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Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences: Evidence from a Multiethnic Metropolis

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America's major urban centers are becoming increasingly multiethnic. Despite this increase in racial and ethnic diversity, extreme Black-White residential segregation remains the common pattern. As one of the most racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse cities in the world—and one of the most residentially segregated—Los Angeles represents the changing face of urban America. A multiracial sample of adults (N = 4025) is employed to examine neighborhood racial composition preferences—an important, individual-level explanation for residential segregation—and address three shortcomings in existing research. First, I assess composition preferences in a multiracial manner with an innovative replication and expansion of the Farley-Schuman showcard methodology used in the 1976 and 1992 Detroit Area studies. Second, I extend analysis of the cause of preferences beyond racial stereotypes to include parenting, homeownership, perceptions of social class difference, and common fate identity. Third, I test, directly, the effects of these factors on preferences for same-race neighbors. Results lend strong support to race-based explanations of preferences. As stereotypes toward out-groups become more negative, preferences for integration decrease; Blacks are consistently perceived in unfavorable terms, and are, consensually, the least preferred out-group neighbors. There is also limited support for so-called class-based explanations of preferences; homeowners prefer fewer Black neighbors. Generally, results suggest both greater resistance to integration with Blacks than previously thought, but more openness to integration than currently exists.

It is essential to understand the dynamics of racial residential segregation in multiethnic urban environments, as such settings will prevail in the future. Four of the five largest metropolitan areas—New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston—simultaneously have large numbers of Black, Latino, and Asian residents. According to Farley and Frey (1993), 37 metropolitan areas in the U.S. are now multiethnic, in the sense that the proportion of two or more racial minority groups exceeds their national representation. These cities span all regions of the country, highlighting the importance of moving beyond traditional two-group (usually Black-White) analyses. Of particular interest is Los Angeles, one of the largest, most racially and ethnically diverse cities in the world. According to figures from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1990), L.A. County is 42% White, 11% Black, 37% Latino, and 10% Asian.

The racial and ethnic diversity that characterizes Los Angeles stands in sharp contrast to its high degree of racial residential segregation. Los Angeles is one of 29 cities in which Blacks are hyper-segregated from Whites—experiencing “extreme, multidimensional, and cumulative residential segregation” (Denton 1994:49).¹ Table 1 summarizes residential segregation in

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1. Massey and Denton (1989) first introduced the term hyper-segregation. It is based on five measures of residential segregation: *evenness*—ideally, each tract would have the same proportion of Blacks—or Hispanics or Asians—as the metropolitan area as a whole; *isolation*—the average probability of contact with an other-race comparison group, in this case Whites; *concentration*—a measure of density; *centralization*—or proximity to the central business district of a metropolitan area; and *clustering*—an indicator of the contiguity among Black neighborhoods. According to the most stringent criteria cities scoring above .6 on evenness and clustering, above .7 on isolation and concentration, and above .8 on centralization are hyper-segregated (Denton 1994).

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Table 1 • *Racial Residential Segregation in Los Angeles County, 1990*

	<i>Black</i>	<i>Latino</i>	<i>Asian</i>
White	.730	.611	.462
Black		.595	.693
Latino			.511

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Los Angeles using the Index of Dissimilarity, a measure of evenness, for the four major racial groups in Los Angeles.² These figures illustrate the extreme nature of Black segregation from Whites, and from Latinos and Asians as well; they also reveal strikingly high Latino-White segregation and moderate Asian-White segregation.

Researchers have put forth several arguments to explain racial and ethnic residential segregation in the U.S. The *socioeconomic differences* argument—that groups live separately as a result of differences in economic resources—has for many years been discounted as a major determinant of Black-White segregation, as Blacks are severely segregated from Whites irrespective of socioeconomic resources (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965; Schnare 1977; Kain 1986; Massey and Denton 1993). By contrast, research on Latino and Asian segregation suggests that residential mobility and proximity to Whites increase with improved socioeconomic status (Massey and Mullan 1984; Massey and Fong 1990; Alba and Logan 1993). More recently, however, Logan and colleagues (1996:451) document a positive relationship between objective socioeconomic status (measured using income, education, and homeownership status) and the locational attainment of Blacks, as well as Latinos and Asians. Documenting a connection between socioeconomic status and residential segregation among Blacks for the first time, their findings, nonetheless, lead to the conclusion that “Assimilation processes—those linking socioeconomic with residential mobility—apply unequally to Blacks and to other minorities.” Socioeconomic status indicators are least effective in predicting the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites in both poor and affluent Blacks’ neighborhoods, and these differences are striking. Moreover, Blacks experience a smaller return on socioeconomic status when predicting tract median income, and are the only group for whom homeownership has negative consequences for proximity to Whites (Logan, et al. 1996). Finally, Jargowsky (1996) documents a trend toward increased economic segregation *within* both Black and Latino communities, but is unable to attribute this trend to changes in the metropolitan context, structural economic transformations, or shifts in social distance. All in all, research suggests that objective indicators of socioeconomic status are good predictors of Latino and Asian residential proximity to Whites and, at best, fair predictors of Black-White segregation.

The inability of the socioeconomic differences hypothesis to explain persisting racial residential segregation has shifted attention to group differences in neighborhood racial composition preferences (Clark 1986, 1992; Farley, et al. 1978, 1993). According to this line of reasoning, residential segregation persists because some group members prefer to live among their own. There is disagreement, however, about the extent to which these preferences indicate ethnocentric social preferences (Clark 1986:108–109, 1992), anti-out-group affect (Farley, et al. 1993, 1994; Massey and Denton 1993), or an effort to preserve relative status advantages (Jankowski 1995; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Gans 1999).

Some research suggests that active racial prejudice plays a role in reproducing racial residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1989, 1993). Some of the strongest evidence of this comes from two recent analyses: Farley and colleagues (1994) showed that anti-Black stereo-

2. Dissimilarity indices range from 0 to 1.00; zero indicates complete integration, 1.00 complete segregation.

types strongly predict neighborhood racial composition preferences among Whites in Detroit. This analysis replicated the innovative Farley-Schuman showcard methodology developed for the 1976 Detroit Area Study (Farley, et al. 1978).³ Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) analyzed multiethnic data from Los Angeles, concluding that negative out-group stereotypes reduced openness to integration among White, Black, Latino, and Asian respondents.

Nonetheless, our understanding of just how much and when prejudice matters is rudimentary at best. Recent research in this area faces three major shortcomings. First, prior studies have not directly assessed composition preferences in a multiethnic manner. Farley and colleagues rely on a Black-White dichotomy that, while possibly relevant to Detroit, is no longer representative of many U.S. metropolitan areas (Wood and Lee 1990; Farley and Frey 1993; Alba, et al. 1995). Moreover, the Farley-Schuman methodology is based on a series of questions that differ for Whites and non-Whites, making comparisons across racial groups difficult. Likewise, Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) analyzed data on a multiracial sample, but measured attitudes toward just one out-group at a time, using a single forced-choice item, rather than measuring reactions to a variety of possible multiracial settings. Second, prior research tends to focus narrowly on stereotypes as predictors of neighborhood preferences, largely ignoring other possible factors. Finally, despite assertions that residential segregation is the result of mutually-expressed ethnocentric tendencies (Clark 1986, 1992; Patterson 1997; Thernstrom and Thernstrom 1997), prior studies have focused on preferences for out-group neighbors, never directly testing the effects of various factors on preferences for same-race neighbors.

