, urban, leans Democratic)

This mindset is thin and underdeveloped. It doesn't provide a clear model for thinking about the specifics of *how* places are designed. Even when they applied this mindset, participants struggled to identify specific policies—like zoning, housing, transportation, or environmental policies—that structure and shape neighborhoods and cities. They recognized that "the government" (frequently understood as a monolithic body or personified in terms of individual leaders) makes decisions that shape places, but they weren't sure about the mechanisms by which places are designed.

In terms of dominance, this mindset stands in rough balance with the *Character Shapes Place* mindset. Our qualitative analysis found that both mindsets were frequently drawn upon, with neither one being dominant over the other. Survey results support this impression, as the mean scores for the two mindsets were close (on a 100-point scale, mean scores were 63.0 for *Place Is Designed* and 59.5 for *Character Shapes Place*).

> Mean scores for mindsets indicate survey participants' average level of agreement with statements that encapsulate the mindset. In the survey, participants were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with such statements, using Likert-type scales—typically, a seven-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." For simplicity of interpretation, mean scores have been translated to a 100-point scale, with zero indicating the highest level of disagreement and 100 indicating the highest level of agreement. These means are *not* the percent of participants who agreed with statements, but rather the average level of agreement with them.

How do these mindsets obstruct or enable the pursuit of spatial justice?

— The *Housing Market Naturalism* **mindset enables thinking about constraints but interferes with thinking about solutions.** This mindset provides quick access to the reality that costs constrain where people live. Yet because this mindset naturalizes the housing market, it leads people to assume that there's little that can be done to change housing and—more broadly—places. This mindset undermines a sense of collective efficacy about reshaping places in any way, including steps to realize spatial justice.

— The *Individual Choice* **mindset obscures how policy shapes residence.** In assuming that choice of residence is an unconstrained result of personal preference, this mindset makes it hard to recognize how policies—both in the past (e.g., redlining) and the present (e.g., zoning and land use policies)—structure the composition of places and the options that are available to people. It interferes with the pursuit of spatial justice by obscuring the role of collective decisions in shaping residence.

— The *Character Shapes Place* **mindset blames communities for problems and opens the door for racism.** The mindset prevents people from recognizing the role of public policy and resources in enabling neighborhoods to prosper. This leads people to misattribute the prosperity of thriving communities to the supposedly good character of their residents and misattribute the challenges

of communities that are not thriving to the supposedly bad character of theirs. Just as the *Individual Choice* mindset obstructs the pursuit of spatial justice by obscuring the role of government in shaping *where* people live, the *Character Shapes Place* mindset obscures the role of government in shaping *what places are like*.

As we discuss below, this mindset is often applied, in practice, along with racist mindsets. It opens the door for these mindsets by implicating the character of residents. If predominantly Black neighborhoods tend to be less prosperous and places are reflections of community character, this sets up a clear, racist logic: there must be something about the character of Black communities that is lacking. (We discuss this dynamic further under finding #6 below.)

— **The *Place is Designed* mindset enables people to see the role of government in shaping what is and what could be.** This mindset makes it possible for people to see that places are the product of policy choices. This creates space for people to see that policies can and should be changed to advance spatial justice. As we discuss below, this way of thinking must be coupled with a systemic understanding of racism to support the pursuit of spatial justice. Yet the *Place Is Designed* mindset is a critical ingredient—people must recognize the role of collective choices and government actions in shaping places in order to see the possibility of redesigning places to be more racially equitable. This mindset is thin, however, and must be strengthened and deepened in order to support the goals of specific efforts and movements around spatial justice.

Survey Evidence: How Mindsets around Place Are Related to Target Opinions

In our surveys, we explored the relationship between select mindsets of place and the target opinions we identified at the outset of the project as critical for advancing spatial justice (for a description of these opinions, see the section above, "The Ideas Behind Spatial Justice: Four Target Opinions"). By examining a series of correlations, we determined how mindsets are associated with these opinions. While these correlations are not evidence of causality, we have theoretical reasons for interpreting them as suggesting that the mindsets are producing specific opinions: Mindsets are underlying cognitive models that shape how we reason. Beliefs and attitudes (the types of opinions at stake) can be understood as conclusions produced by this reasoning.[10]

In the surveys, we examined three of the mindsets around place described above—the *Housing Market Naturalism*, *Character Shapes Place*, and *Place Is Designed* mindsets. (The *Individual Choice* mindset was omitted from the surveys due to space constraints.)

Our correlation analysis confirms that the *Place Is Designed* mindset is consistently productive. There are large positive correlations between this mindset and the first four measures (the two belief measures, salience, and collective responsibility—see Table 2 below). The correlation with the collective efficacy scale is small but significant. We see here, as above and elsewhere below, that collective efficacy functions slightly differently than the other target opinions. The logic here is consistent with the explanation offered above: simply believing that places are designed through government action and policy choices does not automatically produce high levels of collective efficacy.

The correlations between the *Character Shapes Place* mindset and target opinions are generally negative and statistically significant, but small. These negative correlations mean that the more strongly participants agreed with the items measuring the *Character Shapes Place* mindset, the less strongly they agreed—or the more they disagreed—with items measuring belief in structural racism, belief in government's role in shaping place, the salience of spatial justice, and collective responsibility. These correlations are further evidence that the mindset is unproductive.[11]

There is a very small positive correlation between the *Character Shapes Place* mindset and collective efficacy. While significant, this correlation is extremely small. Since nothing in the qualitative analysis suggests that this mindset would yield a sense of collective efficacy, we do not understand this small correlation as evidence of a meaningful relationship between this mindset and this opinion.

Table 2: Correlations between mindsets around place and target opinions

	Understanding: Structural racism exists	Understanding: Government shapes place	Salience of spatial justice	Collective responsibility	Collective efficacy
Housing Market Naturalism Mindset	0.03	**0.11****	**0.07****	**0.12****	0.02
Character Shapes Place Mindset	**-0.25****	**-0.15****	**-0.20****	**-0.16****	**0.07****
Place Is Designed Mindset	**0.76****	**0.76****	**0.68****	**0.66****	**0.26****

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

Correlations for the *Housing Market Naturalism* mindset are very small or nonexistent and do not quite track qualitative findings. On a general level, this makes sense—the mindset has both productive and unproductive components, so we would not expect strong correlations in either direction. It is surprising, however, that this mindset positively correlates with the belief that government shapes places given that this mindset naturalizes places and assumes that housing costs and neighborhood resources are largely out of our collective control.

We suspect that this specific result may be due, in part, to the relationship of this mindset to other, more productive, systemic mindsets. The cognizance of cost constraints is a form of contextual thinking that could be loosely related to systemic mindsets that support target opinions. In fact, this mindset is positively correlated with other productive mindsets, including the *Place Is Designed* mindset (r=0.13**) and the *Structural Model of Racism* (r=0.05*) (see finding #3 below on this latter mindset).

We take these correlations for *Housing Market Naturalism* as general evidence of its mixed implications for spatial justice.

People frequently conflate race with ethnicity, though they sometimes recognize that race is socially constructed.

In our interviews with members of the public, we saw little sign of *strong* biological models of race—models that view races as biologically distinct, with significant genetic differences that lead to fundamental differences in character and capacity. We looked for such models, as these mindsets have historically justified overt ideologies of racial supremacy. We know that there are, of course, still people who hold such biological conceptions of race, but these mindsets did not appear in our interview sample.

This is not to say that biology was wholly missing from conversations. Participants talked a lot about skin color. Yet they generally treated skin color as a superficial characteristic rather than something that is tied to deeper characteristics (e.g., intelligence).

This also doesn't mean that we didn't see *racist* mindsets. As we discuss below, we identified a constellation of mindsets that we can understand as comprising an updated ideology of white supremacy. These mindsets were not, though, grounded in strong biological models of race.

We identified two definitional mindsets of race, which provide distinct understandings of what race is.

The *Race = Skin Color + Culture* cultural mindset

This mindset equates race with culture while understanding skin color as a physical sign of cultural identity. In our interviews, participants often defined race in terms of culture, language, traditions, and heritage. They frequently talked about skin color as a marker of a common culture. The presumption here is that people from any specific part of the world share *both* skin color *and* culture.

This mindset understands race as grounded in objective reality: racial groups are different in terms of both culture and skin color. We see this pairing of culture and skin color in the following quote:

> *I would say race is, along with the color of their skin, the kind of cultural identities that they have with that. So, the things one person might do is something another race wouldn't do because that's not part of their culture.*
>
> Black, male, suburban, Democrat

This mindset does not in and of itself assume that some racial groups are superior to others. As we discuss below, this mindset *can* be coupled with thinking that denigrates "Black culture" or the cultures of other groups, though other applications of the mindset instead celebrate cultural—and, according to this model, racial—diversity. Qualitative analysis suggests that this is the dominant mindset used to understand what race is.

The *Race Is Socially Constructed* cultural mindset

When thinking with this mindset, people understand race as a category that is not objectively real but, rather, one that has been created for social purposes. Racial categorizations are thus not a reflection of a preexisting reality but rather a construct imposed to organize social relations for particular purposes. While not dominant, qualitative analysis suggests that this mindset is widely available for members of the public (i.e., it is not strongly recessive).

> *I've lately been trying to find the articles that I read when I was in school that said race isn't real, and I wanted to reread those—like, what was this argument again? Because some people will not use that word. They'll use culture, or ethnicity, or something and that race is a social construct, but I don't remember what came after that [...]. So yeah, race either isn't real—when I think about it now, it's like is race a thing—or race is the only thing and it's what is used to classify and divide people who look different and maybe do different things.*
>
> Black, female, urban, independent

> *I'm Native American and I live on my reservation. I live in the Choctaw Nation and when we talk about being Choctaw, we talk about being family and community, but we're not talking about ourselves as a race. We're talking about ourselves as a people, and I think that's different. I don't ever even consider myself [in terms of] race—my race is not Choctaw. My skin color— when I think of race, I think of skin color, I think of division. If you're talking about race, you're talking about it because you're dividing people into groups and that always creates discord.*
>
> Native American, female, rural, independent

This mindset can be paired with both progressive and regressive understandings of racial categorization. In our research, when participants drew on systemic understandings of racism (see finding #3 below), they often recognized that racial categories were developed to justify the oppression of some people by others and continue to function in this way. At other points, when participants adopted perspectives that minimize current racism (see finding #4 below), they sometimes treated racial categories as outdated constructs that can simply be imagined out of existence. According to this regressive ideology of "colorblindness," racial categorization serves to divide us and to perpetuate grievance, so we should insist on colorblindness and reject these constructs.

How do these mindsets obstruct or enable the pursuit of spatial justice?

— The *Race = Skin Color + Culture* **cultural mindset obscures the social function of race and flattens racial groups.** By tracing race to a supposedly objective reality, this mindset obscures both its socially constructed nature and, in turn, the purpose of racial categories—to justify white supremacy. In addition, the mindset reduces people's complex and multifaceted cultural and linguistic backgrounds to their outward physical appearance. This opens the door for stereotypes and racist mindsets about the supposedly deficient cultures of non-white groups (see finding #4). This mindset can also lead people to conclude that people from the same racial groups must want to live near each other since they share a common "culture" (see finding #6). In these various ways, the mindset obscures how structural racism works and how it segregates racial groups and shapes places.

— The *Race Is Socially Constructed* **cultural mindset can be productive, but it can also be applied in ways that undercut racial and spatial justice.** This mindset enables people to see the social function of racial categorization and can help people understand that race is the product rather than the precursor of racism. It moves people away from the idea that race is a neutral category. This mindset opens space for understanding how white supremacy has historically operated and continues to function in US society.

However, the *Race Is Socially Constructed* mindset can also be used in conjunction with the *Colorblind Racism* mindset (discussed below) to undercut racial justice. When people think in this way, they conclude that the social purposes of racial categorization either lie wholly in the past or involve justifying "reverse" discrimination or supposedly unjustified grievances by people of color that serve to divide Americans. These uses of the mindset fundamentally undermine the goals of this project and the pursuit of racial and spatial justice.

One lesson for progressive communicators: We can't assume that talk about the social construction of race will necessarily cue productive thinking. To the contrary, for some people it will cue regressive thinking and an appeal to colorblindness—the idea that we can and should stop talking about race and that, if we do, it will fade away.

FINDING #3
An interpersonal view of racism remains strong across groups. But there *are* several distinct systemic models of racism available.

FrameWorks has found that members of the US public, across racial and ethnic groups, have—up until the last few years—generally understood racism in interpersonal terms, as something that happens between individuals due to personal bias. While participants in our research have, on occasion, drawn on a systemic view of racism, this mindset was clearly recessive, playing a less prominent role in people's thinking.

In FrameWorks' Culture Change Project, we found that the racial justice uprisings of 2020 strengthened systemic thinking about racism, increasing the salience of this mindset. While the interpersonal model remains strong across groups, systemic thinking about racism has clearly increased—albeit unevenly across groups.[12]

The current project on spatial justice has given us the opportunity to dig more deeply into interpersonal and systemic models of racism. Through this process, we have deepened our understanding of the interpersonal model and been able to pull apart three different systemic models of racism. We outline these models below and discuss their implications for work to advance spatial justice.

The *Interpersonal Model of Racism*

When people think with this mindset, they understand racism as an interpersonal problem. In this way of thinking, racism exists between individuals, results from personal bias and prejudice, and involves discriminatory treatment of some individuals by other individuals. The following quotes illustrate how this mindset locates racism within individual bias and prejudice:

> *I feel like some individuals in the 330 million people that live in America are just bad people, either from growing up in bad situations or being around individuals that also had bad beliefs [...] I think the best thing that people can do is just flat out ignore them because they decided to place a defamatory value on an individual just because of their skin and they know nothing about them.*
>
> Native American, male, rural, Republican

> *Some people, they're racist, like some people are racist still, I guess, and sometimes their race can, like, prohibit them from getting a job or... race can, there are stereotypes affiliated sometimes with race. It's a problem, I guess, because not everybody's going to be the same color, skin color, which makes some people look at people of different color as less than.*
>
> White, male, suburban, Republican

People draw upon this model to make sense of a wide range of instances of discrimination, from discrimination in employment to police violence. When using this model to make sense of such cases, people locate the problem in the individual hiring manager or police officer. Thinking in this way, the problem is about individual bias against people of another racial group rather than anything broader or systemic.

Racist feelings are typically assumed to be learned from families and peers as part of a person's upbringing. Because this model sees bias as something that is learned, when people draw upon it, they often see education as the solution—just as people can learn bias, they can unlearn it. However, at times, people are assumed to be unteachable; if racism has become deeply lodged in their hearts, there may not be a way to unlearn it.

Three Systemic Models of Racism

Our research has identified three distinct systemic models of racism. They range from partially to fully systemic, and we discuss them in that order.

The *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism*

This is a hybrid model that blends interpersonal and systemic elements. It piggybacks on a particular understanding of government, which equates government with individual leaders in power.[13] This mindset enables people to combine an interpersonal understanding of racism with a systemic modeling of effects.

According to this model, institutions and systems are not understood to be racist, but individuals in power *can* be racist. In this way of thinking, personal bias can motivate government leaders to use public policy and government levers to discriminate on the basis of race. In other words, the personal biases of leaders can create systemic discriminatory effects.

> *I think it is the individual people inside the government who ultimately have the effects of the government. [...] The people inside the government, if they are racist, that is a problem.*
>
> Asian American, female, urban, Democrat

This mindset leads people to a particular remedy for racism—get racist individuals out of power and replace them with leaders who are not biased.