This research addresses these lacunae in our understanding of the relationship between stereotyping and segregation, while also examining the utility of a major innovation on the Farley-Schuman showcard methodology. Respondents of a large (N = 4,025) multiracial sample were asked to create their own "ideal" multiethnic neighborhood instead of rating several predetermined alternatives. This measure: 1) allows respondents to consider integration with several out-groups simultaneously, solving the dilemma of a two-group measure in an increasingly multi-group society; 2) is based on a single question and is the same for all respondents; and 3) yields a measure of preferences that is less reactive, thus, reducing the likelihood of false, socially desirable responses.⁴ Analyses must also reflect, as accurately as possible, the diverse

3. The 1976 Detroit Area Study introduced an innovative way of measuring views on racial residential segregation (Farley, Schuman, Bianchi, Colasanto, and Hatchett 1978). The DAS research has influenced important general assessments of the status of African Americans, such as is found in the National Academy of Sciences report, *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (Jaynes and Williams 1990:141-44) and former Harvard University President and legal scholar Derrick Bok's, *The State of the Nation: Government and the Quest for a Better Society* (1996:182). Two recent, major treatises on processes of residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993; Yinger 1995) single out the DAS research for special emphasis, as does the scholarly literature in this area more generally, given its wide discussion in basic race and ethnic relations texts (e.g., Simpson and Yinger 1985:165-66; J. E. Farley 1988:230-35; and Marger 1996:259-66) and in other disciplines, such as political science (e.g., Kinder and Mendelberg 1995; Hochschild 1995). Indeed, the influence of this research is so great that even reviews of Massey and Denton's book often focus on the DAS results (for example, see Glazer 1993:40).

4. Harris (1999:464) argues that studies based on measures of expressed preferences (including the Farley-Schuman showcard methodology and the measure used by Bobo and Zubrinsky) "may deviate from respondents' true preferences because of social pressure," leading to "underestimated effects of race and inflated nonracial effects." Pretest results strongly suggested that respondents exhibited heightened engagement in this task. Self-completion tasks of this kind typically reduce social desirability pressures (Jackman 1994:184; Krysan 1996:34-36). It is important to note, however, that this new experiment came immediately after respondents had completed the traditional Farley-Schuman experiment in which the racial implications are quite obvious. I performed two tests to measure the effect of the Farley-Schuman experiment on the Multiethnic Neighborhood experiment. The first compared the effect of interviewer race on the traditional showcard variables (see Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996) to its effect on the models presented here. For the Farley-Schuman methodology, race of interviewer significantly impacts preferences only once, increasing preferences for out-group neighbors among Latinos (6.96, $p < .01$) when respondent and interviewer race are not matched (due to the limitations of the method, models using the Farley-Schuman method must be run separately by respondent race). In models using the new experiment, non-race-matching is also significant only once: preferences for Asian neighbors are slightly higher (1.54, $p < .05$) when someone of another race interviews respondents. The second test considers the effect of the Farley-Schuman experiment on respondents' efforts at creating their own multiethnic neighborhood. Using a split-ballot format, respondents were randomly assigned to one of three out-groups for the Farley-Schuman experiment (e.g., one third of Latino respondents considered integration with Whites, one-third with Blacks, and the remaining one-third with

nature of respondents' communities, as well as society more generally. With these issues in mind, I examine the importance of several factors on neighborhood racial-composition preferences for both out-group and same-race neighbors, including some that have been neglected in the literature but that likely influence residential location decisions.

Stake in the Neighborhood

In an analysis of stable, integrated neighborhoods, Ellen (1997) found that Whites in racially-mixed neighborhoods tended to be young, single, and childless, and that White renters were more willing to move into and remain in racially mixed areas than White homeowners were. And research has consistently shown that being a parent effects overall neighborhood satisfaction (Campbell, et al. 1976; Campbell 1981; St. John and Bates 1990). Yet, prior studies of preferences have failed to consider these important life-course issues (Harris 1999). Parents with minor children may be especially interested in maintaining cultural ties and passing their cultural heritage on to their children, which may result in preferences for more same-race neighbors. They may also place greater importance on certain criteria for determining neighborhood quality—the availability of recreational facilities, the quality of public schools, and levels of public safety—for which neighborhood racial composition often serve as a proxy. In the latter case, preferences for out-group neighbors may depend on the race of potential neighbors. Homeowners have a financial, as well as a psychic investment, to protect, making it more difficult to leave if the neighborhood changes in ways they find undesirable. If the presence of out-group members is perceived as undesirable for any reason (e.g., outright hostility, or fear of “neighborhood decline”), the “permanence” of homeownership might translate into active resistance to integration with those groups. For these reasons, parents of minor children and homeowners can be said to have a greater stake in their neighborhoods than non-parents (or parents of adult children) and renters.

Traditionally, close proximity to Whites is associated with high quality neighborhood amenities, and close proximity to Blacks (and increasingly Latinos) with poor quality amenities and neighborhood decay (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1993). Given these associations, I expect that members of high-status groups (Whites and Asians) with a high stake in their neighborhoods will prefer fewer low-status-group neighbors (Blacks and Latinos) and more same-race or other high-status-group neighbors than those with a low stake in the neighborhood. Conversely, low-status-group homeowners and/or parents with a high neighborhood stake may prefer more out-group neighbors, especially high-status Whites, compared to low-status group members who rent and/or are childless. Nativity status may complicate this relationship for Latinos and Asians. Foreign-born members of each group may prefer more same-race neighbors irrespective of neighborhood stake. Such preferences could, again, reflect a desire to maintain cultural ties and pass them on to children, and a need for co-ethnic institutions and contacts. Another possibility, however, is that the desire for upward social mobility is more pronounced among the foreign-born, part of “making it” in America. If so, aversion to low-status neighbors (especially Blacks) and preferences for high-status neighbors (especially Whites) could be greater among the foreign-born compared to native-born co-ethnics and other groups.

Asians). It is possible that spending so much time thinking about preferences with a particular group influenced responses to the “make your own” neighborhood task—especially toward the Farley-Schuman target group. I tested for this possibility by including a measure of Farley-Schuman target group to the Multiethnic Neighborhood models. For example, when predicting the percentage of White neighbors in respondents' preferred multiethnic neighborhood, I included a dummy variable for having considered Whites as potential neighbors in the Farley-Schuman experiment. Results revealed a single significant effect: Foreign-born Latinos prefer significantly more Whites in their ideal multiethnic neighborhoods after having considered integration with Whites in the preceding Farley-Schuman experiment (8.84, $p < .01$).

Neighborhood Context

It makes sense to think that the racial and socioeconomic composition of one's current neighborhood influences preferences in meaningful ways. According to the contact hypothesis, sustained contact with members of out-groups leads to more tolerant attitudes toward those groups (Allport 1954; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Ellison and Powers 1994). The evidence regarding the effect of actual neighborhood racial composition on racial attitudes, however, is mixed. Darden and Parsons (1981) and, more recently, Sigelman and Welch (1993) found that interracial contact in neighborhood settings positively impacts racial attitudes; the latter also concluded that such contact increases desires for integration. Alternatively, Farley and colleagues (1978) found no relationship between the two; Jackman and Crane (1986) suggest that the effects of interracial contact are selective and that intimacy is less important than a variety of contacts.

To the extent that issues of race and class are often entangled, the socioeconomic status of one's neighborhood might also influence neighborhood racial composition preferences. Economically disadvantaged neighborhoods are undesirable because they have higher rates of unemployment, criminal activity, and unkempt property (Leven, et al. 1976; Wilson 1987; Clark 1988). At the same time, these neighborhoods are likely to be largely populated by Blacks and Latinos, so that greater exposure to poverty (or an interest in avoiding increased exposure to poverty) may adversely impact preferences for integration with these groups.

Taken together, my expectation is that, across respondent- and target-group pairings, increased contact with out-groups increases preferences for integration. The degree of positive influence may vary, however, in conjunction with the relative status of groups (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996). For example, among Whites, increased exposure to Asians may result in more positive attitudes than the same level of exposure to Blacks. Once again, nativity-status differences among Latinos and Asians might add an interesting twist. For example, Central American immigrants have settled in large numbers in south central Los Angeles, historically a predominantly Black community. This has led to some conflict between the two groups. In such a case, increased residential contact could negatively impact the preferences of each group (Blacks and foreign-born Latinos) for integration with the other.

Race-Related Attitudes and Perceptions

This class of factors includes two measures—perceived social class difference (as opposed to objective social class difference, discussed above) and racial stereotypes—that have received a good deal of empirical attention in the literature on racial attitudes and preferences, and a third that has not been tested empirically. First, it has been argued that groups *perceived* as economically disadvantaged (whether they, in fact, are or not) are less desirable neighbors. The reasons are similar to those discussed above regarding actual neighborhood socioeconomic status. The perception of social class disadvantage is not, it is argued, representative of an aversion to Black or Latino neighbors per se. Instead, it is said to represent a desire to avoid living among poor people (Clark 1988; Thernstrom and Thernstrom 1997:223). Concerns of this sort may be more salient among economically advantaged groups interested in maintaining their elevated social status (Leven, et al. 1976; Jankowski 1995; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Gans 1999).

As such, it is expected that groups perceived as economically disadvantaged relative to one's own group will be less desirable neighbors than those perceived as economically advantaged. For minority group members—regardless of nativity status—this suggests that Whites will be the most desirable out-group and Blacks the least desirable. For Whites (majority group members), Asians are likely to be more desirable neighbors, followed by Latinos and

finally Blacks. Economically advantaged groups (i.e., Whites and Asians) should also prefer more same-race neighbors than Blacks and Latinos, who are disproportionately poor.

The influence of negative racial stereotypes on preferences for out-group neighbors has received a great deal of empirical attention. Recent studies by Farley and colleagues (1994) and Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996), both conclude that racial stereotypes have a strong, significant effect on preferences for out-group neighbors. The importance of stereotyping to our understanding of neighborhood racial composition preferences is twofold, each related to prejudice. At its most basic level, prejudice is imbued with negative affect and negative stereotypes that are unreceptive to reason and new information (Jackman 1994). This understanding of racial stereotypes is consistent with the traditional definition of prejudice, which emphasizes simple out-group antipathy (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1982), and is the crux of Massey and Denton's (1993) argument in *American Apartheid*. The findings of both Farley and colleagues and Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) support this argument.

As indicators of prejudice, racial stereotypes can also be examined in light of Blumer's (1958:3, 3–4) theory of race prejudice as a sense of group position. Blumer argues that prejudice "exists basically in a sense of group position, rather than in a set of feelings which members of one racial group have toward the members of another racial group." By viewing prejudice and stereotypes as more than simple out-group hostility, attention shifts away from individual feelings, focusing, instead, on a collective process in which "racial groups form images of themselves and of others . . . defining their positions vis-à-vis each other." From this perspective, prejudice has more to do with socially learned commitments to maintaining a particular group status or relative group position (Quillian 1996).⁵ With respect to racial stereotypes and neighborhood racial-composition preferences, then, what matters is the magnitude of difference that in-group members perceive between their own group and particular out-groups. Bobo and Zubrinsky's (1996) findings also support this definition of prejudice.

Accordingly, I anticipate that, as stereotypes of an out-group become increasingly unfavorable relative to one's own group (indicating the relative superiority of one's own group), preferences for integration with that group will decline. I expect that this is especially true for Whites as members of the dominant group, and least true for the lowest-status minority group—Blacks. Compared to native-born co-ethnics, the effect of stereotyping may be more extreme, particularly when potential neighbors are Black. Once again, this could be the result of heightened awareness among the foreign-born of who the "haves" and "have-nots" are and a concomitant interest in upward social mobility and acceptance.

Finally, Clark (1986, 1992) suggests that members of all racial/ethnic groups prefer to live in neighborhoods that are predominantly same-race, and that this preference is due to strong in-group attachment, rather than out-group hostility. If this is true, persisting racial residential segregation—particularly among Blacks—is to a substantial degree, a voluntary phenomenon unrelated to negative racial stereotypes or prejudice (Clark 1992; Patterson 1997; Thernstrom and Thernstrom 1997).

In this analysis, in-group attachment is measured as common fate identity—the belief that, "what happens to my group happens to me." Research suggests that feelings of common fate are important aspects of both African American and Asian American group identities (Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson 1989; Espiritu 1992; Tate 1992; Dawson 1994, 1999; Tuan 1999), and that assumptions of common fate influence in-group favoritism (Tajfel 1982). Strong in-group attachment, then, should increase preferences for same-race neighbors, irrespective of respondent race or nativity-status; however, this relationship may be stronger among foreign-born Latinos and Asians. Conversely, preferences for out-group neighbors should be negatively impacted by strong in-group attachment. And, if, in fact, in-group attachment is

5. Blumer's (1958) argument deals explicitly with the dominant group's defense of status advantage. Recent work by Bobo and Hutchings (1996) extends Blumer's theory to inter-group relations among subordinate groups.

not tied to hostility toward one or more out-groups—that is, if in-group attachment is race-neutral—I would also expect its influence on out-group preferences to be the same across target groups.