The *Historical Legacy Model of Racism*

This mindset, unlike the *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism*, recognizes that institutions and systems can be racist, but it locates these racist institutions and systems in the past. This model focuses on the legal racist regimes of the past, under slavery and Jim Crow. According to this model, this systemic racism of the past continues to have systemic effects today, as an economic and cultural inheritance.

Within this mindset, legal racist regimes are understood to be over—the model does not provide ways of understanding how policies and laws today create and perpetuate inequities—but these regimes are understood to have ongoing effects. Wealth is the primary mechanism through which the racism of past regimes is understood to perpetuate disparities between white and Black people. In this way of thinking, although the wealth gap is a product of past policies, differences in wealth lead to differences in opportunities for success today, so past policies have continuing effects.

> *Because of slavery, the intergenerational wealth, or whatever, passed down, the property. I don't have any inheritance. Not that most white people have a trust fund coming to them, that's not what I'm saying. But there's definitely a lot of time gap in the history between Black and white people.*
>
> Black, female, urban, Democrat

> *This country was made, technically, by white people. But it was on the labor of other races and groups that don't get to benefit. America wouldn't be what it is today, one of the richest countries in the world, if it wasn't for the labor of Black people. And being that it was slave labor, all these white people could get established and make businesses and money, and profit, and stack up generational wealth for years, and hundreds of years beyond their lifetime and push that towards the next generation. Whereas, since Black people were enslaved doing the work for free, we didn't get that kind of head start, you know? So, because of that, white people largely have generational wealth on these companies and off the free labor of these businesses that they made. Whereas, Black people, we kind of struggle because we've never really had that.*
>
> Black, male, suburban, Democrat

Culture is also seen as a collective mechanism through which racism is passed down as a legacy from past generations. Old ways of talking and thinking—now supposedly detached from legal discrimination—continue to shape how this country treats Black people and other people of color. While this line of thinking is similar to the *Interpersonal* model's focus on upbringing, the *Historical Legacy* model understands this learning across generations in collective terms. This culture is understood to be shared within whole communities and regions, in contrast to the *Interpersonal* model's centering of family and friends. When thinking with this model, research participants often focused on the South, understanding it as a region in which the cultural legacy of racism is strong.

The *Structural Model of Racism*

This mindset understands racism as built into US social systems and structures through policies and institutions past and present. When people think with this model, they recognize how the history of slavery and segregation continues to shape social systems, but also understand racism as perpetuated by current policies, such as policing or education policies.

> *Well [race] has been used as a tool of oppression and segregation. It has really and still does, you know, it's had a lot of detrimental effects because if you think about our government and the way it was formed, people of color were not considered human or a person. So our whole country was founded on this assumption that people of color are less than white people. So we started off there and have continued on from there. [...] If we just start with slavery alone and how that affected this country and still affects this country to this day...*
>
> White, male, urban, Democrat

> *I think that it's perpetuated by also the inequalities within our society [...] So, not only the educational and the resources, and whatnot, it all comes back down to the people are supposed to as a unit provide guidance to the government who then provides guidance to us. It's supposed to be a giving back and forth system. And that's what's supposed to create the structure within our society. But the problem is, we have all these people, but some people are heard more than others and then some people's ideals and principles are held more highly than others and are being enforced via the government. And that is a major factor in my opinion, which can help continue perpetuation of racism systemically, individually, and societally.*
>
> Asian American, male, suburban, Democrat

Like the *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism*, the *Structural* model provides a way of understanding how current policies can have systemic, discriminatory effects. Yet it doesn't reduce the motivation for such policies to the individual bias of particular leaders, as the *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* does. Like the *Historical Legacy* model, the *Structural* model enables people to see that past policies built racism into our social systems and structure. Yet unlike this model, it doesn't stop with past policies and instead fosters recognition that current policies perpetuate racial discrimination and inequities.
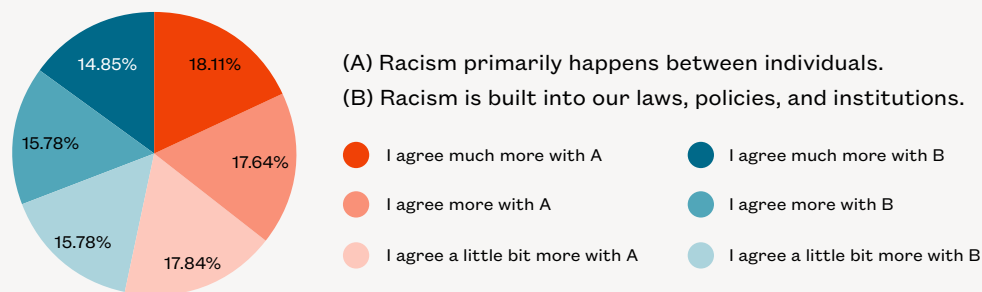
Yet the *Structural* model is thinner on mechanisms than the other two systemic models. The *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* explains inequities as the products of individual motivations and biases of leaders while the *Historical Legacy* model explains them as the product of the economic and cultural inheritance of the past. The *Structural* model, by contrast, doesn't provide a clear framework for thinking about how and why discriminatory policies exist. In other words, as promising as this model is, it's important to acknowledge that it doesn't provide a robust or comprehensive model of how white supremacy works in practice.

The Relative Salience of the Different Models of Racism

As we note above, in our Culture Change Project, we have found that the *Interpersonal* model remains the dominant mindset for thinking about racism but systemic thinking about racism has risen following the racial justice uprisings of 2020. The salience of these ways of thinking, not surprisingly, varies by group. Black people and other people of color, Democrats, and younger people tend to more strongly endorse the systemic view than white people, Republicans, and older people.[14]

These findings are confirmed by our surveys for this project. As Figure 1 illustrates, when asked to choose between interpersonal and systemic views of racism, nearly 54 percent of participants chose the interpersonal view, while just over 46 percent chose the systemic view.[15] (The section below on identity and lived experience discusses group differences at length, but—in short— we found the same patterns as in our Culture Change Project surveys.)

Figure 1: Systemic vs. interpersonal views of racism, whole sample

(A) Racism primarily happens between individuals.
(B) Racism is built into our laws, policies, and institutions.

- I agree much more with A
- I agree more with A
- I agree a little bit more with A
- I agree much more with B
- I agree more with B
- I agree a little bit more with B

The mean scores for the three systemic mindsets provide additional nuance to this general picture (see Table 3). The means for the models range from 50.7 to 60.1, indicating that the average response for each of the mindsets falls between "neither agree nor disagree" and "somewhat agree." In other words, there are low levels of agreement with all three mindsets, with the highest endorsement of the *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* and the lowest level for the *Historical Legacy* model.

Table 3: Mean scores for systemic models of racism

Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism	Historical Legacy Model of Racism	Structural Model of Racism
60.1	50.7	58.8

The items were on seven-point Likert-type scales (see appendix B for items). Means have been transposed to a 100-point scale, so 50 represents the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). As scores get closer to zero, this indicates increasingly strong rejection of the mindset. As scores get closer to 100, this indicates increasingly strong endorsement of the mindset.

It makes sense that the *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* would have the highest level of endorsement, as it is a hybrid model and closer to the dominant interpersonal view. We suspect that the lower mean for the *Historical Legacy* model may result from the current politicization of history and the use of phrases like "our country's racist history" and "our racist past" in the survey items. Our qualitative analysis suggests that this mindset is as widely drawn upon as the *Structural* model.

How do these mindsets obstruct or enable the pursuit of spatial justice?

— **The *Interpersonal Model of Racism* obscures both systemic inequities and the role of policy and institutions in creating them.** The model enables people to understand the interpersonal aspects of racism and cultivates support for efforts to reduce personal bias. However, understanding racism purely in interpersonal terms obscures the role of systems and the need for their reform, including the changes to policies and institutions necessary to achieve spatial justice.

— **The *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* enables people to see the role of policy in creating inequities, but it leads people to focus on changing leaders as the fix.** On the positive side, this mindset opens space for thinking about how policies can create and perpetuate racial inequities. However, by locating the problem in racist individuals in power, the mindset narrows the solution to replacing these leaders. Leaders who aren't biased, it is assumed, will make better policies, which will end inequities.

— **The *Historical Legacy Model of Racism* helps people see how the legacy of past regimes continues to produce inequities, but it obscures the role of current policy.** In identifying wealth and culture as mechanisms through which the legacy of historical legal discrimination perpetuates inequities, this mindset not only helps people see *that* past policies and institutions have enduring effects, but also helps them see *how* this works. This explanatory framework can potentially support arguments for redressing this legacy—namely, reparations, both economic and cultural (e.g., acknowledging harm, reconciliation).

This mindset does not, however, help people see how policies today continue to discriminate by race and produce inequities. The mindset is wholly focused on past policy and doesn't help people see the problems with current policy.

— The *Structural Model of Racism* **is highly productive but needs to be expanded and filled in.** This model offers a fully systemic understanding of racism, including causes and effects both past and present. The model directly supports a key goal of this project—to build understanding of structural racism, which is a precondition for understanding its effects on place. However, this mindset's fuzziness on mechanisms limits its ability to support detailed reasoning about racism in particular domains and the range of policy and institutional changes needed to redress racism and advance racial justice. The model needs to be strengthened and expanded to support efforts to redress structural racism at scale.

Survey Evidence: How Models of Racism Are Related to Target Opinions— and Each Other

We measured all four models of racism in our surveys. The *Interpersonal* model was negatively correlated with all target opinions other than collective efficacy, while the three systemic models were all positively correlated with these opinions (see Table 4 below).

The negative correlations of the *Interpersonal* model with target opinions are consistent with our qualitative analysis and the implications described above: The focus on personal bias and prejudice obscures the systemic issues at stake in spatial justice. While we suspect that the *strength* of these negative correlations is due to specifics of survey wording, it's clear that this model undercuts the systemic perspective that spatial justice requires.[16]

The positive correlations between the three systemic models of racism and the target opinions are likewise consistent with expectations from qualitative analysis. All three mindsets are strongly correlated with all opinions other than collective efficacy, with which they are weakly correlated. As was the case for the *Place Is Designed* mindset, the weaker correlation with efficacy follows from the gap between understanding the problem (which these mindsets obviously enable) and confidence about our collective ability to reach a solution (an outcome less closely linked with the mindsets). Consistent with qualitative analysis, the hybrid *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* is slightly less strongly correlated with target opinions than the other two systemic mindsets.

Table 4: Correlations between models of racism and target opinions

	Understanding: Structural racism exists	Understanding: Government shapes place	Salience of spatial justice	Collective responsibility	Collective efficacy
Interpersonal Model of Racism	-0.58**	-0.45**	-0.46**	-0.46**	-0.03
Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism	0.61**	0.57**	0.59**	0.56**	0.25**
Historical Legacy Model of Racism	0.81**	0.74**	0.75**	0.64**	0.24**
Structural Model of Racism	0.82**	0.73**	0.77**	0.69**	0.26**

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

The three systemic models of racism are also closely correlated with each other (see Table 5 below). The *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* is somewhat less strongly correlated with the other two systemic models of racism than they are with each other, which makes sense since the *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism*—unlike the others—still locates racism within individuals, whereas the other two provide ways of understanding how systems and structures can be racist.

Table 5: Correlations of models of racism with each other

	Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism	Historical Legacy Model of Racism
Historical Legacy Model of Racism	0.58**	
Structural Model of Racism	0.62**	0.86**

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

FINDING #4

Familiar anti-Black and racism-denying mindsets remain a major challenge.

Deeply entrenched, dehumanizing, anti-Black narratives are a fundamental part of American discourse, mirrored by anti-Black mindsets within dominant American culture. These narratives and mindsets have been traced, explored, and investigated from many angles by scholars, organizers, and policy advocates.[17] We won't attempt to review their history here or discuss the many deep investigations into these narratives, but it is important to acknowledge that the mindsets we discuss below are central to the ideology of white supremacy in the United States.

In response to the legal reforms and narratives of the Civil Rights Era, we have seen narratives arise that offer new justifications for refusing to address racism—narratives that, in different ways, assert that racism isn't a real problem but attempts to address racism *are* a problem.[18] As many scholars and cultural critics have demonstrated, these narratives represent an evolution of the ideology of white supremacy as they function to maintain the status quo and delegitimize movements for racial justice.

In the interviews conducted for this project, we identified two mindsets that negatively compare Black American culture to dominant white culture and two racism-denying mindsets that also prop up white supremacy. Below, we discuss how these mindsets appeared in our interviews. In the next section of this report, we discuss differences in the salience of these mindsets for different groups. Unsurprisingly, these mindsets are more strongly endorsed by white people and Republicans than by Black people and Democrats. What is perhaps surprising is that differences are much larger for political party than for

racial identity. We discuss this issue at length later. For now, it is important to keep in mind that there are important differences in the salience of these mindsets by groups and yet, at the same time, they are available across groups and sometimes drawn upon across groups as the quotes below illustrate.

Two Anti-Black Cultural Mindsets

The *Pathologizing Black Culture* cultural mindset

This mindset is grounded in the assumption that Black people share a pathological culture with deficient values. According to this racist way of thinking, "Black culture" devalues hard work and respect for others. This mindset is bound up with stereotypes of Black people as angry and violent.

This mindset is used to explain higher rates of poverty among Black people and other outcomes that are, of course, due to structural racism and concordant lack of resources and opportunities. This way of thinking is embedded in the familiar, toxic discourse around the "culture of poverty" in predominantly Black urban communities.

> *Those neighborhoods that are exclusively Black, well nobody else wants to live there because of that environment that they create sometimes which can be described as ghetto, low-quality, violent.*
>
> Native American, female, suburban, leans Democratic

In interviews, the *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset was sometimes drawn upon to delegitimize the Movement for Black Lives, as protests resulting in property damage were understood as expressions of the purported inherent violence of Black culture. In these applications of the mindset, Black people are assumed to act from base or animalistic instincts, and expressions of anger are understood as extreme and spontaneous rather than reasonable reactions or deliberate strategies. We see this type of thinking in the quote below, which depicts the Black community as having "an unstable mind" and creating "havoc."

> *That whole issue with George Floyd sparked more issues of Black Lives Matter, and when Black Lives Matter continues to increase, there was more issues in the communities. And then we found out Black Lives Matter was corrupt within itself. So, that was havoc. That was crazy. That was more of the unstable mind making decisions unwisely as a community, as a Black American community, and that created more havoc around the US*
>
> Asian American, female, urban, Republican

This mindset is often drawn upon tacitly, pulling on coded racist language such as "ghetto" and "culture of poverty," and is betrayed by a fixation on violence involving Black people (the fact that news coverage overwhelmingly talks about Black people in the context of stories about crime and violence reflects and reinforces this mindset).[19] The core assumption of the mindset is typically not explicitly stated, but it is a deeply entrenched part of American culture.

The *Assimilation Reduces Racism* cultural mindset

This mindset blames groups for the racism they experience, seeing discrimination as an understandable result of deviation from mainstream (white) culture. Groups are assumed to be responsible for better assimilating into dominant culture in order to get along and avoid "standing out."

This mindset assumes that mainstream white culture is superior and treats deviations from it as blameworthy. We see this dynamic in the following quote, in which a white participant suggested that a Black man brought racism upon himself by wearing his pants low and using English that's not "proper."

> Interviewer: *Do you think someone's race affects their experiences in life?*
> Participant: *It depends. Like, if they're a low-class Black, who is like a ghetto person, he wears his pants down, you know? How they have their ass out with their underwear? And he talks not like proper English, like sometimes they set themselves up when they do stuff like that. So, he's not moving ahead because of [...] the way he presents himself. If his demeanor—like he wears a business suit, he talks very good English, very good communication skills, I don't see why anybody would hold him down.*
>
> White, male, urban, Democrat

In the quote below, the mindset is used in a different way—to explain how "critical race theory" purportedly prevents Black Americans from assimilating.

> Interviewer: *Thinking about this bigger picture, is there anything that you think can be done to address racism or not so much?*
> Participant: *I think it'll still happen ... I didn't understand the whole critical race theory for a while [...] we learned about slavery when I was growing up, and I didn't understand that so much [...] When I read into, it just made the Black Americans feel more like victims, and the government allows that. So, if the government were to allow critical race theory to occur throughout the US, it would still enslave the African Americans, the Black Americans to think "we are still slaves, we are still victimized, we are still broken."*
>
> Asian American, female, urban, Republican

This model piggybacks on the equation of race and culture (see finding #2) and is often used to compare Black Americans unfavorably with immigrants who have "successfully" assimilated.

Two Racism-Denial Cultural Mindsets

The *Racial Progress* cultural mindset

According to this way of thinking, racism has steadily diminished over time and is no longer a major problem. While the mindset acknowledges that racism existed in the past, it sees racism as something that is largely gone today. In other words, society has progressed beyond racism being a significant issue, and, in turn, people across racial groups are thought to have fair and largely equal opportunities in US society.

This mindset doesn't exclude the possibility of racial discrimination but views this as unusual these days, as the following quote illustrates:

> *Over time, sentiments changed and laws changed to make it illegal to discriminate against people of different races, and that has progressively gotten better decade over decade in some ways. It was perhaps bad in the 1950s, then the 1960s perhaps a few things changed, in the '70s a few things changed more, and then so on, and so on. So, the conversation about race today is generally – I mean, exceptions are there, but generally, there's positivity when you talk about race in the sense that if somebody is being discriminated against and it is in the news, generally people collectively will feel sympathetic to that individual who has been discriminated against.*
>
> Asian American, male, suburban, Republican

This mindset does not *fully* deny that racism exists, but it downplays racism to the point that it is understood as a relatively unusual or minor problem.

The *Colorblind Racism* cultural mindset

The idea of "colorblindness" is a familiar feature of white supremacist ideology. By avowing the ideal of being "colorblind," people (especially white people) can claim to oppose racism while actively refusing to engage with racism as a reality. For this reason, scholars have found this to itself be a form of racism.[20]

The internal logic of this mindset is grounded in the idea that race only exists in talk and in thought; in turn, if we did not talk—or think—about race, "racial division" and discrimination would disappear. We see this view in the following quotes:

> *I believe that the more emphasis that we as a society [...] put on race and all those things—color of someone's skin, where they're from, their accent—the more focus we put on it, the more we're focusing on the differences and not the similarities and this constant discussion about race is just a hammer hitting over and over—"you're different, he's different, she's different"—and division creates animosity and I just think that it needs to just stop being a topic. [...] I think if we're really an evolved society, we should stop talking about it. Evolved societies don't talk about it.*
>
> Native American, female, rural, independent

> *When they are little, they don't notice what color of skin their best friend is. They just know that they like video games too or they like to read too, or they like dinosaurs too and somewhere along the way it's getting shoved down our throats and it makes me sad. It makes me scared for our country because we are not going to stand if this keeps on. And so it makes me really sad because my goal as a mom was to make sure my kids didn't see color.*
>
> Latina, female, rural, Republican

The mindset hijacks and misrepresents the idea of social construction, suggesting that race is *nothing but* talk. It denies the material effects of social construction and in turn denies the need to address the material harm that accompanies racial categories (by material we mean bodily, economic, and other non-ideational harms).

How Dominant Are These Anti-Black and Racism-Denial Mindsets?

It is difficult to reliably measure the strength of these cultural mindsets because it has become socially unacceptable to explicitly affirm racist ideas. As we discuss above, these mindsets are usually used tacitly, appearing in talk in coded language and in the conclusions people draw about which groups deserve resources or societal support. This enables people to deny—both to themselves and others—that they are relying on racist ideas.

Given the almost wholly tacit operation of these mindsets, it is difficult to pick up, in qualitative analysis, every instance in which participants were drawing on these mindsets. And this makes survey measurement doubly tricky, as participants are inclined to reject articulations of the mindsets that get too close to "saying the quiet part out loud." In other words, social desirability is a challenge in measuring these mindsets.

Table 6 below presents the mean scores for these mindsets from our survey. The means for the *Colorblind Racism* and *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindsets hover around 50, representing the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"), while the other two mindsets are well into the "disagree" side of the scale. The means of 31.5 (for the *Assimilation Reduces Racism* mindset) and 28.0 (for the *Racial Progress* mindset) indicate average responses between "somewhat disagree" and "disagree."

Table 6: Mean scores for anti-Black and racism-denial mindsets

Pathologizing Black Culture	*Assimilation Reduces Racism*	*Colorblind Racism*	*Racial Progress*
47.4	31.5	53.7	28.0

The items were on seven-point Likert-type scales (see appendix B for items). Means have been transposed to a 100-point scale, so 50 represents the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). As scores get closer to zero, this indicates increasingly strong rejection of the mindset. As scores get closer to 100, this indicates increasingly strong endorsement of the mindset.

Based on our qualitative analysis, we believe the mean scores for the *Assimilation Reduces Racism* and *Racial Progress* mindsets do not accurately convey their strength. Most of the items for the *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset were more subtle and closer to the coded language people use (e.g., talking about "poor urban communities" but not naming race). By contrast, the items for the *Assimilation Reduces Racism* mindset were more direct (e.g., "If Black and Latino people tried harder to fit into mainstream culture, they could avoid a lot of problems"). We believe that people who would draw upon this mindset tacitly might reject this explicit formulation of it. We suspect that the low mean for the *Racial Progress* mindset results from the strength of the statements used to capture it (e.g., "Racism is not a problem anymore in the U.S."). People can disagree with such statements while assuming that racism is a minor or infrequent problem.

Our qualitative research, building on the scholarship of others, suggests that these four mindsets continue to be widely drawn upon. While levels of explicit agreement are relatively low and it is not always easy to identify tacit use in qualitative analysis, our analysis identified many instances in which participants applied these mindsets. In other words, they remain—unfortunately— an entrenched part of American culture.

There are, of course, differences in the ways in which people from different groups engage with these mindsets. As we discuss below, there were some differences between white and Black survey participants in level of endorsement of these mindsets (see the section on "Identity, Lived Experience, and the Salience of Cultural Mindsets" below). These differences are smaller than might be expected, though, and indicate that these mindsets are not the exclusive province of white Americans. We discuss this question at greater length in the section below.

How do these mindsets obstruct the pursuit of spatial justice?

— **The *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset provides cover for systemic racism by blaming Black people for the harm they experience.** This logic of inferior or violent cultures has been used throughout global history to justify slavery, colonialism, and other genocides. This mindset is bound up with other familiar racist tropes (e.g., the "welfare queen" trope). It undercuts racial and spatial justice by shifting responsibility onto Black people, obscuring how structural racism works, and undermining steps to redress racism.

— **The *Assimilation Reduces Racism* mindset buttresses white supremacy by centering dominant white culture.** This way of thinking leads to the denigration of the cultures of Black communities and blames the victims of racism for the harm they experience. This mindset can be used to argue for the erasure of cultural practices other than those that fit with mainstream white American values and norms. Like the *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset, the *Assimilation Reduces Racism* mindset undermines understanding of structural racism and a sense of collective responsibility for addressing it.

— **The *Racial Progress* and *Colorblind Racism* mindsets prop up white supremacy in slippery ways that are difficult to undercut.** The *Racial Progress* mindset leads people to think of racism as rare or minor, a nuisance rather than a source of deep, constant, enduring injustice. The *Colorblind Racism* mindset leads people to think of affirmative steps to redress racism as not only unnecessary but antithetical to the goal of racial justice. Both mindsets enable people to claim—sincerely or in bad faith—that they oppose racism while also opposing steps to address it.

By undercutting claims of racial injustice, these racism-denial mindsets provide cover for the more straightforwardly racist mindsets discussed above (*Pathologizing Black Culture* and *Assimilation Reduces Racism*). If racial justice advocates argue for major steps to address racism, opponents can claim this isn't *really* about racism—since they purportedly oppose racism as well—but rather that these proposals are an attempt by people of color to get unearned goods (jobs, spots in schools, benefits, etc.). In other words, the *Racial Progress* and *Colorblind Racism* mindsets and the discourses attached to them allow opponents of racial justice to insist they are opposed to racism while actively maintaining existing racial hierarchies.

Survey Evidence: How the Anti-Black and Racism-Denial Mindsets Are Related to Target Opinions—and Each Other

As we would expect, all four of the mindsets discussed above are moderately to strongly negatively correlated with most target opinions (see Table 7). The *Pathologizing Black Culture* and *Racial Progress* mindsets have the largest negative correlations with target opinions, though correlations for the *Assimilation Reduces Racism* and *Colorblind Racism* mindsets are almost as large. It is worth noting that the two types of mindsets—the anti-Black and racism-denial mindsets—are related to opinions in the same ways.

Table 7: Correlations between anti-Black and racism-denial mindsets and target opinions

	Understanding: Structural racism exists	Understanding: Government shapes place	Salience of spatial justice	Collective responsibility	Collective efficacy
Pathologizing Black Culture Mindset	-0.50**	-0.39**	-0.50**	-0.45**	-0.13**
Assimilation Reduces Racism Mindset	-0.36**	-0.30**	-0.41**	-0.40**	-0.08**
Racial Progress Mindset	-0.60**	-0.47**	-0.56**	-0.56**	-0.13**
Colorblind Racism Mindset	-0.46**	-0.33**	-0.40**	-0.38**	-0.02

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

The positive correlations between these mindsets confirm that the four mindsets cohere (Table 8). The four mindsets are generally strongly correlated, with correlations ranging from 0.48 to 0.65. The relationships between these mindsets and target opinions and their relationships to each other reinforce the idea, discussed above, that these mindsets cohere as part of the ideology of white supremacy.

Table 8: Correlations of anti-Black and racism-denial mindsets with each other

	Pathologizing Black Culture Mindset	Assimilation Reduces Racism Mindset	Racial Progress Mindset
Assimilation Mindset	**0.65****		
Racial Progress Mindset	**0.55****	**0.56****	
Colorblind Racism Mindset	**0.54****	**0.43****	**0.48****

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

FINDING #5

There's a widespread recognition that place and racism have profound impacts.

While racism-denial mindsets exist, it's important to stress that people across groups more typically recognize that racism exists, and there are a couple of well-established mindsets that enable people to think about the harm caused by racism. People also have access to a way of understanding how place affects outcomes for people.

The *Opportunity Structures* cultural mindset

As we have identified in previous work, there is a mindset—the *Opportunity Structures* mindset—that provides a model for how people's economic and social contexts impact how they do in life.[21] According to this way of thinking, people's economic and social circumstances structure the opportunities available to them. If people experience poverty, or example, this limits their opportunities, making it more difficult for them to succeed and, in turn, more likely that they will remain in poverty.

In the current project, we found that participants applied this mindset to both race and place.

— *Place structures opportunity*. When applying this mindset to place, participants assumed that the places people live shape the opportunities they have access to, in ways that affect their prospects in life. Participants tended to focus on the resources that exist in an area. They reasoned that if an area has resources such as subsidized after-school programs or good public schools, individuals in that area can benefit from these opportunities regardless of their personal financial situations. On the

other hand, in areas where there are not many public resources available, only those people who can afford to pay for goods or services can get them. Participants often focused on effects on children and youth, recognizing that whether people grow up in areas with or without available resources and opportunities can have a major impact on their life trajectories.

> *I do know your zip code has everything to do with everything. Like, where you go to school, opportunities you have, even what college you can get into if you choose to go to college, or if you can go to college.*
>
> Black, female, urban, Democrat

> *Places can definitely shape people who live there. If it's an area of low socioeconomic growth, like there's a high poverty level, the access to basic goods, like healthcare, water, food. If access to that isn't available then it's gonna be a lot harder for those people to prosper. Versus, if a place has readily access to all that stuff, then it's a lot easier for those people to then focus on other things.*
>
> Asian American, male, suburban, Republican

— ***Racism structures opportunity***. Participants frequently applied the *Opportunity Structures* mindset to racism, reasoning that racial discrimination limits opportunities for BIPOC and preferential treatment expands opportunities for white people. This thinking can be coupled with different understandings of racism—interpersonal or systemic. Regardless of whether discrimination is assumed to result from personal bias or broader systems, racism is understood to shape the opportunities available to people.

> *Opportunities just aren't there for a lot of Black people just because they are Black ... it's harder if you're a different color, it's harder to move along. You have to have a lot of self-determination. It's amazing I've watched so many friends, it's only because of their determination, whereas if you are white you get a little more help and there's more acceptance and you don't have to fight through the racial barrier.*
>
> White, male, urban, Democrat

The *Racism = Violence* cultural mindset

At times, participants understood racism as a form of violence and saw the effects of racism through this lens. When thinking in this way, participants emphasized how racism creates perpetual fear among people of color and harms their mental health, causes trauma, and leads to exhaustion from constantly being under threat. In our qualitative research, this mindset was most frequently used by participants of color, sometimes to make sense of their own experiences.

> *We're gonna end up killing each other over the color of somebody's skin, it's just—I don't understand where this hate is coming from. I don't understand why we just can't coexist. You know, it's bad. I basically just stay in the house and keep everything locked up because I'm terrified. I mean, it's a safe place, but I'm still scared. I think it's safe. At least, that's what I tell myself.*
>
> Black, female, rural, Democrat

As this quote illustrates, this mindset highlights the harm created by the ever-present threat of violence.

How do these mindsets obstruct or enable the pursuit of spatial justice?

— **The *Opportunity Structures* mindset can be productively leveraged to explain many dimensions of spatial justice.** This mindset provides a readily available, easily accessible way of understanding the links between race, place, and outcomes. The logic of the *Opportunity Structures* mindset provides a framework for making sense of how residential segregation, neighborhood disinvestment, restrictions on wealth-building (e.g., redlining), and other place-related policies create racial and place-based inequities.

— **The focus on opportunity restricts understanding of what is needed to thrive and the harms caused by racism.** Opportunity is a useful but limited concept. It tends to individualize thinking about flourishing, as it orients people from the individual's perspective (e.g., does a person have the opportunities he or she needs to succeed?). In addition, the concept of opportunity is often understood in economic terms, which limits thinking about what people need to thrive. While the *Opportunity Structures* mindset broadens the lens to include social context, limiting the focus to individual economic success excludes and obscures a robust conception of community flourishing and interdependence. This mindset cannot fully support the work of power-building organizations and others whose vision of spatial justice is grounded in a fuller sense of community and solidarity.

— **The *Racism = Violence* mindset reflects and expresses the urgency of pursuing spatial justice.** This mindset, which reflects a lived experience of threat, danger, and violence, illuminates the stakes of racial and spatial justice. This mindset can potentially be leveraged, along with the idea of security, to argue for creating places where everyone can and does feel safe. Since evoking race and violence may cue racist and punitive mindsets for some audiences, research is needed to understand how to leverage the *Racism = Violence* mindset while inoculating against the racist and punitive mindsets.

FINDING #6

Thinking about the relationship between race and place is shaped by mindset combinations.