Data and Methods

Data are from the 1993–94 *Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality* (LASUI), a large, multi-faceted research project designed to explore inequality in Los Angeles County.⁶ The LASUI is a face-to-face household survey of adults 21 years of age or older living in Los Angeles County between September 9, 1993 and August 15, 1994. The primary sampling unit for the survey is the census tract stratified by 1) racial/ethnic composition, and 2) the percentage of the population with incomes below the poverty line.⁷

Respondents identified as one of the following: Non-Hispanic/White (N = 863), African American/Black (N = 1,118), Latino (N = 988), or Asian (overwhelmingly of Korean, Japanese, or Chinese descent, N = 1,056), for a total of 4,025 respondents. In addition to generating over-samples of Blacks and Asians, efforts were made to fully capture the views, opinions, and experiences of Los Angeles' significant immigrant populations. To accomplish this, the English-language version of the survey instrument was also translated into Spanish, Korean, Mandarin, and Cantonese. Those respondents who either did not speak English or who preferred to conduct the interview in one of these other languages were interviewed using the appropriate foreign-language questionnaire. Race-matching occurred in 70% of the completed interviews.⁸ Within each major racial group, the distribution of sample characteristics on key social background factors closely resembles data from the 1990 Census (Bobo, et al. 1993).

Results

Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences

To measure neighborhood racial-composition preferences in a multiethnic context, I introduce a major modification to the Farley-Schuman showcard methodology. All LASUI respondents were shown a blank neighborhood showcard similar to Figure 1 and asked to specify the racial make-up of their ideal neighborhood. Respondents were instructed in the following manner:

6. The LASUI is part of the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI). Similar instruments were used in Detroit, Atlanta, and Boston, which also participated in this large-scale survey of urban inequality. See Johnson, Oliver, and Bobo (1994) for fuller details on the MCSUI project.

7. One thousand six hundred fifty two tracts define Los Angeles County. Ten tracts accommodating ships in harbor were eliminated, and eleven institution-dominated tracts were linked to nearby "host" tracts and assigned the attributes of the host. Poverty rates are based on information from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1990). STATA's survey data commands (svy) are employed for all statistical procedures to correct for the multi-stage cluster sampling method used in the LASUI. These commands produce accurate, design-based point estimates, standard errors, and tests of significance (Stata Press 1999:321–333).

8. Race-matching varies by respondent race, from a high of 80% among Asian respondents to a low of 55% among Black respondents. Race-matching occurred in 71% of White and 74% of Latino interviews. When race-matching did not occur, Whites were most often interviewed by Asian interviewers (21%), and rarely interviewed by Latinos (6%) or Blacks (2%). Twenty-four percent of non-race-matched Blacks were interviewed by Whites, 12% by Latinos, and 10% by Asians. Non-race-matched Latino interviews are nearly evenly split between White (13%) and Asian (11%) interviewers and rarely occur with Black interviewers (2%). Fourteen percent of non-race-matched Asians were interviewed by Whites, 6% by Latinos, and less than 1% by Blacks.

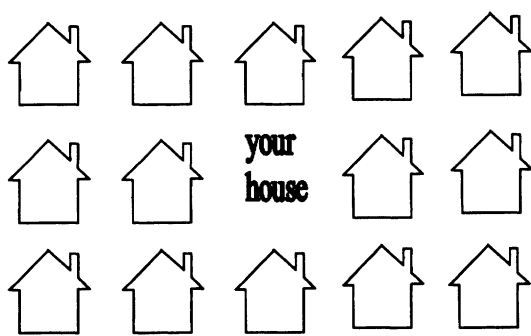


Figure 1 • Multi-Ethnic Neighborhood Experiment Showcard. Source: 1993–94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality.

Now I'd like you to imagine an ideal neighborhood that had the ethnic and racial mix you, personally, would feel most comfortable in. Here is a blank neighborhood card like those we have been using. Using the letters A for Asian, B for Black, H for Hispanic, and W for White, please put a letter in each of these houses to represent your ideal neighborhood, where you would most like to live. Please be sure to fill in all of the houses.

The variables—percent White, percent Black, percent Latino, and percent Asian—used in the analysis are simply the sum of each group represented on a respondent's card, divided by the total number of houses (including the respondent's house) and multiplied by 100.

Table 2 provides summary information for all respondent- and target-group pairings. The first row of each target-group block is the mean percentage of that group in each respondent category's ideal neighborhood. The percentage of respondents creating a neighborhood without any target-group members is presented in the second row of each target-group block. The percentage of respondents creating an entirely target-group neighborhood is located in the third row of each target-group block.

There is a tendency among all groups to specify substantially integrated neighborhoods, while at the same time preferring one where in-group representation always exceeds that of any particular out-group. Several other distinct patterns also emerge. First, while all groups prefer neighborhoods dominated by co-ethnics, this preference is strongest among Whites. The average ideal neighborhood among White respondents approaches 50% same-race, compared to mean same-race preferences of roughly 41% among Latinos and Asians and about 37% for Blacks. Moreover, Whites are the group most likely to prefer *entirely* same-race neighborhoods (11.16%)—a rate more than one and one-half times that of Latinos (6.60%) and Asians (7.06%), and four times that of Blacks (2.76%).

In addition, Blacks are *always* the least-preferred out-group neighbors. This is seen in two ways. First, Blacks are the most likely to be completely excluded from the ideal neighborhoods of Whites, Latinos, and Asians. Nearly one-fifth (18.91%) of Whites express integration preferences that exclude Blacks entirely, as do roughly one-third of Latinos and a striking 40% of Asians. Fewer than 1 in 10 Latinos or Asians insist on entirely same-race neighborhoods, but somewhere between 3 and 4 of 10 want no Black neighbors. Both the Latino and Asian samples are overwhelmingly foreign-born (73.5% of Latinos and 88.2% of Asians), and it is among this sub-sample of respondents that such high levels of Black exclusion occurs. Native-born Latinos and Asians prefer significantly more Black neighbors, on average, than their foreign-born co-ethnics, and have rates of Black exclusion similar to that of Whites (17% and 15%, respectively). Among the foreign-born, however, 37% of Latinos and 43% of Asians

Table 2 • Summary Statistics, Multi-Ethnic Neighborhood Showcard Experiment

	Respondent Race				
Target Group	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Asians	f/χ^2
Whites					
Mean %	49.21%	23.67%	28.42%	32.98%	87.82***
No Whites	0.24%	10.10%	12.39%	7.24%	208.20***
All Whites	11.16	0	1.44	.52	192.03***
Blacks					
Mean %	16.15%	37.41%	13.76%	11.05%	182.83***
No Blacks	18.91%	0.72%	31.66%	39.94%	258.33***
All Blacks	0	2.76	0	0	93.36***
Latinos					
Mean %	17.07%	21.32%	41.23%	15.57%	146.63***
No Latinos	17.05%	8.55%	2.76%	26.42%	220.52***
All Latinos	0	0	6.60	0	166.20***
Asians					
Mean %	18.04%	17.77%	17.06%	40.98%	86.00***
No Asians	15.88%	15.57%	22.43%	0.54%	78.09***
All Asians	0	0	0.10	7.06	233.32***
All Out Groups					
Mean %	51.26%	62.72%	59.22%	59.60%	18.35***
No Out-Group	11.16%	2.76%	6.60%	7.06%	45.12***
All Out-Group	0.24	.72	2.76	.54	43.51***
N	818	1,082	982	1,027	