While people have well-established, robust mindsets for thinking about race and place separately, public thinking about the relationship between race and place is less developed. In our interviews, when participants were asked about the relationship between race and place, they often ended up focusing on one or the other. If interviewers didn't remind participants to talk about both race *and* place, participants ended up talking about race *or* place. This is a result of how developed mindsets are around these topics. Mindsets around race and mindsets around place are better established than mindsets around their relationship, so it is easier for people to talk about them separately than together—they simply have more to say.

This is not to suggest that people don't have ways of thinking about the relationship between race and place—they do, they're just mindset combinations that pull together particular mindsets of race and particular mindsets of place.

Below, we describe these mindsets and explain how they combine specific mindsets of race and place. We organize these mindsets by their relative productivity for the pursuit of spatial justice. As with other types of mindsets, there are some differences in the relative salience of these mindsets for different groups, which we discuss in the next section of the report.

Unproductive Combinations

The *Broken Windows* cultural mindset: *Character Shapes Place + Pathologizing Black Culture*

The *Broken Windows* mindset combines the assumption that places reflect community character with racist thinking about the character of Black communities. When using this mindset, people treat low-income Black neighborhoods as bad places and attribute this to the supposedly poor character of the people who live there.

When drawing on this mindset, participants implicitly or explicitly contrasted the character of low-income Black and brown neighborhoods with that of more affluent white neighborhoods. They associated trash, crime, and noise with Black and brown communities and understood these as markers of a bad neighborhood—and a bad community. By contrast, clean streets, cut grass, and safety were associated with white (prototypically suburban) communities and were seen as markers of a good neighborhood, a good community, and proper moral order.

The mindset includes the assumption that disorderly environments produce moral disorder. The idea is that when people live in a dirty, loud, unsafe neighborhood, this leads them to not care about the neighborhood. This sense that environments affect people doesn't shift blame for community problems away from residents, as this environmental effect is understood as a mechanism through

which community norms and values are passed on. So rather than leading people to blame policies and disinvestment that harm the neighborhood, they see this environmental influence as a way in which supposedly bad community character reproduces itself.

I'll use myself as an example. I wasn't taught growing up to take care of your stuff. Like I'm being taught now as a person to take ownership, and to take care of your stuff, take care for your stuff. A lot of people of color haven't grown up being taught that stuff. So, the upkeep of the house. Right now, they cut grass, and don't litter no more. I pick up litter when I see it on the floor because I'm being taught that. So, a lot of people of color in the neighborhood aren't taught that so that's why you see trash all over the place. If you go out to a suburban neighborhood, you don't see that.

Black, male, urban, leans Republican

When you don't have a place that's always clean and you see a mess, "I didn't make that mess. Why am I going to clean up someone else's mess? They left the beers there, not me." Like—this is our neighborhood guys, come on let's go clean up. As stupid as it sounds, white people do that. No, I'm joking, as stupid as it sounds my friends do that. We go clean up the neighborhood if it's just a mess. [...] The other neighborhood, the kids will just kick it. Kick the can on the street, crunch it, stomp on it and leave it there. That's how Raphael's neighborhood is, that's what always happens. He's like, "I'm going to pick up some asshole's beer?" I'm like, "Because it's on the ground and it's disgusting." But it's not race, it's place. That's more income level-type shit. These people were brought up to clean up after you make a mess. These people are like, it's not my mess, not my problem.

Native American, male, suburban, Republican

Survey Evidence: How the *Broken Windows* Mindset Is Related to Contributing Mindsets of Place and Race

Survey results are consistent with the idea that the *Broken Windows* mindset results from the combination of the *Character Shapes Place* and *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindsets. The *Broken Windows* mindset is strongly positively correlated with the mindsets it combines (Table 9). This is precisely the pattern we would expect to see for combination mindsets: As endorsement of the contributing mindsets increases, so does endorsement of the combination mindset.

Table 9: Correlations between *Broken Windows* mindset and contributing mindsets

	Character Shapes Place Mindset	*Pathologizing Black Culture Mindset*
Broken Windows Mindset	0.62**	0.67**

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

The *Segregation Is Natural* cultural mindset: *Individual Choice + Race = Skin Color + Culture*

This mindset is grounded in the assumption that racial segregation is a natural result of groups' preferences to live near others like them. This way of thinking pulls together the assumption that residence is a matter of individual (not collective) choice plus a cultural understanding of race. People with the same racial identity are assumed to share a common culture, which contributes to feelings of belonging, and in turn leads people to choose to live around one another. Racial segregation is thus not a sign of racism but a natural outgrowth of in-group preference.

> *My opinion, I think that human nature, I think people gravitate to where they're comfortable and I think over time, you get enough of those places, now you have a community of mainly high percentage people that are of the same race.*
>
> Latino, male, rural, Democrat

> Interviewer: *What explains why neighborhoods have different racial compositions? Like, why a neighborhood might be mostly Black, for example?*
> Participant: *Why? I don't know. They decided to move in together? [...] Italians do the same thing. You know, they find a place to live, "Hey call your aunt, call your brother, call your sister, your grandma, this is a great place to live, let's come down here and live together!" You know? The friend of the friend, of the friend, of the friend. You know? And they just talk about that they like the place, I don't know.*
>
> Latina, female, suburban, leans Republican

The *"Class Not Race"* cultural mindset of segregation: *Housing Market Naturalism + Racial Progress*

When participants were asked about racial residential segregation, they sometimes insisted that this isn't *really* about race, but about class. While they acknowledged that racial segregation is a reality, they thought of this as a byproduct of class segregation.

This *"Class Not Race"* mindset combines the core idea that cost constrains residential location with the assumption that racism is largely a thing of the past. When thinking in this way, people recognize that there are racial disparities in income and wealth but *don't* trace these disparities to racism. To the extent that racial segregation exists, it is thought of as a pure byproduct of class and affordability constraints. And when people draw on this mindset, they often highlight BIPOC who live in wealthier neighborhoods to illustrate that race isn't really a determining factor.

> Interviewer: *Is there a connection between race and where someone lives, or not so much?*
> Participant: *Not so much. I think the field has been leveled. The green is the color that determines where you live. If you can afford it, you can live there.*
>
> Native American, female, suburban, leans Democratic

How do these unproductive combinations obstruct the pursuit of spatial justice?

— The *Broken Windows* **mindset reinforces stereotypes and blames problems created by structural racism on Black and brown communities themselves.** This mindset perpetuates racist stereotypes and the tendency to associate negative attributes like dirtiness, noise, and crime with Black and brown neighborhoods. And when it comes to real issues created by disinvestment and inequitable treatment of Black and brown neighborhoods, the *Broken Windows* mindset obscures these sources of problems, blaming community character instead. This mindset is wholly unproductive.

— The *Segregation Is Natural* **mindset prevents people from recognizing the role of policy in creating racial segregation and leads people to see segregation as benign.** By modeling segregation as a natural outgrowth of personal and group preference, this mindset puts policy entirely out of view. In addition, because segregation is understood as a product of free, unconstrained choice, it is not seen as problematic—a sign of racial discrimination or inequity. As a result, this mindset undercuts the idea that spatial injustice exists. More generally, it reinforces the idea that racism isn't a problem in US society (see the *Racial Progress* mindset above).

— The *"Class Not Race"* **mindset denies the problem at the heart of spatial justice.** By denying that racial disparities in income and wealth stem from racist policies, this mindset prevents people from seeing how racism shapes class. And by explaining racial segregation in terms of class alone, this mindset prevents people from seeing the role of racist policies, past or present. Like the *Segregation Is Natural* mindset, the *"Class Not Race"* mindset undercuts the very idea that racism shapes places—the core problem at stake in spatial justice.

Survey Evidence: How the *Broken Windows* Mindset Is Related to Target Opinions

The survey confirms our expectations about the relationship between the *Broken Windows* mindset and target opinions. As we would expect, the more people agree with this mindset, the less they agree with the target opinions at the heart of spatial justice (see Table 10).[22]

Table 10: Correlations between *Broken Windows* mindset and target opinions

	Understanding: Structural racism exists	Understanding: Government shapes place	Salience of spatial justice	Collective responsibility	Collective efficacy
Broken Windows Mindset	**-0.35****	**-0.25****	**-0.34****	**-0.29****	-0.04

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

Combinations that Mix Productive and Unproductive Thinking

The *Wealth Gap Legacy* cultural mindset: *Housing Market Naturalism + Historical Legacy Model of Racism*

Like the *"Class Not Race"* mindset, the *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset explains racial segregation by looking to wealth gaps, but unlike the former mindset, it understands wealth as a mechanism through which the effects of racism are perpetuated. This way of thinking sees racial wealth gaps as a legacy of the systemic racism of the past and as a way in which this racism continues to shape US society.

> *Your race in the past affected what kinds of schools you could send your kids to, what neighborhoods you could live in, the activities and third spaces that you were committed in. And it's similar to that today in that if you live in a certain neighborhood where prices for housing is significantly higher, there's a higher barrier of entry to live in that place, you're more likely for those places to have better schools, better resources. So, it's not exactly like a "No, you can't come here, you can't send your kids here," but there are different barriers of entry such as higher income.*
>
> Native American, female, suburban, leans Democratic

Drawing on *Housing Market Naturalism*, the *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset assumes that wealth inevitably shapes residence. Where people live is, it is assumed, naturally and inevitably shaped by what they can afford in a market that is outside our control. When this is combined with the understanding of racial wealth gaps as an enduring legacy of our racist past, people reason that racial segregation today can be explained (and explained wholly) by inherited differences in wealth. Because the housing market is naturalized, rather than being understood as a product of policy design, this mindset leads people to assume that the only way to reduce racial segregation is to reduce racial wealth gaps.

Survey Evidence: How the *Wealth Gap Legacy* Mindset Is Related to Contributing Mindsets of Place and Race

The *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset is positively correlated with both of its contributing mindsets— the *Housing Market Naturalism* and *Historical Legacy* mindsets (see Table 11). The pattern here is as expected, with the caveat that the relationship to the *Housing Market Naturalism* mindset is slightly weaker than anticipated for a contributing mindset. This is likely explained by the measurement issues we discussed above (see finding #1).

Table 11: Correlations between *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset and contributing mindsets

	Housing Market Naturalism Mindset	*Historical Legacy Model of Racism*
Wealth Gap Legacy Mindset	**0.27****	**0.56****

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

The *White Distancing* cultural mindset: *Individual Choice + Interpersonal Model of Racism*

At times, participants explained racial segregation as a result of white people's attempt to distance themselves from Black people and other people of color. Participants mentioned both "white flight" and attempts to make neighborhoods inhospitable to Black neighbors so they would leave. This mindset spotlights these actions as the main sources of segregation.

Drawing on the *Individual Choice* mindset, the *White Distancing* mindset explains racial segregation as the product of white people's individual preferences. Where people live is assumed to result, without constraint, from their preferences. Drawing on the *Interpersonal Model of Racism,* there is a recognition that white people are sometimes biased against Black people and other people of color. Bringing these together, people reason that personal biases sometimes lead white people to want to distance themselves from Black people and other people of color. These personal racial preferences are thought sufficient to explain segregation because individual preferences and choice are assumed to be the main determinants of residential location. This explanation sometimes functions directly (residents themselves don't want to live near people of color) and sometimes indirectly (residents know that other white people won't want to live near people of color and this will undermine their own property value).

> *Once again, back to racism and preconceived notions. Folks move because people move in that they don't know. They've heard this is what's going to happen if I sit here, I've spent this $200,000 on this house. These folks are moving in. I'm not going to be able to sell the house and make a profit.*
>
> Black, female, suburban, Democrat

The *Safety and Belonging* cultural mindset: *Individual Choice + Racism = Violence*

A mirror image of the *White Distancing* mindset, the *Safety and Belonging* mindset explains racial segregation as a result of the preference of Black people and other people of color to live in places where they don't experience the violence of racism. Like the *White Distancing* mindset, this mindset pulls on the assumption that residence is shaped primarily by individual preference and choice. Yet in this case, it is coupled with an understanding of racism as violence, and the preferences at issue are the preferences of people of color to live away from white people and with other people of their own racial or ethnic group in order to experience safety and belonging.

> Interviewer: *And why would a person feel like they don't belong in a neighborhood?*
> Participant: *A person might not feel like they belong in a neighborhood because they have maybe different ideals than their neighbors. They don't feel heard or seen, or welcomed because of the way they either identify culturally, sexually, or other things they identify with. They also feel like because of violence they don't feel like part of their neighborhood.*
>
> Latina, female, urban, independent

How do these mixed combinations enable or obstruct the pursuit of spatial justice?

— **The *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset enables people to see wealth as a mechanism by which racism shapes places, yet it obscures other ways in which policy contributes to spatial injustice.** Whereas the *"Class Not Race"* mindset separates class and race, this mindset links them, enabling people to see how racism is perpetuated through wealth disparities. The mindset provides people with a way of understanding how racism shapes where people live and why Black and brown neighborhoods are treated inequitably. However, by highlighting wealth as *the* mechanism through which racism acts and by naturalizing the housing market, this mindset puts out of view the wide range of ways in which current policies produce segregation and inequitable treatment—from zoning and land use to transportation and distribution of green spaces. By naturalizing the housing market, this way of thinking shifts policy solutions away from place-focused policies and toward broader economic policies that, while critical, generally leave place out of the equation.

— **The *White Distancing* mindset helps people recognize one aspect of racial segregation but it backgrounds structural factors.** On the positive side, this mindset brings into view the way in which interpersonal racism by white people contributes to segregation. It could potentially be leveraged to explain the mirror experience of gentrification and displacement—the ways in which white newcomers can push out existing Black and brown residents in a neighborhood. However, this mindset obscures the policies that contribute to segregation, from historical policies like redlining and the construction of the interstate highway system to current policies, including those around urban development. While this mindset brings one aspect of segregation into view, it is otherwise very limited.

— **The *Safety and Belonging* mindset illuminates the lived experience of racist environments, but it keeps policy out of sight.** This mindset enables people to recognize how interpersonal racism can shape residence by pushing Black and brown people out of inhospitable neighborhoods. While the mindset is productive in bringing this reality into view, like the *White Distancing* mindset it is also quite limited, remaining at the level of individual actions. The mindset backgrounds the role of collective choices and policies in producing racial segregation.

Survey Evidence: How the *Wealth Gap Legacy* Mindset Is Related to Target Opinions

The *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset is strongly correlated with target opinions (aside from collective efficacy, with which it is weakly correlated) (see Table 12). These correlations are not as large as correlations for the most productive mindset for thinking about the relationship between race and place (see below), but they are quite sizable.

The size of these correlations highlights the power of understanding wealth as a mechanism through which racism operates and shapes places. When people recognize how wealth perpetuates racism in and between places, it gives them a sense of how strongly racism impacts the places we live. While this mindset doesn't give people a way to understand how current policies continue to produce segregation and inequitable treatment between groups, understanding the effects of wealth gaps suffices to build substantial support for ideas at the center of spatial justice.

Table 12: Correlations between *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset and target opinions

	Understanding: Structural racism exists	Understanding: Government shapes place	Salience of spatial justice	Collective responsibility	Collective efficacy
Wealth Gap Legacy Mindset	0.57**	0.57**	0.58**	0.53**	0.21**

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

The Most Productive Combination

The *Systemic Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation: Place Is Designed + Structural Model of Racism*

This mindset brings together the *Structural Model of Racism* with the assumption that *Place Is Designed* through government action. Brought together, these mindsets of race and place result in the understanding that policies and institutions build racism into places and, in turn, that the way places are designed perpetuates racial inequities in society.