Notes: The percentage of each racial group in a respondent's "ideal" neighborhood is the sum of each group included in the experiment in Figure 1, divided by the sum of all houses, including the respondent's. ***p < .001. Source: 1993–94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality.

exclude Blacks entirely.⁹ These striking differences between native- and foreign-born preferences for Black neighbors may reflect growing racial tensions between long-time Black residents and immigrant newcomers (e.g., Central American immigrants settling in south central Los Angeles and Korean immigrants who own and operate small businesses in predominantly Black areas. See Johnson, Oliver, and Farrell 1992). Despite their status as least-preferred neighbors, Black respondents appear least resistant to integration. Blacks have the lowest mean percentage of same-race neighbors (37.41%); are significantly more comfortable as the numerical minority in an integrated neighborhood (mean, all out-groups, 62.72%); and are significantly less likely than all other groups to create all-same-race neighborhoods (2.76%). These patterns are consistent with previous research indicating that Blacks favor integration for reasons of racial harmony (Farley, et al. 1978). Finally, all minority groups prefer integration with Whites to other-race minorities.¹⁰

9. The foreign-born of both groups are also significantly more likely to completely exclude out-group neighbors than their native-born counterparts are. In general, remaining patterns of out-group preferences among the foreign-born are consistent with those presented in Table 2. This analysis is available from the author upon request.

10. To minimize the likelihood of inauthentic, socially desirable responses (particularly to questions about racial stereotypes and preferences for racially integrated neighborhoods), it is important to match the race of the respondent and the interviewer as often as possible. Figures presented in Table 2 do not include a control for interviewer race. A comparison of race-matched and non-race-matched respondents revealed little or no deviation from the results in Table

Table 3 • Summary Statistics, Explanatory Variables Examining “Ideal” Neighborhood Racial Composition Preferences

	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Asians	Total
<i>Social background characteristics</i>					
Born in the United States	84.2	91.0	26.5	11.8	59.8
Sex					
Male	49.3%	49.3%	50.4%	49.7%	49.7%
Age					
21–29	17.1%	26.5%	35.7%	19.2%	25.1%
30–39	24.9	28.7	28.1	22.9	26.4
40–49	22.5	18.8	17.9	23.3	20.4
50 and over	35.6	25.9	18.3	34.6	28.1
Education					
Less than high school	4.7%	11.5%	49.8%	15.5%	22.5%
High school graduate/GED	22.7	32.9	23.9	20.4	24.3
Some college	35.8	39.0	17.6	19.4	28.6
Bachelor’s degree	26.1	9.2	6.8	32.0	17.4
Graduate/professional degree	10.8	7.4	1.9	12.7	7.3
Income					
Less than \$20,000	14.6%	33.7%	44.1%	25.2%	28.1%
\$20,000–39,999	27.5	30.7	34.2	33.1	30.6
\$40,000–59,999	26.4	11.4	14.3	19.5	19.8
\$60,000 and over	31.5	24.2	7.4	22.2	21.5
Political ideology					
Liberal	30.9%	43.7%	26.4%	32.1%	31.0%
Moderate	34.0	32.2	44.3	35.6	37.6
Conservative	35.1	24.1	29.3	32.3	31.4
<i>Stake in the neighborhood</i>					
Homeowner	52.6%	33.5%	27.3%	46.2%	40.6%
Parenting					
No/grown children at home	67.1%	62.7%	37.8%	53.7%	55.2%
Children 5 or younger at home	17.8	17.8	37.6	21.6	25.2
Children 6 to 12 at home	14.5	20.9	36.8	17.0	23.5
Children 13 to 18 at home	10.4	18.3	21.7	17.9	15.9

(continued)

Taken together, these preliminary results support the assertion that the race of potential out-group neighbors is important to our understanding of neighborhood racial composition preferences. While all groups express preferences for large numbers of co-ethnics, a rank-ordering of out-group neighbors is clearly evident: Whites are always the most desirable out-group neighbors, and Blacks are always the least desirable. In between these extremes are Asians and Latinos (with the exception of Black respondents, Asians are always more desirable

2 among respondents whose interviewer was the same-race, and the following deviations from Table 2 results for non-race-matched respondents: 1) On average, non-race-matched Latinos and Asians prefer neighborhoods with more White than co-ethnic neighbors than race-matched Latinos and Asians do; 2) For all groups, Blacks are still the least-preferred out-group, with rates of total exclusion at around 23% among Whites and 20% among both Latinos and Asians when respondent and interviewer are not race-matched; and, 3) Non-race-matched Asians and Latinos—not Blacks—prefer the fewest same-race neighbors (because they prefer more White neighbors).

Table 3 • (continued)

	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Asians	Total
<i>Neighborhood context</i>					
Tract poverty level					
Less than 20%	96.1%	62.6%	54.6%	78.7%	75.8%
20–40%	3.7	32.2	42.0	20.9	22.2
Over 40%	0.2	5.2	3.4	0.3	2.0
Tract racial composition					
Mean % White in tract	63.5%	25.4%	24.4%	41.0%	43.2%
Mean % Black in tract	4.4	38.3	7.0	4.3	9.6
Mean % Latino in tract	21.1	27.7	58.1	28.3	35.7
Mean % Asian in tract	10.4	7.8	9.9	25.8	10.8
<i>Race-related attitudes and perceptions</i>					
Mean perceived SES difference score					
White target group	—	−2.1	−2.7	−0.5	−2.3
Black target group	1.6	—	−0.3	1.8	0.8
Latino target group	1.8	0.2	—	1.9	1.5
Asian target group	0.0	−1.8	−2.3	—	−1.1
Mean stereotype difference score					
White target group	—	0.0	−0.1	0.8	0.0
Black target group	1.2	—	1.1	1.8	1.2
Latino target group	1.0	0.2	—	1.4	0.9
Asian target group	0.1	−0.4	−0.7	—	−0.3
Mean common fate identity	1.5	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.6
TOTAL	863	1,119	988	1,055	4,025

Notes: Tract-level information obtained from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1990). Due to space limitations, tract-level racial composition is reported here as a series of continuous variables. In the regression analyses, they are measured as a series of dummy variables (less than 10%, 10% to 30%, 31% to 50%, and over 50%) for each racial category. The SES and Stereotype Difference Scores are scaled from −6 to +6. High (positive) scores indicate unfavorable ratings of out-groups relative to one's in-group; low (negative) scores indicate favorable out-group ratings; 0 indicates no perceived difference. The Common Fate Identity measure ranges from 0 (no common fate identity) to 3 (strong common fate identity). $p < .001$, except Sex (n.s.). Source: 1993–94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality.

neighbors than Latinos are). This hierarchical pattern is consistent with each group's social and economic position in contemporary American society (Jaynes and Williams 1989; Massey and Denton 1990; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996).