Participants applied this mindset to think about both how neighborhoods are treated and where people live. In the first case, they reasoned that government systematically underinvests in predominantly Black and brown neighborhoods and in other (not entirely clear) ways privileges predominantly white neighborhoods. In the second case, they reasoned that policies are responsible for racial segregation.

This mindset is relatively thin, which is not surprising given that its contributing mindsets are also light on mechanisms. The mindset does not give people a clear model for how government and "systems" engage in inequitable treatment and drive racial segregation. Some participants mentioned redlining as an example of policies that build racism into place, but beyond this they generally weren't able to give specific examples of how this happens. The mindset is thus underdeveloped.

> Interviewer: *Would you say that there's a connection between race and where somebody lives? Or not so much?*
> Participant: *Yeah. I think, again, going back to sort of systemic racism and our country being built on slavery and the many years before us that have established certain advantages and disadvantages to people of different races. Yeah, I think it plays a role in what is accessible to you.*
>
> Asian American, female, rural, leans Democratic

How does this productive combination enable the pursuit of spatial justice?

— **The *Systemic Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation* enables people to understand spatial justice in truly systemic terms, but it needs to be filled out.** This mindset enables people to see how policies and institutions, past and present, build racism into place and perpetuate racial inequities through place. It thus aligns with the opinions we are looking to promote and supports collective actions to advance spatial justice. The main challenge posed by this mindset is its relative thinness— its lack of an explanation of how spatial injustice works. Because the mindset doesn't get at how systems create and perpetuate spatial injustice, it doesn't currently provide people with a framework for thinking in depth about what needs to happen. Strengthening and deepening this mindset is critical to advancing spatial justice in the United States.

How Salient Are These Cultural Mindsets around the Relationship between Race and Place?

None of the cultural mindsets that people use to think about race *and* place are especially salient. As we discuss above, the intersection of race and place is not top of mind for people most of the time, and the mindsets people use to think about them are less well-developed than are mindsets of race and mindsets of place.

Among these mindsets of race and place, however, some are more widely drawn upon—more salient for people—than others. Qualitative analysis suggests that, of the unproductive mindsets, *Segregation Is Natural* and *"Class Not Race"* mindsets are reasonably salient. When participants were pushed to think about the relationship of race and place, these mindsets appeared relatively frequently in talks. Based on qualitative analysis, the *Broken Windows* mindset appears to be slightly more recessive but was sometimes drawn upon by participants. In terms of mindsets that participants used to think about the relationship between racism and place, the *Wealth Gap Legacy*, *White Distancing*, and *Safety and Belonging* mindsets were drawn upon more frequently than the *Structural Model* of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation, which qualitative analysis identified relatively infrequently in talks.

Survey results generally support these impressions from qualitative analysis. Mean scores for the four mindsets that were measured in the surveys are presented in Table 13 below. The mean score for the *Broken Windows* mindset (53.3 on a 100-point scale) is similar to but slightly higher than the score for its contributing mindset, the *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset (see Table 6 above). We suspect this score understates the strength of this mindset due to participant concerns about appearing racist. The means for the *Segregation Is Natural* and *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindsets are consistent with them being available but non-dominant mindsets. The high mean for the *Wealth Gap Legacy* mindset suggests that this mindset is perhaps more salient than we might have thought from the qualitative analysis. Because people already recognize how wealth shapes place, it is a relatively accessible mechanism for understanding the effects of racism on place. The lower mean for the *Structural Model* of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation aligns with our impression that it is available but relatively recessive.

Table 13: Mean scores for select mindsets of race and place

Broken Windows	Segregation Is Natural	Wealth Gap Legacy	Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation
53.3	59.3	68.0	48.1

The items were on seven-point Likert-type scales (see appendix B for items). Means have been transposed to a 100-point scale, so 50 represents the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). As scores get closer to zero, this indicates increasingly strong rejection of the mindset. As scores get closer to 100, this indicates increasingly strong endorsement of the mindset.

Survey Evidence: How the *Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation* Is Related to Target Opinions—and Contributing Mindsets of Place and Race

The *Structural Model* of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation is very strongly positively correlated with target opinions other than collective efficacy, with which it is more weakly correlated (see Table 14). This aligns with expectations from qualitative analysis. The more strongly people endorse this mindset, the more strongly they agree with target opinions.

Table 14: Correlations between *Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation* and target opinions

|	Understanding: Structural racism exists	Understanding: Government shapes place	Salience of spatial justice	Collective responsibility	Collective efficacy
Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation	**0.78***	**0.70***	**0.69****	**0.57***	**0.22****

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation

This mindset is also very strongly positively correlated with its contributing mindsets, the *Place Is Designed* mindset and the *Structural Model of Racism* (see Table 15). This supports the finding from our qualitative analysis that the *Structural Model* of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation results from combining these two other mindsets.

Table 15: Correlations between *Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation* and contributing mindsets

	Place Is Designed Mindset	*Structural Model of Racism*
Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation	**0.72****	**0.77****

Blue: Positive, statistically significant correlation
Red: Negative, statistically significant correlation
* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$
0.10–0.29 = small correlation
0.30–0.49 = moderate correlation
0.50+ = large correlation
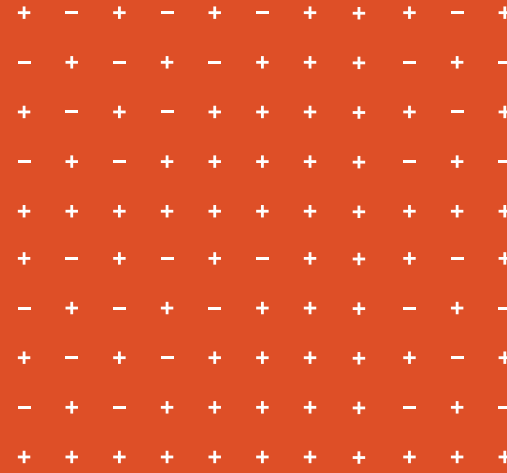
Identity, Lived Experience, and the Salience of Cultural Mindsets

Identity, Lived Experience, and the Salience of Cultural Mindsets

People's identities and lived experiences affect how they engage with and use shared cultural mindsets. We can think of mindsets as different lenses that people can use to see the world. Different experiences may lead people to pick up different lenses at different times, focus their attention in different directions, and notice different aspects of the world when they look through these lenses.[23]

Our surveys enable us to explore how differences in identity and location affect engagement with cultural mindsets. Specifically, the surveys allow us to explore how identity and location affect the salience of mindsets—their prominence in people's thinking—by examining the relationship between identity and location and endorsement of mindsets.

To understand how demographics predict people's thinking, we ran a series of analyses to examine group differences in mindset endorsement and target opinions. These analyses allowed us to examine how people who differ in racial identity, partisan identity, location, and other factors differ in their endorsement of these mindsets and opinions. In addition, these analyses allowed us to look for interactions between multiple types of demographic variables. For example, we were able to examine whether there were differences in the endorsement of mindsets for different racial groups from different political parties.

While we do find some important relationships between demographics and mindset endorsement, it is important to recognize the limits of this analysis and the danger of flattening and reifying groups in this type of analysis. There is significant variation within any group, and identity is always fundamentally intersectional. When we identify trends about how racial identity or political party affect mindset salience, for example, it is important that we *don't* take this to mean that all people within these groups think in the same ways. By exploring interactions, the analysis attempts to take intersectionality into account, yet even in exploring how identities interact, there remains the danger of reducing people to their demographic characteristics.

In addition, the cultural mindsets described above are shared across groups. All groups have access to these mindsets and, at different times, people across groups draw upon each of them. What differs is the extent to which members of a group tend to rely on particular mindsets. Differences in salience are

matters of degree. So we are *not* suggesting, for example, that Democrats think one way and Republicans think in a wholly different way, simply that there are differences in the relative salience of mindsets for these groups.

These analyses yield five findings about the relationship between identity and location, on one hand, and cultural mindsets and target opinions on the other. These findings complement and nuance the cultural mindsets findings presented above.

1. Race influences both target opinions and mindset salience.

There were significant racial differences in the average endorsement of all cultural mindsets and target opinions. The fact that race affects opinions and mindset salience makes sense, particularly for mindsets and opinions related to race and racism. People with different racial identities have a different lived experience of race and racism, which in turn affects how they think about this issue. (We understand differences in thinking by racial identity in terms of differences in lived experiences, rather than differences in culture—we are not suggesting that people who share a racial identity all subscribe to a single, distinct culture.)

We focused in our analysis on differences between Black and white participants for two reasons. First, whiteness and Blackness stand at the center of the United States' treatment of race. Understanding how these identities relate to mindsets and opinions is thus central to understanding the cultural terrain of spatial justice. Second, the other racial and ethnic identities we asked about in the surveys bundle ethnic groups in ways that mask cultural variation within groups. The categories "Hispanic or Latino/a," "Asian," "American Indian/Alaska Native," and "Hawaiian/Pacific Islander" all include people from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds. Members of these groups can have very different lived experiences and may (or may not) participate in different subcultures that affect their thinking in different ways.

It is, of course, true that there is also variation in lived experience and ethnicity among white people and among Black people in the United States (for example, colorism results in differences in experience among Black people). We would suggest, however, that there is, due to the US treatment of Blackness and whiteness, some degree of commonality in lived experience within these groups. This makes an analysis of differences between them important and illuminating, providing we keep in mind that these generalizations mask many differences within groups.

In Table 16 below, we separate opinions and mindsets by effect size. Negative effects indicate that white participants, on average, less strongly endorsed a mindset or opinion than Black participants, whereas positive effects indicate that white participants more strongly endorsed the mindset or opinion.

Table 16: Effect sizes for comparisons between Black and white survey participants[24]

No effect	Small effect (0.2–0.49)	Moderate effect (0.5–0.79)	Large effect (0.8–1.09)	Very large effect (1.1+)
Broken Windows (No effect)	Collective efficacy (-0.24*)	*Racial Progress* (0.55**)	*Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation* (-0.84**)	*Structural Model of Racism* (-1.13**)
Character Shapes Place (No effect)	*Segregation Is Natural* (-0.26*)	Understanding: Government shapes place (-0.62**)	Understanding: Structural racism exists (-0.98**)	*Historical Legacy Model of Racism* (-1.14**)
Housing Market Naturalism (No effect)	*Colorblind Racism* (0.26*)	*Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* (-0.68**)	Salience (-0.93**)	
	Interpersonal Model of Racism (0.32**)	*Wealth Gap Legacy* (-0.69**)		
	Assimilation Reduces Racism (0.43**)	*Place Is Designed* (-0.74**)		
	Collective responsibility (-0.47**)			
	Pathologizing Black Culture (0.47**)			

Cultural mindsets are in italics. Target opinions are not italicized.
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01

There are three notable patterns:

— ***The largest effects are around the systemic models of racism.*** Effects for the *Structural* and *Historical Legacy* models of racism are incredibly large, and the effect for the *Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* is also quite sizable. Black participants much more strongly endorsed these mindsets than white participants.

For the *Structural* model, the mean for white participants was 51.6—an average response close to "neither agree nor disagree." The mean for this model for Black participants, by contrast, was 80.7, which is close to "agree" on the scale. Similarly, for the *Historical Legacy* model, the mean for white participants was 43.7 (between "neither agree nor disagree" and "somewhat disagree"), compared to 71.7 for Black participants (between "somewhat agree" and "agree").

— *Effects for target opinions were also quite large.* Black participants tended to believe in the reality of structural racism and the role of government in shaping place more than white participants, and spatial justice was much more salient for them. Effects for collective responsibility and efficacy were smaller but still present.

— *Surprisingly, effects for anti-Black and racism-denial mindsets were mostly small or nonexistent.* There were no significant differences between white and Black participants in their levels of endorsement of the *Broken Windows* mindset and only small effects for the *Colorblind Racism*, *Assimilation Reduces Racism*, and *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindsets (white participants more strongly endorsed these mindsets than Black participants, on average). Of the mindsets we identified as contributing to the ideology of white supremacy, only the *Racial Progress* mindset saw moderate effects (with white participants endorsing this mindset more strongly than Black participants).

This pattern underscores an important reality of cultural mindsets and ideology: Cultural mindsets that justify the status quo are shared to some extent across groups, including groups that are oppressed by current power relations. This does not mean that Black people strongly endorse anti-Black mindsets, but they may occasionally use such mindsets or refuse to actively reject or disagree with them. This ambivalence is reflected in the mean score of Black participants on the *Broken Windows* mindset: 50.0 (on a 100-point scale). This compares with a mean score of 54.3 for white participants. This means that, on average, members of both groups neither agreed nor disagreed with the mindset, with white participants leaning very slightly toward agreement. Recognizing that both groups may draw on this mindset at least occasionally or, more commonly, be ambivalent upon hearing discourse that reflects it, is important: This can undercut the demand for structural change among both white and Black people.

2. Political party also substantially influences target opinions and mindset salience.

There were significant differences between Democrats and Republicans in average endorsement of all target opinions and all cultural mindsets other than *Housing Market Naturalism* (and we suspect lack of effects for this latter mindset is a result of the measurement issues discussed above). In Table 17 below, we present effect sizes for all target opinions and mindsets. Negative effects indicate that participants who identify as Democrats or lean Democratic less strongly endorsed a mindset or opinion than Republican/Republican-leaning participants, whereas positive effects indicate that participants who identify as Democrats or lean Democratic more strongly endorse the mindset or opinion.

Table 17: Effect sizes for comparisons between Democratic/Democratic-leaning and Republican/Republican-leaning survey participants[25]

No or minimal effect	Small effect (0.2–0.49)	Moderate effect (0.5–0.79)	Large effect (0.8–1.09)	Very large effect (1.1+)
Housing Market Naturalism (No effect)	Collective efficacy (0.36**)	*Assimilation Reduces Racism* (-0.62**)	*Wealth Gap Legacy* (0.85**)	*Racial Progress* (-1.16**)
Segregation Is Natural (0.17**)	*Character Shapes Place* (-0.40**)	Broken Windows (-0.68**)	*Pathologizing Black Culture* (-0.95**)	Collective responsibility (1.21**)
		Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism (0.76**)	Colorblind Racism (-0.97**)	*Structural Model of Racism* (1.28**)
			Interpersonal Model of Racism (-0.97**)	*Historical Legacy Model of Racism* (1.29**)
			Place Is Designed (1.00**)	Salience (1.34**)
			Understanding: Government shapes place (1.03**)	Understanding: Structural racism exists (1.51**)
			Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation (1.08**)	

Cultural mindsets are in italics. Target opinions are not italicized.
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01

There are several patterns that jump out when looking at these results:

— ***The effects for partisan identity are incredibly large—larger even than for racial identity.*** When we compare Democrats and Republicans, there are very large or large effects for nine of the 15 cultural mindsets, compared to large or very large effects on only three mindsets when we compare Black and white participants.

— *The effects for <u>every single</u> mindset and opinion other than* Housing Market Naturalism *are larger than they are for racial identity.* We might reasonably expect racial identity to have larger effects on these mindsets and opinions than partisan identity does, since most relate to race and racism, but this doesn't bear out in the results. In this case, the lived experience of racial identity seems to have a smaller effect than partisan identity.