The patterns are also consistent with findings from previous research based on the Farley-Schuman experiment (Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996), with some important differences. For example, Zubrinsky and Bobo found that 9% of Whites were unwilling to enter a neighborhood with a single Latino household, and 4% expressed discomfort with the entrance of a single Latino neighbor into a previously all-White neighborhood. By comparison, 17% of Whites completing the new experiment completely exclude Latinos. Similarly, less than 3% of Asians were unwilling to enter the least integrated neighborhoods presented to them (4 of 15 houses) irrespective of target-group race; but, when creating their own multiethnic neighborhoods, nearly 40% of Asians exclude Blacks completely, and 26% exclude Latinos completely. Such comparisons can be made across respondent-target-group combinations. More important, these new results suggest the persistence of much higher levels of aversion to integration than previously thought.

In an effort to improve our understanding of neighborhood racial-composition prefer-

ences, attention now turns to OLS regression analysis.¹¹ In each set of models, the dependent measures are the neighborhood racial-composition preferences for each out-group; an additional set of models predicts preferences for same-race neighbors. The current analysis differs from the original Farley-Schuman experiment: The dependent measures for all models are based on a single, identical question, allowing easy, across-group comparisons; respondents have complete freedom in the racial make-up of their neighborhoods; and are asked to consider several out-groups at once. Given these important differences and the inclusion of a broader range of predictors, it is hoped that this analysis offers a new and more powerful examination of the complex array of factors influencing preferences. Table 3 presents summary and coding information for all explanatory variables.

Four regression models are estimated for each outcome measure. Model I includes measures of race/nativity status and social background characteristics. Model II adds measures of respondents' stake in their neighborhoods, and the racial and socioeconomic characteristics of their actual neighborhoods. Model III adds measures of perceived social class difference, racial stereotyping, and common fate identity. The final model introduces interactions between race/nativity status and the measures of neighborhood stake, neighborhood context, and race-related attitudes and perceptions.¹² Analyses proceed in three parts beginning with preferences for various out-group neighbors, followed by an examination of preferences for same-race neighbors. Finally, for all dependent measures, interactions between race/nativity status and other factors and their impact on preferences for both out-group and same-race neighbors are considered.

Preferences for Various Out-Group Neighbors

Multivariate analysis begins with a consideration of factors that influence preferences for particular out-groups as neighbors. In addition to the racial and nativity-status differences that are of central interest, there are important differences among respondents and across groups in the way that factors such as educational attainment, income, sex, age, and political ideology influence neighborhood racial composition preferences. Conservatives hold more traditional views on a range of issues, including matters of race such as stereotypes and social distance feelings; women are often found to express greater racial tolerance than men (Schuman, et al. 1997), and the better educated tend to express more positive racial attitudes than the less well educated (see Schuman, et al. 1997, though note Jackman and Muha 1984, for an important exception). There is no clear expectation regarding the effect of income on neighborhood racial composition preferences, since income effects vary depending upon the topic in question (Schuman, et al. 1997:236). As a baseline for understanding group differences in neighborhood racial-composition preferences, Model I predicts preferences for various out-group neighbors as a function of race/nativity status and the other social background characteristics.

Racial classification is measured as a set of dummy variables that incorporates country of birth for Latino and Asian respondents, the groups most likely to be categorized as immigrants (see Table 3). Sex, age, education, and income are also measured as dummy vari-

11. The percentage of each target group in respondents' ideal neighborhoods is computed from responses to a single experiment; therefore, the dependent variables are interdependent (the cumulative percentage for all groups for any given respondent will always be 100%). Under these circumstances, Seemingly Unrelated Regression (SUR) is potentially more efficient because it explicitly considers assumptions about correlations among the disturbances of the dependent variables (solving the problem of interdependence). There is, however, no SUR procedure available with STATA's procedures for properly weighting survey data. Using SUR also requires estimating models separately by race, making comparisons of effects across racial categories problematic. After conferring with several colleagues, it was determined that correcting for the multi-stage cluster sampling method outweighed the potential added efficiency of SUR.

12. All multivariate models also include a dummy variable to control for the race of the interviewer. A respondent-interviewer race mismatch produces a significant effect in two of the five full models, with these respondents preferring 1.54% ($p < .05$) more Latino and Asian neighbors compared to those whose interviewer is of the same race.

ables.¹³ Political ideology is a scaled variable coded “1” for liberal, “2” for moderate, and “3” for conservative. Respondents whose race matches that of the dependent variable are excluded, so that the White, Black, Latino, and Asian Neighbor models always estimate preferences for out-group neighbors. Model I results are located in the first column of each target-group block in Table 4.

Of the social background characteristics, respondent race/nativity status is most consistently associated with neighborhood racial-composition preferences across target-groups. Blacks prefer fewer White neighbors than both Latinos and Asians do, irrespective of nativity status. As mentioned in the discussion of Table 2, foreign-born Latinos and Asians both prefer significantly fewer Black neighbors than Whites do; native-born Latinos and Asians do not differ significantly from Whites in their preferences for Black neighbors. It is possible that—either instead of, or in addition to, the racial tensions discussed previously—the extreme aversion to Black neighbors among the foreign-born is indicative of a heightened commitment to “making it” in America and embracing the view that socioeconomic success is equated with distance from Blacks (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Both Blacks and native-born Asians prefer significantly more Latino neighbors than Whites do, and no significant race/nativity status differences emerge in the Asian target-group model. Significant effects for the remaining social background variables are much less consistent and tend to be in the anticipated directions; the amount of variation in preferences explained by Model I across target groups is very small, ranging from 4 to 9 percent.

Research suggests that neighborhood racial composition preferences are influenced by peoples’ stake in their neighborhoods (St. John and Bates 1990; Ellen 1997), and that objective characteristics of neighborhoods influence attitudes toward integration in important ways (Darden and Parsons 1981; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Ellison and Powers 1994). Model II introduces measures of respondents’ stake in their neighborhoods—homeownership and parenting—and objective characteristics of their actual neighborhoods—tract-level poverty and target-group racial composition.¹⁴ Homeownership is measured as a single dummy variable scored “1” if the respondent is a homeowner. Parenting is measured with a series of dummy variables scored “1” if respondents have children aged 5 or younger, between the ages of 6 and 12, or teenaged minor children (13 to 17). Tract-level poverty is a series of dummy variables scored “1” if the respondent lives in a medium-(20–40%) or high-(over 40%) poverty tract. Tract-level racial composition measures the presence of target-group members in one’s current neighborhood using dummy variables scored “1” if the respondent’s tract is between 10 and 30% target-group, 31 and 50% target-group, or greater than 50% target-group.¹⁵ Results are in the second column of each target-group block of Table 4.

Of the four measures, tract-level racial composition most consistently influences neighborhood racial composition preferences. Consistent with the contact hypothesis, increased contact with target-group members has a positive effect on preferences. This is especially true with respect to preferences for White and Asian neighbors, where varying degrees of exposure result in increased preferences for residential contact. When considering integration with either Blacks or Latinos, however, only respondents living in the most integrated tracts (over 50% target-group) show significantly greater preference for integration with these groups. Fewer than 1% of Whites and Asians and 5% of Latinos reside in tracts that are more than 50% Black and only between 4 and 12% of non-Latino respondents live in neighborhoods that are over 50% Latino. Thus, for the most part, target-group residential contact has no practical impact on preferences for integration with Blacks and Latinos, the two most segregated groups in Los Angeles County. Because these data are cross-sectional, however, it is not possible to say definitively whether

13. The omitted categories are female, 21–29, less than high school, and less than \$20,000 for sex, age, education, and income, respectively.