— *Effects for the anti-Black and racism-denial mindsets are much larger along partisan lines than they are for racial identity.* Comparing effect sizes for these mindsets, we see that for the *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset, the difference between Democrats and Republicans is large, while the difference between Black and white participants is small (see Tables 16 and 17 for exact effect sizes). For the *Assimilation Reduces Racism* mindset, the difference for partisan identity is moderate compared to a small difference between Black and white participants. For the *Racial Progress* mindset, there is a very large difference between the two political parties compared to a moderate difference when comparing the two racial identities. The difference between Democrats and Republicans for the *Colorblind Racism* mindset is large, while the difference between Black and white participants for this mindset is small. Finally, for the *Broken Windows* mindset, the difference between Democrats and Republicans is small, while there is no effect when comparing Black and white participants.

3. Democrats of every racial and ethnic identity tend to more strongly endorse productive mindsets and less strongly endorse unproductive ones than Republicans of every racial and ethnic identity.

Although there are distinct effects of racial identity and political party on target opinions, there is also a significant interaction between racial identity and political party. This interaction indicates that, for at least some mindsets and target opinions, the relationship between a person's racial identity and their endorsement of an opinion differs by their political party affiliation.

Partisan identity seems to overcome, to a substantial extent, the effects of racial/ethnic identity. Being a Democrat means that people tend to think productively about spatial justice, regardless of their racial/ethnic identity, whereas being a Republican means that people tend to think unproductively about this issue regardless of their racial/ethnic identity.

This is a generalization derived by looking at mean scores on mindsets. The mean scores for Democrats of all racial and ethnic groups are generally higher on productive mindsets and lower on unproductive mindsets than Republicans of all racial and ethnic groups. We highlight the means for white and Black participants specifically, for reasons described above, although means for participants with other racial/ethnic identities follow the same pattern.

This pattern holds for both productive and unproductive mindsets. For example, Black Republicans' mean score for the *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset is 59.0, which is very similar to white Republicans' score of 61.7. These scores indicate very slight agreement, on average, with this mindset

(see Table 18). By contrast, Black Democrats' mean score for this mindset is 35.4, which is very similar to white Democrats' score of 38.2. These scores indicate slight disagreement, on average, with this mindset. This pattern holds up across the board for unproductive mindsets: Black and white Republicans' mean scores are close to one another, and Black and white Democrats' scores are close, while both white and Black Republicans' mean scores are higher than both white and Black Democrats'.

Table 18: Mean scores for key unproductive mindsets

	Character Shapes Place	*Colorblind Racism*	*Pathologizing Black Culture*	*Assimilation Reduces Racism*	*Racial Progress*	*Broken Windows*
Black Democrats	57.1	45.4	35.4	20.3	13.0	47.9
White Democrats	54.6	41.6	38.2	26.5	17.2	46.9
Black Republicans	60.2	65.1	59.0	45.7	50.6	66.3
White Republicans	63.7	68.9	61.7	41.3	43.4	61.3

The items were on seven-point Likert-type scales (see appendix B for items). Means have been transposed to a 100-point scale, so 50 represents the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). As scores get closer to zero, this indicates increasingly strong rejection of the mindset. As scores get closer to 100, this indicates increasingly strong endorsement of the mindset.

For productive mindsets, there's more variation between white and Black participants within parties, but white Democrats' scores for the productive mindsets are higher across the board than Black Republicans' (see Table 19). For example, for the *Structural Model of Racism*—the most productive model of racism—Black Democrats score highest, with a mean of 82.4, indicating agreement (roughly equivalent to point six on the seven-point scale). White Democrats' mean score was 70.0, indicating an average response between "somewhat agree" and "agree." Black Republicans' score was 57.9, indicating a response between "neither agree nor disagree" and "somewhat agree." White Republicans, by contrast, had an average score of 38.4, indicating a response approaching "somewhat disagree." A similar pattern holds for other productive mindsets, with some variation among racial groups but, nonetheless, with both white and Black Democrats' mean scores being higher than both white and Black Republicans'.

Table 19: Mean scores for key productive mindsets

	Place Is Designed	*Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism*	*Historical Legacy Model of Racism*	*Structural Model of Racism*	*Wealth Gap Legacy*	*Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation*
Black Democrats	76.8	72.1	74.6	82.4	79.7	65.4
White Democrats	72.4	65.9	62.3	70.0	75.5	57.0
Black Republicans	59.5	63.5	50.6	57.9	75.0	47.6
White Republicans	50.1	49.4	29.9	38.4	58.0	32.0

The items were on seven-point Likert-type scales (see appendix B for items). Means have been transposed to a 100-point scale, so 50 represents the midpoint of the scale ("neither agree nor disagree"). As scores get closer to zero, this indicates increasingly strong rejection of the mindset. As scores get closer to 100, this indicates increasingly strong endorsement of the mindset.

We see this pattern borne out as well in forced-choice questions that asked participants to choose between a systemic view of racism and an interpersonal view. (The articulation of the systemic view in this question most closely aligns with the *Structural Model of Racism,* though the goal of these questions was not to measure which systemic view participants might endorse but rather whether interpersonal or systemic thinking generally is dominant for a participant.) Among Black Democratic participants, nearly 71 percent agreed at least a little bit more with the systemic view than the interpersonal view (see Figure 2 below). Among white Democratic participants, 64 percent agreed with the systemic view at least a little bit more. By contrast, among Black Republicans, only about 33 percent agreed with the systemic view more, with about 67 percent agreeing with the interpersonal view more. Among white Republicans, a mere 22 percent chose the systemic view, while 77 percent chose the interpersonal view.

Figure 2: Systemic vs. interpersonal views of racism by racial identity and political party

(A) Racism primarily happens between individuals.
(B) Racism is built into our laws, policies, and institutions.

- ● I agree much more with A
- ● I agree more with A
- ● I agree a little bit more with A
- ● I agree much more with B
- ● I agree more with B
- ● I agree a little bit more with B

Black Democrats   Black Republicans   White Democrats   White Republicans
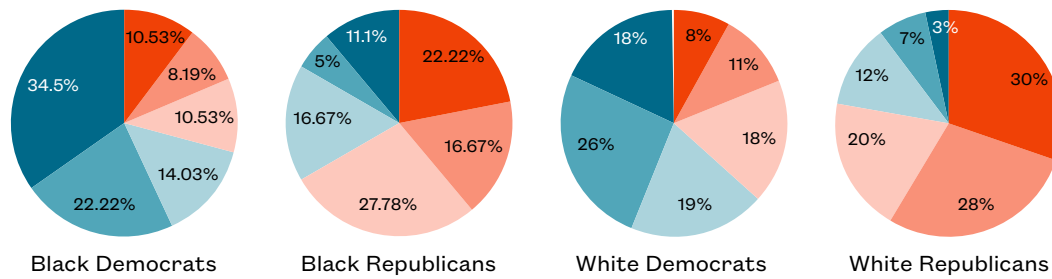
We see the same pattern for individualistic vs. systemic thinking about racial segregation. In the survey, we forced participants to choose between an individualistic understanding of residence ("People choose where they live") and a systemic one ("Discriminatory laws and policies shape where people live"). Sixty percent of Black Democratic participants and 55 percent of white Democratic participants chose the systemic view, compared to 45 percent of Black Republican participants and only 17 percent of white Republicans (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Systemic vs. interpersonal views of racial segregation by racial identity and political party

(A) People choose where they live.
(B) Discriminatory laws and policies shape where people live.

- ● I agree much more with A
- ● I agree more with A
- ● I agree a little bit more with A
- ● I agree much more with B
- ● I agree more with B
- ● I agree a little bit more with B

Black Democrats   Black Republicans   White Democrats   White Republicans
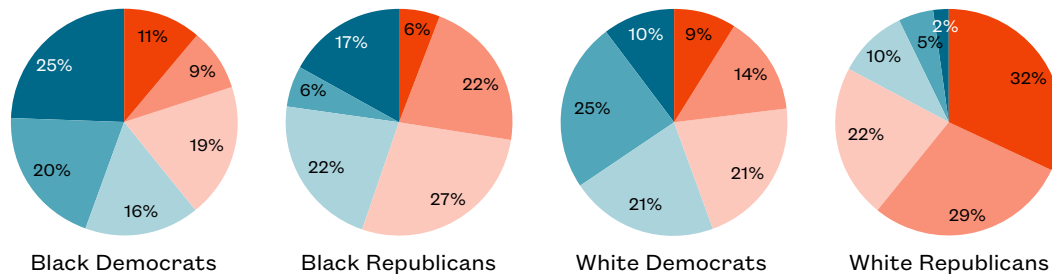
4. Age and gender also shape thinking about spatial justice in important ways.

In other recent research, we have found that younger people tend to think more systemically about social issues than older people,[26] and this pattern bears out for the issue of spatial justice. When we compare the youngest group sampled (18–29 years old) with the oldest group (60+ years old), we see significant differences for most mindsets and opinions. Younger people generally more strongly endorse productive mindsets and agree more with target opinions, while older people generally endorse the unproductive mindsets more and agree with target opinions less (Table 20).

Table 20: Effect sizes for comparisons between survey participants ages 18–29 years and 60+ years[27]

No or minimal effect	Small effect (0.2–0.49)	Moderate effect (0.5–0.79)	Large effect (0.8–1.09)	Very large effect (1.1+)
Collective efficacy (No effect)	*Interpersonal Model of Racism* (-0.26*)	*Assimilation Reduces Racism* (-0.51**)	NONE	NONE
Segregation Is Natural (No effect)	Racial Progress (-0.33**)	Wealth Gap Legacy (0.56**)		
Character Shapes Place (No effect)	Collective responsibility (0.36**)	*Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation* (0.61**)		
Colorblind Racism (No effect)	*Housing Market Naturalism* (-0.38**)	*Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism* (0.62**)		
	Broken Windows (-0.38**)	Understanding: Government shapes place (0.62**)		
	Pathologizing Black Culture (-0.40**)	*Structural Model of Racism* (0.72**)		
	Place Is Designed (0.44**)	*Historical Legacy Model of Racism* (0.72**)		
		Salience (0.75**)		
		Understanding: Structural racism exists (0.79**)		

Cultural mindsets are in italics. Target opinions are not italicized.
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01

Effects for age are not as large as effects for racial identity or political party (see Tables 16 and 17 above).

When we look at gender, we also see significant differences, though these tend to have smaller effects than for age. As Table 21 shows, women tend to more strongly endorse productive mindsets and less strongly endorse unproductive ones. (Negative effects indicate that women are less supportive of the mindset or opinion than men, whereas positive effects indicate that women support it more.)

Table 21: Effect sizes for comparisons between participants identifying as men and women[28]

No or minimal effect	Small effect (0.2–0.49)	Moderate effect (0.5–0.79)	Large effect (0.8–1.09)	Very large effect (1.1+)
Segregation Is Natural (No effect)	*Interpersonal Model of Racism* (-0.22**)	*NONE*	*NONE*	*NONE*
Collective efficacy (0.09*)	*Character Shapes Place* (-0.22**)			
Colorblind Racism (-0.10*)	Salience (0.24**)			
Housing Market Naturalism (-0.12*)	Collective responsibility (0.24**)			
Understanding: Government shapes place (0.18**)	Understanding: Structural racism exists (0.25**)			
	Place Is Designed (0.31**)			
	Pathologizing Black Culture (-0.31**)			
	Wealth Gap Legacy (0.32**)			
	Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation (0.34**)			
	Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism (0.36**)			
	Historical Legacy Model of Racism (0.37**)			
	Racial Progress (-0.37**)			
	Assimilation Reduces Racism (-0.40**)			
	Broken Windows (-0.43**)			
	Structural Model of Racism (0.47**)			

Cultural mindsets are in italics. Target opinions are not italicized.
* = p < .05, ** = p < .01

5. Residential location and region don't drive differences in thinking about race, place, and their intersection.

Going into our analysis, we expected to see differences in endorsement of mindsets and opinions by place—both residential location (urban, suburban, rural) and region. Just as different lived experiences of race affect how people think about race (and its relationship to place), we expected different lived experiences of place to affect how people think about place (and its relationship to race). However, our analysis did not bear out this expectation.

Our analysis found that region didn't influence endorsement of mindsets or opinions. On initial appraisal, residential location appeared to matter, and our analysis indicated significant differences between urban, suburban, and rural participants in their endorsement of mindsets and opinions. However, once we controlled for other demographic variables (race, political party, age, and gender), the effect of residential location disappeared. In other words, differences in thinking are better explained by factors other than location. Urban areas tend to be younger, more racially diverse, and more liberal. Once we account for those factors, we can see that it is not location itself that explains differences in thinking but rather these other factors that are distributed unevenly across location. (By contrast, the effects of race, political party, age, and gender do not disappear when we control for other variables, indicating that these variables do, in fact, shape thinking in meaningful ways.)

What Do These Differences in Thinking Mean for the Pursuit of Spatial Justice?

The specific implications of these findings on the ways in which lived experience and identity affect thinking depend on the goals of the specific social change effort. These findings will have different implications, for example, for advocates pushing for inclusive economic development in a Republican-leaning metropolitan area (e.g., Oklahoma City) compared to organizers engaged in power-building work in Black and brown neighborhoods in a solidly Democratic city (e.g., Baltimore). We share these findings in the hope that they are useful for the strategies of those working to advance spatial justice in many different ways and leave it to strategists in particular efforts to determine the specific implications for their work.

At a general level, there are a few big takeaways that jump out:

1. **The lived experience of oppression matters.** Not only does racial identity affect thinking, so does gender. People who have a lived experience of oppression are more likely to think systemically about race and place.

2. **Where people live doesn't matter.** Perhaps surprisingly, the lived experience of place does not have a major impact on thinking. This means that advocates and organizers need not develop fundamentally different strategies for those in different parts of the country or different residential locations.

3. **Political party matters most.** Perhaps unsurprisingly, given how partisan our country's discourse around race and racism has become, partisan identity is the biggest determiner of thinking around spatial justice. When we couple deep differences in thinking with responsiveness to partisan cues (i.e., the tendency of people to respond not to the content of messages so much as the political identity of their source), it becomes clear that partisan polarization creates fundamental challenges for those looking to promote spatial justice.

4. **While differences in thinking are real, it is important not to assume that identity is destiny.** The findings above result from averaging across groups, but there is always variation within groups. Some white Republicans think more productively about spatial justice than the mean suggests, as do plenty of older adults and men. And even those who tend to rely more on unproductive mindsets have access to productive ones.

The goal of narrative-change work is not to get everyone to agree, but to shift the center of debate toward justice. For the people who already recognize that structural racism is built into places, the goal might be to deepen understanding of how this works and what can be done about it. For those who deny this, the goal might be to provoke them to take this seriously as a position they must consider and respond to. Understanding differences in thinking can help us better understand how to shift the center of debate across the board. If it becomes an excuse for ignoring large segments of the public, we undermine the possibility of the widespread, long-term cultural changes needed for structural change in a democratic society.[29]

Conclusion
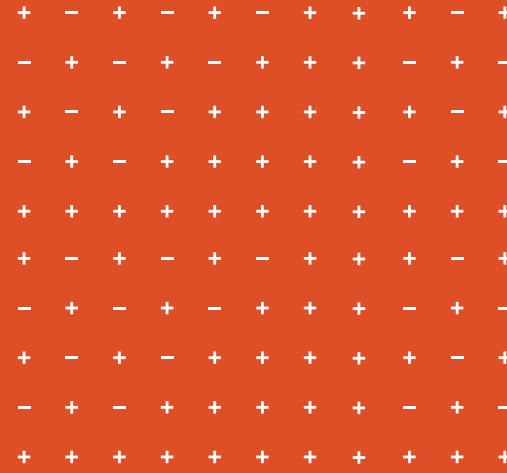
Conclusion, Appendices, and Endnotes

By understanding the existing cultural mindsets that members of the US public use to think about race and place, we gain strategic advantages in the short- and long-term.