14. The tract-level data used here are from the 1990 STF-3 File, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

15. The omitted categories are non-owners, no/grown children, low-poverty tract (less than 20%), and less than 10% target-group tract.

Table 4 • Linear Regression Coefficients for Factors Influencing Preferences for Various Out-Group Neighbors

	White Neighbors			Black Neighbors			Latino Neighbors			Asian Neighbors		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
<i>Social background characteristics</i>												
Race/nativity status												
Black	****	****	****	NA	NA	NA	2.77***	2.77***	0.63	-0.48	0.32	0.17
Native-born Latino	5.22**	3.29*	1.26	0.37	0.19	-1.27	NA	NA	NA	0.09	0.31	-0.18
Native-born Asian	7.71**	4.36	2.70	2.10	2.53	3.56**	4.68***	3.99*	5.64***	NA	NA	NA
Foreign-born Latino	9.43***	8.35***	7.41***	-4.01***	-4.72***	-5.12***	NA	NA	NA	0.10	0.22	0.07
Foreign-born Asian	10.83***	7.39***	8.20***	-5.19***	-5.35***	-2.51*	-2.00	-2.63*	0.30	NA	NA	NA
Sex (1 = male)	-0.90	-0.92	-0.58	0.18	0.23	0.05	-0.60	-0.48	-1.04	-0.77	-0.76	-0.91
Age												
30-39	1.55	0.90	0.45	0.90	1.04	0.33	0.50	-0.07	-0.00	1.08	0.77	0.58
40-49	-0.38	-1.61	-2.15	1.31	1.79	1.27	0.81	-0.15	0.20	1.12	1.22	1.49
50 and over	4.56*	2.36	2.11	-2.26*	-1.20	-1.27	-1.74	-1.60	0.94	-0.86	-0.67	-0.17
Education												
HS Grad/GED	5.40*	4.35	3.57	-0.72	-0.21	-0.11	-2.60	-1.71	-1.41	1.12	1.04	1.00
Some college	7.12***	6.05***	6.02**	-1.35	-0.81	-0.46	-2.65	-1.87	-1.69	1.51	1.47	2.10
Bachelor's degree	5.68**	3.64*	4.06*	-1.83	-1.36	-1.40	-3.99*	-3.39	-2.93	2.53*	2.52*	3.11*
Grad/prof degree	8.35***	5.00*	5.50*	-0.82	-0.24	-1.15	-1.85	-0.86	-1.64	5.46***	5.11***	5.18**
Income												
\$20,000-39,999	2.24	1.25	0.91	1.04	1.49	1.56	1.71	2.50*	2.25	-0.47	-0.87	-1.04
\$40,000-59,999	4.64*	2.73	1.78	0.30	1.03	0.80	-0.93	-0.22	-0.14	-1.92	-2.27*	-2.42*
\$60,000 and over	3.01	0.44	0.21	1.77	2.73*	2.76*	0.16	0.83	0.21	0.28	-0.33	-0.62
Income not reported	-1.87	-3.25	-0.89	-2.48*	-2.04	-1.68	-1.12	-1.16	-1.41	-2.15	-2.63	-2.54
Political ideology	1.72	1.82*	1.87*	-0.97**	-0.89*	-0.46	-0.72	-0.62	-0.21	0.26	0.23	0.12

(1 = lib, 2 = mod, 3 = con)

<i>Stake in the neighborhood</i>										
Homeowner (1=yes)	1.67	1.31	-1.88*	-1.58*	-0.48	-0.84	0.22	0.22		
Children at home										
0-5 years old	-0.98	-1.53	0.17	-0.22	-0.43	-0.48	1.11	1.32		
6-12 years old	-0.73	-0.39	0.43	0.74	1.42	1.02	0.40	0.12		
13-17 years old	-0.94	-1.03	0.64	0.68	3.34***	3.66***	-0.53	-0.44		
<i>Neighborhood characteristics</i>										
Tract-level poverty										
20-40%	0.81	1.07	0.60	1.24	-1.35	-0.81	-1.70	-1.65		
Over 40%	0.23	-0.15	1.39	2.65*	-1.65	-1.34	-2.14*	-2.00		
Tract-level racial composition										
10-30% Target-group	0.77	1.15	0.77	0.19	0.28	-0.63	1.80*	1.71*		
31-50% Target-group	8.25***	8.14***	2.85	2.69	1.08	0.59	5.35***	5.46**		
Over 50% Target-group	12.44***	11.44***	7.64***	6.82***	8.86***	5.37***	17.00**	9.02		
<i>Race-related attitudes & perceptions</i>										
Perception of class difference										
Common fate identity		0.14		-0.16		-0.09		0.01		
Racial stereotyping		-0.85		0.24		-0.43		-0.03		
		-1.91**		-3.19***		-3.78***		-1.77***		
Constant	10.65***	11.18***	18.63***	17.57***	20.92***	23.06***	15.57***	15.27***	14.98***	
R ²	0.09***	0.15***	0.07***	0.09***	0.13***	0.18***	0.04***	0.06***	0.07***	
N	3,055	3,055	2,792	2,792	2,895	2,485	2,869	2,869	2,553	

Notes: Respondents whose race matches that of the dependent variable are excluded from models. For White Neighbor models, the reference category is Blacks; for the remaining models the reference category is Whites. The Stereotype Difference and SES Difference scores are—6 to +6 scales. High (positive) scores indicate unfavorable perceptions of out-group members relative to one's own group; low (negative) scores indicate favorable perceptions of out-groups; 0 indicates no perceived difference between groups.

Source: 1993-94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

actual neighborhood racial composition is a function of preferences or vice versa. The remaining measure of objective neighborhood characteristics has almost no effect on neighborhood racial composition preferences, reaching statistical significance only once: residents of high-poverty tracts (over 40%) prefer fewer Asian neighbors compared to residents of low-poverty tracts (less than 20%). These respondents are overwhelmingly Black and Latino (see Table 3). Here again, aversion to Asians may stem from tense relations between residents and Asian merchants.

Respondents' stake in their neighborhood also appears to have a very limited effect on neighborhood racial composition preferences. In keeping with the common belief that Blacks drive down property values, homeowners prefer significantly fewer Black neighbors than non-owners do ($-1.88, p < .05$). And, parents of teenaged children prefer significantly more Latinos in their ideal neighborhoods than parents with grown children or no children ($3.34, p < .001$), net of other factors. In general, the addition of these four variables to the baseline models substantially reduces or eliminates significant social background effects found in Model I; notable exceptions to this pattern are the effects of race/nativity status on preferences for both Black and Latino neighbors. And, across target-group models there is a 22 to 40% increase in variance explained.