In the short-term, when we understand the different ways in which people can think about these issues and their implications for spatial justice, we can be intentional in cuing productive mindsets and not activating unproductive mindsets. By having a map of the cultural terrain, we can more carefully navigate our way through this terrain.

In the long-term, mindset shifts—fundamental changes in culture—will be needed to transform US society in ways that advance spatial justice. By understanding the existing state of cultural mindsets, we can identify the shifts that are needed and map out long-term strategies to achieve them.

Appendix A: Research Methods

Below, we describe the research that informs the current research report and the associated <u>strategic brief</u>.

Literature Review

At the outset of the project, in 2021, FrameWorks researchers conducted a review of existing research literature on mindsets and public perceptions of race and place. (This review also included a review of mindsets around health, as the topic of health was initially within the scope of this project. Subsequently, the project narrowed to focus on race and place so we set aside the portion of the review concerning mindsets around health.) This review covered past FrameWorks research, including research on economic and racial segregation, affordable housing and community development, and poverty and racism.[30] The review also covered academic and gray literatures on mindsets around these issues, including literature in psychology on racial stereotypes, public opinion research on race and racism, anthropological and sociological literature on perceptions of race and place, and gray literature in the narrative-change space. This review informed the design of our original research.

Cultural Mindsets Interviews

To identify the cultural mindsets that the public uses to think about place, race and racism, and their relationship, FrameWorks researchers conducted 52 cultural mindsets interviews from May to June 2022 with people across the United States. Interviews were conducted over Zoom and were recorded with participants' written consent.

All participants were recruited by a professional marketing firm and selected to represent variation along several dimensions: race and ethnicity, residential location, age, gender, educational background, income, political views (as self-reported during the screening process), and family situation (e.g., married or single, with or without children) (see Table 1 below for full demographic information). To ensure that we captured a breadth of perspectives and were able to examine thinking across racial identity, we interviewed people for each of five broadly defined racial-ethnic groups: Asian American/Pacific Islander (AAPI), Black, Latinx, Native American, and white. Each group had ten participants, except for the Native American group which had twelve.

Cultural mindsets interviews are one-on-one, semi-structured interviews lasting approximately two hours. They are designed to allow researchers to capture broad sets of assumptions, or cultural mindsets, that participants use to make sense of a concept or topic area—in this case, issues related to place, race and racism, and the relationship of race and racism to place. Interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions covering participants' thinking on those topics in broad terms. Researchers approached each interview with a common set of topics to explore but allowed participants to determine the direction and nature of the discussion.

To analyze the interviews, researchers used analytical techniques from cognitive and linguistic anthropology to examine how participants understood issues related to place, race, racism, and the

relationship among these.[31] First, researchers identified common ways of talking across the sample to reveal assumptions, relationships, logical steps, and connections that were commonly made but taken for granted throughout an individual's dialogue. The analysis involved discerning patterns in both what participants said (i.e., how they related, explained, and understood things) and what they did not say (i.e., assumptions and implied relationships). In many cases, participants revealed conflicting mindsets on the same issue. In such cases, one conflicting way of understanding was typically found to be dominant over the other in that it more consistently and deeply shaped participants' thinking (i.e., participants drew on this mindset with greater frequency and relied more heavily on it in arriving at conclusions). To ensure consistency, researchers met after an initial round of coding and analysis, comparing and processing initial findings, then revisited transcripts to explore differences and questions that arose through the comparison. As part of this process, researchers compared emerging findings to the findings from previous cultural mindsets research as a check to ensure that they had not missed or misunderstood any important mindsets. They then reconvened and arrived at a synthesized set of findings.

Analysis centered on ways of understanding that were shared across participants, as cultural mindsets research is designed to identify common ways of thinking that can be identified across a sample. While there was no fixed rule or percentage used to identify what counts as "shared," mindsets reported were typically found in a large majority of interviews. Mindsets found in a smaller percentage of interviews were only reported if there was a clear reason why they only appeared in a limited set of interviews (e.g., the mindset reflected the thinking of a particular subgroup of people).

As we describe below, we primarily relied on large-sample surveys to explore variations between groups, rather than looking at variation within our interview sample, as generalizations based on small numbers of participants would be inappropriate. However, in analyzing cultural mindsets interviews, researchers noted whether specific mindsets appeared more frequently in some racial/ethnic groups and used the qualitative data to generate possible interpretations of such differences. Where differences in mindset salience were borne out by the surveys, researchers returned to these interpretations from the cultural mindsets interviews to help make sense of these results.

Table 1: Cultural mindsets interviews—demographic information

Demographic Variable	Number of participants
Race/ethnicity	
Asian/AAPI	10
Black or African American	10
Hispanic or Latino/a	10

	Native American	12
	White	10
Political party		
	Democrat/Lean Democratic	24
	Republican/Lean Republican	19
	Other/independent/do not lean	9
Residential location		
	Rural	15
	Suburban	19
	Urban	18
Gender		
	Male	25
	Female	26
	Nonbinary/other	1
Age		
	18–29	15
	30–44	13
	45–59	15
	60+	9
Educational attainment		
	High school or less	9
	Some college	18
	College degree	14
	Post-college	11
Income		
	$0–39,999	10
	$40,000–69,999	12
	$70,000–99,999	17
	$100,000–$149,999	9
	$150,000+	4
Parental status		
	Has children	26
	No children	26
Marital status		
	Single	32

Married	20

Surveys

Two online surveys were administered to gather data from a total sample of 3,003 participants (survey 1: N = 1,502; survey 2: N = 1,501) aged 18 and over and from the United States. To prevent participant burnout and reduce the length of the survey, items were divided between two surveys.

Both surveys began with participant consent and a series of standard demographic questions, followed by items measuring target opinions. Survey 1 also included batteries designed to measure cultural mindsets, focusing primarily on unproductive and individualistic mindsets (e.g., the *Pathologizing Black Culture* mindset and the *Interpersonal Model of Racism*). Survey 2 also included batteries designed to measure cultural mindsets but focused on more productive and systemic mindsets (e.g., the three systemic models of racism).

Each battery consisted of multiple questions, primarily using Likert-type items with five-or seven-point response scales. Each survey included at least two forced-choice items wherein participants were presented with statements representing two cultural mindsets and asked to rate which cultural mindset they agreed with more. All batteries within each section were randomized.

Target quotas were set according to national benchmarks for age, gender, household income, education level, race/ethnicity, and political party affiliation. Most racial/ethnic groups were oversampled above national benchmarks to support subgroup analyses, with a minimum target of n = 200 for each racial/ethnic group. All analyses regarding race/ethnicity were conducted using the nationally representative sample and the oversample to ensure adequate power for stratified analyses. Analyses regarding all other demographic variables were conducted using only the nationally representative sample. Data was collected in December 2022 by Dynata, who also hosted the survey. See below for more information about the sample composition.

Exploratory factor analysis with oblique promax rotation was used to determine the psychometric quality of each battery. Items with rotated factor loadings below |.40| were dropped from each battery. Once finalized, Cronbach's alpha (α) was used to assess internal consistency among the items in each battery. Given that there are various heuristics for determining acceptable internal consistency, we determined that batteries with internal consistency scores approaching .60 or above would be considered acceptable.[32] After assessing internal consistency, items within each battery were combined into composite scores that indicated participants' average ratings of the target opinions or cultural mindsets measured by each battery. Internal consistency scores for each battery can be found in appendix B.

Across both surveys, we ran correlations to determine the relationships between target opinions and cultural mindsets. A threshold of $p < .05$ was used to determine whether two variables were

significantly correlated. A correlation coefficient within the range of 0.1–0.3 was considered a small association; a correlation coefficient within the range of .30–.50 was considered a medium association; and a correlation of .50 or higher was considered a large association.[33]

Results of the forced-choice items were examined using pie charts to visualize the relative salience of the presented cultural mindsets.

We used analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine whether participants from various demographic backgrounds differed significantly in their endorsement of target opinions and cultural mindsets. Further, we used Bonferroni corrected pairwise comparisons to identify where significant differences between demographic groups occurred. An effect size within the range of 0.2–.49 was considered a small effect; an effect size within the range of .5–.79 was considered a moderate effect; and an effect of .8–1.09 was considered a large effect.[34] Additionally, we considered an effect of 1.1 or larger a very large effect. Lastly, we explored whether interactions existed between variables of substantive practical and theoretical interest.

Table 2: Survey 1 demographic information

Demographic Variable	Main sample	Main sample %	Oversample	Oversample %	Total	Total %
Age						
18–29	147	9.79%	183	25.77%	330	14.92%
30–44	404	26.90%	286	40.28%	690	31.19%
45–59	476	31.69%	132	18.59%	608	27.49%
60+	475	31.62%	109	15.35%	584	26.40%
Sex						
Male	728	48.47%	272	38.31%	1000	45.21%
Female	772	51.40%	438	61.69%	1210	54.70%
Nonbinary/Other	2	0.13%	0	0.00%	2	0.09%
Gender						
Man	720	47.94%	269	37.89%	989	44.71%
Woman	773	51.46%	430	60.56%	1203	54.39%
Trans Man	1	0.07%	2	0.28%	3	0.14%
Trans Woman	0	0.00%	3	0.42%	3	0.14%
Genderqueer	7	0.47%	4	0.56%	11	0.50%
Other	1	0.07%	2	0.28%	3	0.14%
Region						
Northeast	286	19.04%	79	11.13%	365	16.50%
Midwest	338	22.50%	94	13.24%	432	19.53%
South	588	39.15%	226	31.83%	814	36.80%
West	290	19.31%	311	43.80%	601	27.17%

Location					
Urban	395	26.30%	234	32.96%	629	28.44%
Suburban	791	52.66%	335	47.18%	1126	50.90%
Rural	316	21.04%	141	19.86%	457	20.66%
Race/Ethnicity					
Caucasian/White (non-Hispanic/Latino)	1005	66.91%	0	0.00%	1005	45.43%
Hispanic/Latino	176	11.72%	25	3.52%	201	9.09%
Black/African American	198	13.18%	33	4.65%	231	10.44%
Asian	65	4.33%	138	19.44%	203	9.18%
American Indian/Alaska Native	11	0.73%	189	26.62%	200	9.04%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	3	0.20%	198	27.89%	201	9.09%
Other/Biracial or multiracial	44	2.93%	157	22.11%	201	9.09%
Income					
0–24,999	263	17.51%	167	23.52%	430	19.44%
25,000–49,999	425	28.30%	220	30.99%	645	29.16%
50,000–99,999	485	32.29%	200	28.17%	685	30.97%
100,00–149,999	209	13.91%	75	10.56%	284	12.84%
150,000+	120	7.99%	48	6.76%	168	7.59%
Education					
High school diploma or less	451	30.03%	202	28.45%	653	29.52%
Some college or associate degree	519	34.55%	287	40.42%	806	36.44%
Bachelor's degree	335	22.30%	144	20.28%	479	21.65%
Graduate/Professional degree	197	13.12%	77	10.85%	274	12.39%
Political Party					
Republican/Closer to Republican Party	558	37.15%	191	26.90%	749	33.86%

Democrat/Closer to Democratic Party	799	53.20%	304	42.82%	1103	49.86%
Neither	145	9.65%	215	30.28%	360	16.27%

Marital Status						
Single	517	34.42%	302	42.54%	819	37.03%
Married	680	45.27%	248	34.93%	928	41.95%
Married but separated	24	1.60%	26	3.66%	50	2.26%
Divorced	204	13.58%	68	9.58%	272	12.30%
Other	77	5.13%	66	9.30%	143	6.46%

Table 3: Survey 2 demographic information

Demographic Variable	Main sample	Main sample %	Oversample	Oversample %	Total	Total %
Age						
18–29	317	21.12%	152	21.97%	469	21.39%
30–44	330	21.99%	243	35.12%	573	26.13%
45–59	405	26.98%	173	25.00%	578	26.36%
60+	449	29.91%	124	17.92%	573	26.13%
Sex						
Male	742	49.43%	215	31.07%	957	43.64%
Female	759	50.57%	476	68.79%	1235	56.32%
Nonbinary/Other	0	0.00%	1	0.14%	1	0.05%
Gender						
Man	742	49.43%	211	30.49%	953	43.46%
Woman	745	49.63%	466	67.34%	1211	55.22%
Trans Man	6	0.40%	2	0.29%	8	0.36%
Trans Woman	0	0.00%	1	0.14%	1	0.05%
Genderqueer	8	0.53%	10	1.45%	18	0.82%
Other	0	0.00%	2	0.29%	2	0.09%
Region						
Northeast	241	16.06%	77	11.13%	318	14.50%
Midwest	319	21.25%	110	15.90%	429	19.56%

South	625	41.64%	211	30.49%	836	38.12%
West	316	21.05%	294	42.49%	610	27.82%
Location						
Urban	420	27.98%	231	33.38%	651	29.69%
Suburban	754	50.23%	399	57.66%	1153	52.58%
Rural	327	21.79%	161	23.27%	488	22.25%
Race/Ethnicity						
Caucasian/White (non-Hispanic/Latino)	965	64.29%	0	0.00%	965	44.00%
Hispanic/Latino	234	15.59%	0	0.00%	234	10.67%
Black/African American	187	12.46%	14	2.02%	201	9.17%
Asian	55	3.66%	154	22.25%	209	9.53%
American Indian/ Alaska Native	12	0.80%	188	27.17%	200	9.12%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	1	0.07%	183	26.45%	184	8.39%
Other/Biracial or multiracial	47	3.13%	153	22.11%	200	9.12%
Income						
0–24,999	325	21.65%	142	20.52%	467	21.30%
25,000–49,999	373	24.85%	192	27.75%	565	25.76%
50,000–99,999	471	31.38%	223	32.23%	694	31.65%
100,00–149,999	212	14.12%	81	11.71%	293	13.36%
150,000+	120	7.99%	54	7.80%	174	7.93%
Education						
High school diploma or less	535	35.64%	161	23.27%	696	31.74%
Some college or associate degree	468	31.18%	259	37.43%	727	33.15%
Bachelor's degree	300	19.99%	185	26.73%	485	22.12%
Graduate/ Professional degree	198	13.19%	87	12.57%	285	13.00%
Political Party						
Republican/Closer to Republican Party	558	37.18%	42	6.07%	600	27.36%

Democrat/Closer to Democratic Party	799	53.23%	86	12.43%	885	40.36%
Neither	145	9.66%	199	28.76%	344	15.69%
Marital Status						
Single	580	38.64%	281	40.61%	861	39.26%
Married	668	44.50%	264	38.15%	932	42.50%
Married but separated	22	1.47%	21	3.03%	43	1.96%
Divorced	160	10.66%	76	10.98%	236	10.76%
Other	71	4.73%	50	7.23%	121	5.52%

Appendix B: Survey Items

1. Target Opinions

The following batteries were used to measure target opinions. These batteries were measured in both survey 1 and survey 2.

Target Opinion #1: Structural Racism Affects Place

Opinion #1 was measured indirectly by measuring agreement with two component beliefs: the understanding that structural racism exists, and the understanding that government decisions shape places.

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

Subscale 1: Understanding: Structural Racism Exists α = .90

1. Racism is present in our laws, policies, and institutions.

2. Our laws and policies work together to disadvantage Black people.

3. Racial discrimination is primarily the result of how our society is set up.

4. Our institutions have historically worked together to advantage white people.

Subscale 2: Understanding: Government Shapes Place α = .83

1. Our current laws and policies shape how neighborhoods are developed.

2. Our laws and policies influence the amount of funding and resources neighborhoods receive.

3. How well neighborhoods do is shaped by our laws, policies, and institutions.

The other three target opinions were each measured using a single battery of items.

Target Opinion #2: Spatial Justice Is an Important Issue (Salience) α = .88

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[5-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree]*:

1. New laws should focus on repairing the harms caused by past discriminatory policies on historically Black neighborhoods.

2. City council members should make it a priority to fix laws that disadvantage predominantly

Black neighborhoods.

3. City council members should make sure that new laws don't advantage predominantly white communities over others.

4. Advocates have argued that policies should prioritize funding for historically Black neighborhoods. How important do you think it is that new policies do this? *[5-point Likert scale: "Not at all important"; "Slightly important"; "Moderately important"; "Very important"; "Extremely important"]*

5. Imagine that an election was taking place between two candidates. The first candidate has a record of supporting policies that prioritize funding for historically Black neighborhoods and other communities of color. The second candidate does not have a record of supporting these policies. How likely would you be to **vote for the first candidate** over the second? *[5-point Likert scale: "Not at all likely"; "Somewhat likely"; "Likely"; "Very likely"; "Extremely likely"]*

Target Opinion #3: Spatial Justice Is a Collective Responsibility (Collective Responsibility) α = .92

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]:*

1. If we do not address the negative effects that current policies have on historically Black neighborhoods, we will have failed in our responsibilities as a society.

2. We, as a society, are responsible for dismantling discriminatory policies that harm communities of color.

3. It is our responsibility, as a society, to ensure that historically Black neighborhoods have the resources they need to thrive.

4. Our government is responsible for ensuring that laws and policies don't prioritize funding for white communities over communities of color.

5. We are obligated to end policies that cause different races to live in different neighborhoods.

6. It is our government's responsibility to stop racial segregation from happening in our neighborhoods.

Target Opinion #4: We Can Achieve Spatial Justice by Acting Collectively

(Collective Efficacy) α = .85

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]:*

1. I am confident that our government can dismantle policies that unfairly take resources away from historically Black neighborhoods.

2. Our state and local governments can ensure that funding is distributed more evenly across all communities, including communities of color.

3. I am confident that our elected officials can dismantle policies that prioritize funding for white neighborhoods over neighborhoods of color.

2. Cultural Mindsets

Cultural mindsets were primarily measured using batteries of items designed to capture the core assumptions or ideas of a mindset.

A. Cultural Mindsets—Survey 1

Character Shapes Place α = .75

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]:*

1. What a neighborhood is like is a direct reflection on the character of residents.

2. If residents of a neighborhood care for each other, the community will do well, no matter what.

3. Good people will always take care of their properties.

Interpersonal Model of Racism α = .85

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]:*

1. Racism only happens between individuals.

2. Only people can be racist.

3. If discrimination occurs, it's usually because of a few racist individuals.

4. Systems and institutions can't be racist.

5. Some people in this country are racist, but our laws are not.

Pathologizing Black Culture α = .82

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. Black inner-city communities would do better if they took responsibility for their lives rather than relying on welfare.

2. The reason why poor urban communities are poor is because they don't value hard work.

3. If poor families want to do better, they should stop having children that they cannot afford.

Assimilation Reduces Racism α = .92

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. If Black and Latino people tried harder to fit into mainstream culture, they could avoid a lot of problems.

2. Black and Latino people would do better in society if they acted like everyone else.

3. If Black and Latino people want to avoid problems, they should dress and speak like everyone else.

Colorblind Racism α = .87[35]

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.

2. Talking about race only divides us.

3. If we just stopped focusing on race, we wouldn't be so divided.

Racial Progress α = .93

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. Racism is not a problem anymore in the U.S.

2. Racial discrimination isn't a major problem anymore.

3. Racism isn't an issue anymore because Black people have more opportunities now.

Broken Windows α = .90

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. When people take better care of their neighborhoods, there is less crime.

2. You can tell whether people living in a neighborhood are good or not by looking at how well they maintain their properties.

3. When residents keep their neighborhoods clean, it's usually a sign that the area is safe.

4. If Black people took better care of their neighborhoods, they would be better off.

5. Black people would do better if they started caring more about their communities.

6. If Black people want to improve their neighborhoods, they need to take better care of their properties.

B. Cultural Mindsets—Survey 2

Place Is Designed α = .90

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. Our laws, policies, and institutions work together to advantage some neighborhoods over others.

2. Our laws and policies cause some communities to have disproportionately fewer resources than others.

3. Our country's past policies have shaped what our neighborhoods look like today.

Housing Market Naturalism

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. The reality is, some people will just never be able to afford a home.

2. In a competitive housing market, some people simply won't be able to afford a home.

Interpersonal Model of Systemic Racism

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. Discriminatory laws and policies exist because of racist politicians.

2. If we get rid of racist leaders and politicians, our laws and policies will become less biased.

3. If our leaders were less biased, we wouldn't have racist policies.

Historical Legacy Model of Racism α = .95

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. Lingering effects of past discriminatory policies make it difficult for Black people to reach financial security in their lives.

2. Past laws and policies—such as slavery—made it so that Black people cannot build wealth to pass down through their families.

3. Our country's racist history prevents Black people today from reaching economic prosperity.

4. Black families today have inherited economic disadvantages created by our racist past.

Structural Model of Racism α = .94

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]*:

1. Discriminatory policies continue to disadvantage Black people today.

2. Black people are affected by discriminatory laws and policies.

3. Though we have outlawed some racist practices like slavery, Black people are still affected by the lingering effects of these practices.

Segregation Is Natural α = .79

How much do you think the following factors influence where people live? *[5-point Likert scale: 1 "not at all"; 2 "a little"; 3 "a moderate amount"; 4 "a lot"; 5 "a very large amount"]*

1. Seeking a sense of belonging

2. Wanting a shared culture with neighbors

3. Wanting to live near people with similar values

Wealth Gap Legacy α = .76

How much do you think the following factors influence where people live? *[5-point Likert scale: 1 "not at all"; 2 "a little"; 3 "a moderate amount"; 4 "a lot"; 5 "a very large amount"]*

1. Income inequality

2. Discriminatory housing policies

3. Housing affordability

4. Cost of living

Structural Model of Inequitable Treatment and Segregation α = .93

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below *[7-point Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree]:*

1. Our laws, policies, and institutions make it difficult for people of color to choose where they want to live.

2. Government policies cause people from different racial groups to live in separate neighborhoods.

3. Black people live in separate neighborhoods because of laws and policies intended to keep them apart.

C. Forced-Choice Questions on Cultural Mindsets—Both Surveys

Interpersonal vs. Systemic Views of Racism

Using the following scale, please rate your agreement with the two statements: *[6-pt; 1 – "I agree much more with A"; 2 – "I agree more with A"; 3 – "I agree a little bit more with A"; 4 – "I agree a little bit more with B"; 5 – "I agree more with B"; 6 – "I agree much more with B"]*

1. Racism primarily happens between individuals.

2. Racism is built into our laws, policies, and institutions.

Individualistic vs. Systemic Views of Residential Location

Using the following scale, please rate your agreement with the two statements: *[6-pt; 1 – "I agree much more with A"; 2 – "I agree more with A"; 3 – "I agree a little bit more with A"; 4 – "I agree a little bit more with B"; 5 – "I agree more with B"; 6 – "I agree much more with B"]*

1. Individual choices shape where people live.

2. Discriminatory laws and policies shape where people live.

Endnotes

1. See FrameWorks Institute. (2020). *Mindset shifts: What are they? Why do they matter? How do they happen? A FrameWorks Strategic Report* (pp. 43–44).

2. To avoid over-repetition of the word "mindsets," we sometimes use terms like "thinking" or "view" (e.g., "systemic thinking" or the "structural view of racism") to describe patterns in thought. In these cases, we are talking about thinking or views *grounded in* the mindsets we are discussing.

3. These methods were preceded by a literature review of existing research, which informed the design of our original research. For more information, see appendix A.

4. Non-governmental policies also shape places and can be sites of structural racism. In our survey items, we focused on government policies for clarity and simplicity and because these policies are a primary site of structural racism and *must* be changed to advance spatial justice.

5. Understanding these two ideas does not, admittedly, mean that they necessarily understand the more complex idea that structural racism affects place. If people understand these two ideas, we believe they are likely to be able to connect them, so this disaggregation of the idea—while imperfect—is acceptable given measurement challenges.

6. These correlations come from survey 1. We also measured these opinions in survey 2; correlations between opinions in that survey are similar and confirm the patterns we highlight here based on survey 1 numbers.

7. FrameWorks Institute. (2022). *How is culture changing in this time of social upheaval? Findings from the Culture Change Project.*

8. In our surveys, the *Housing Market Naturalism* mindset had the highest mean score of all mindsets (76.39 on a 100-point scale, or roughly the midpoint between "somewhat agree" and "agree"). This means that, on average, participants more strongly agreed with statements encapsulating this mindset than statements encapsulating any other mindset.

   Survey measurement of the magnitude of mindset salience is methodologically tricky, as survey items must make explicit assumptions that are often tacitly endorsed but not expressly affirmed. We have found *Market Naturalism* to be challenging to measure, in both this project and our Culture Change Project, so the exact figure here should be taken with a grain of salt. However, given that qualitative analysis also found this mindset to be frequently used, we're confident in asserting that it is a dominant way of thinking about housing and place.

9. See Levay, K., Volmert, A., & Kendall-Taylor, N. (2018). *Finding a frame for affordable housing: Findings from reframing research on affordable housing and community development.* FrameWorks Institute.

10. See FrameWorks Institute. (2020). *Mindset shifts: What are they? Why do they matter? How do they happen? A FrameWorks Strategic Report.*

11. We suspect that the reason these correlations are smaller than correlations for some of the other mindsets is a result of survey measurement issues. Capturing the core assumptions of mindsets in simple,

accessible survey questions can be quite difficult, and the items for this mindset were quite general and abstract (e.g., asking people to what extent they agree with the statement, "What a neighborhood is like is a direct reflection on the character of residents"). Given these limitations, we believe the direction of the correlation matters more than its size.

12. FrameWorks Institute. (2022). *How is culture changing in this time of social upheaval? Findings from the Culture Change Project* (pp. 14–17).

13. For more on the *Personalism* model of government, see FrameWorks Institute. (2022). *How is culture changing in this time of social upheaval? Findings from the Culture Change Project.*

14. FrameWorks Institute. (2022). *How is culture changing in this time of social upheaval? Findings from the Culture Change Project.*

15. The results from this survey suggest slightly higher levels of support for systemic thinking about racism than we have seen in our Culture Change Project survey. Given that wording is slightly different between the two surveys, we assume that these differences are an artifact of question wording. The general pattern, however, is the same across both surveys—interpersonal thinking is dominant, but the systemic view is a strong alternative.

16. To ensure that we were able to create a discrete construct for this mindset, some of the items not only asserted the positive assumption of the model—that racism is located in personal bias or prejudice—but also the negative assumptions that "systems and institutions can't be racist," or that "if discrimination occurs, it's usually because of a few racist individuals" (see appendix B for item wording). While these ideas are tacitly assumed within this model, articulating them explicitly brings these statements closer to

racism-denial mindsets (see finding #5 below), which are more directly in opposition to the opinions we're targeting.

17. For fuller discussions of this history and its implications, see Moyer, J., Lyew, D., John, J. E., Hestres, L. E., Vierra, K., & Volmert, A. (2023). *Where we thrive: Communicating about resident-centered neighborhood revitalization.* FrameWorks Institute; Miller, T., & Volmert, A. (2021). *Talking about poverty: Narratives, counter-narratives, and telling effective stories.* FrameWorks Institute.

18. See for example Cho, S. (2009). Post-racialism. *Iowa Law Review*, 94, 1589–1645; Shams, S. (2021). *A jurisprudential reckoning: How conservatives use 'colorblind' ideology to obstruct racial justice.* Roosevelt Institute. https://rooseveltinstitute.org/2021/11/19/a-jurisprudential-reckoning-how-conservatives-use-colorblind-ideology-to-obstruct-racial-justice/

19. For a good summary, see Sun, E. (2018). *The dangerous racialization of crime in U.S. news media.* Center for American Progress. https://www.americanprogress.org/article/dangerous-racialization-crime-u-s-news-media/

20. See Bonilla-Silva, E. (2022). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of inequality in America* (6th ed.). Rowman & Littlefield.

21. Volmert, A., Gerstein Pineau, M., & Kendall-Taylor, N. (2016). *Talking about poverty: How experts and the public understand poverty in the United Kingdom.* FrameWorks Institute (pp. 26–28).

22. The *"Class Not Race"* mindset was not included in the surveys due to space limitations. The *Segregation Is Natural* mindset was, against expectations, *positively* correlated with target opinions (correlations ranged from r=0.16 for collective efficacy to r=0.26 for the understanding that government shapes place, with all

correlations significant at p<0.01). We believe that, as with the *Housing Market Naturalism* mindset above, these results are the product of measurement failure. The *Segregation Is Natural* mindset was measured based on the extent to which people agreed that wanting to live near people with shared culture or values "influence[s] where people live." The question is not about what accounts for racial segregation and does not even mention race. Given the looseness of the relationship between the survey items and the core assumptions of the mindset, we are not inclined to change the conclusions from our qualitative analysis based on these survey results.

23. See FrameWorks Institute. (2020). *Mindset shifts: What are they? Why do they matter? How do they happen? A FrameWorks Strategic Report.*

24. For comparisons in levels of agreement among target opinions, we've used numbers from survey 1.

25. For comparisons in levels of agreement among target opinions, we've used numbers from survey 1.

26. See FrameWorks Institute. (2022). *How is culture changing in this time of social upheaval? Findings from the Culture Change Project.*

27. For comparisons in levels of agreement among target opinions, we've used numbers from survey 1.

28. For comparisons in levels of agreement among target opinions, we've used numbers from survey 1.

29. See Sanderson, B. (2021). *To segment or not to segment? When to use audience segmentation in campaigns.* Public Interest Research Centre. https://publicinterest. org.uk/segmentation/

30. For example, see Volmert, A., O'Neil, M., Kendall-Taylor, N., & Sweetland, J. (2016). *Mixing it up: Reframing neighborhood socioeconomic diversity.* FrameWorks Institute; Baran, M., Kendall-Taylor, N., Morgan, P., Haydon, A., & Volmert, A. (2016). *"A house, a tent, a box": Mapping the gaps between expert and public understandings of healthy housing.* A FrameWorks Research Report. FrameWorks Institute; Lindland, E., Callen, A., Volmert, A., & Rochman, A. (2021). *Communicating about intergenerational urban poverty and race in America: Challenges, opportunities, and emerging recommendations.* FrameWorks Institute.

31. Quinn, N. (Ed.). (2005). *Finding culture in talk: A collection of methods.* Palgrave Macmillan.

32. Taber, K. S. (2011). The use of Cronbach's alpha when developing and reporting research instruments in science education. *Research in Science Education*, 48, 1273–1296.

33. Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Erlbaum.

34. Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.) Erlbaum.

35. This battery was adapted from Neville, H., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and initial validation of the color-blind racial attitudes scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47(1), 59–70.

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The Terrain of Spatial Justice

Cultural Mindsets of Race and Place in the United States