Finally, Model III estimates build on the previous analysis with three measures of race-related attitudes and perceptions: perceived social class difference, common fate identity, and racial stereotyping. Whites (and others) may avoid neighborhoods with more than token numbers of Blacks and Latinos because these groups are more likely to be poor (Clark 1988; Quillian and Pager 1999). This behavior is said to reflect a rational desire to avoid downward social-class integration, not an aversion to Blacks or Latinos per se (Leven, et al. 1976; Clark 1988). Integration with Whites may be attractive; they are the group at the top of the economic and social hierarchy, and close proximity to Whites in "more desirable" communities represents upward social mobility. Perceived social class difference measures images of out-groups as "tending to be rich" or "tending to be poor" relative to one's own group. Respondents' out-group ratings are subtracted from their in-group ratings; possible scores range from -6 (favorable out-group perception) to $+6$ (unfavorable out-group perception), a score of 0 indicates a perception of no difference.

Common fate identity is included in this analysis based on evidence that feelings of common fate are important aspects of minority group identities (Gurin, et al. 1989; Espiritu 1992; Tate 1992; Dawson 1994, 1999; Tuan 1999), and of their influence on in-group favoritism (Tajfel 1982). The measure is based on responses to two questions. First, LASUI respondents were asked, "Do you think what happens generally to (R's racial group) people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" Those who said, "yes," were then asked if this group membership affects them "a lot," "some," or "not very much," capturing both the presence and the intensity of the sense of common fate. Scores range from 0 (no sense of common fate) to 3 (strong sense of common fate).

And, individuals may avoid residential contact with particular groups as the result of prejudice. Hostility can result from simple out-group antipathy (often expressed as negative stereotypes) or from socially learned expectations about group status and position (Blumer 1958; Jankowski 1995; Gans 1999), making both the presence of negative stereotypes and the magnitude of difference perceived between one's own group and particular out-groups relevant. The racial stereotyping measure is a "difference" score similar to the perceived social class difference measure that captures both aspects of prejudice. LASUI respondents rated all four racial groups on a series of stereotype traits: intelligence, preference for welfare dependence, difficulty to get along with socially, tendency to discriminate, and involvement in drugs and gangs.¹⁶ Scores

16. These traits were chosen on substantive grounds. Intelligence, welfare dependence, and involvement in criminal activity (drugs and gangs) have long been aspects of anti-Black stereotypes, and are increasing as elements of stereotypes about Latinos (Smith 1991; Devine and Elliot 1995; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996). The "difficult to get along with" dimension is included due to the recognition that many recent Asian immigrant groups (especially, but not exclusively, Koreans) have brought cultural styles of interaction that are viewed as more brusque than is typical of U.S. culture (e.g., placing change on the counter instead of in an individual's hand). The "tends to discriminate" dimension is included in light of perceptions of the dominant group among minority-group members—particularly Blacks—that widespread discrimination persists.

range from -6 (favorable out-group perception) to $+6$ (unfavorable out-group perception), with a score of 0 indicating no perceived difference.¹⁷ These measures are added to the Model II equations simultaneously; results are located in the third column of each target-group block of Table 4.

Model III results provide strong support for the assertion that negative racial attitudes are potent predictors of neighborhood racial composition preferences, and that social class concerns and common fate identity are not. Of the three measures, only racial stereotyping emerges as a significant predictor of neighborhood racial composition preferences. Net of other factors, as stereotypes of out-groups become increasingly negative relative to one's own group, preferences for integration with those groups declines, irrespective of target-group race. The effect of racial stereotyping is strongest in the Black, Latino, and Asian target-group models ($p < .001$); still, the effect of racial stereotyping on preferences for White neighbors satisfies rigorous statistical standards ($p < .01$).

Perceived social class differences have no significant effect on preferences for particular out-group neighbors. Tract-level poverty is statistically significant only once, and its effect is the opposite of expectations: respondents living in high-poverty neighborhoods prefer *more* Black neighbors than their low-poverty counterparts (2.65 , $p < .05$). On the whole, then, social class concerns—whether real or perceived—do not influence preferences for out-group neighbors in any meaningful way. And, contrary to the suggestion that we avoid integration with others due to positive feelings toward our own group (Clark 1992; Patterson 1997), the sense of common fate identity has no significant effect on preferences for out-group neighbors.¹⁸ Results from the full model reveal persisting respondent race/nativity status differences in preferences for particular out-groups as neighbors. Native-born Asians prefer significantly more Black and Latino neighbors than Whites do (3.56 , $p < .01$ and 5.64 , $p < .001$, respectively). Foreign-born Latinos and Asians appear to have more in common with each other than with their native-born co-ethnics: both prefer significantly more Whites and fewer Blacks in their ideal neighborhoods. These similarities may reflect knowledge of the American social and economic hierarchies and the desire to succeed: close proximity to Whites suggests socioeconomic success; close proximity to Blacks, socioeconomic failure. Positive education effects persist and often increase in both the White and Asian target-group models; income and political ideology continue to have only minimal effects on preferences. Sex and age have no significant effect on preferences.

The inclusion of the race-related measures reduces the negative effect of homeownership on preferences for Black neighbors by 16% and intensifies the effect of parenting teenagers on preferences for Latino neighbors ($+8.7\%$); these remain the only significant neighborhood stake effects. In general, the effect of neighborhood characteristics on preferences for out-group neighbors is lessened, while the overall pattern of positive neighborhood racial compo-

17. For the stereotype traits (from which both the Perceived Social Class Difference and Stereotype Difference scores are constructed), the LASUI employed a split-ballot format. One-third of each respondent-group category was asked to rate the four racial groups—Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians—on each of the traits, one-third rated males in each racial group, and the remaining one-third rated females in each racial group. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of the three sub-categories, making it possible to generalize to the entire sample category. A comparison of stereotypes by experimental ballot found no overall gender effect on the stereotyping scales; hence, the perceived SES and stereotype difference scores are constructed from pooled ballots, and regression models include controls for experimental ballot.

18. Model III equations were also estimated without the racial stereotyping measure, since this was the variable most likely to mask a common fate identity effect. No significant common fate identity effect emerged. When models were estimated separately by race using SUR, common fate identity is negatively associated with Black and Latino preferences for White neighbors ($-.79$, $p < .05$ and -1.33 , $p < .01$, respectively). In both cases, the effect of racial stereotyping is larger and more powerful. This pattern of effects is consistent with knowledge of the social and economic hierarchy in contemporary American society (Jankowski 1995; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Gans 1999), and the sense that the fate of groups at the bottom is influenced substantially by the group at the top. In a country where race remains an organizing principle, even this has racial implications beyond “neutral” in-group attachment.

sition associations persists. The now non-significant high-poverty tract effect in the Asian target-group model is additional evidence of the importance of racial attitudes. Finally, across target-group models, the amount of variance explained increases 14.3 to 38.9%; it should be noted, however, that the amount of variance explained is still fairly low.

Preferences for Same-Race Neighbors

Prior studies of neighborhood racial composition preferences (Farley, et al. 1978, 1993, 1994; Clark 1986, 1992; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996) focus primarily on attitudes toward integration with various out-groups as neighbors. In these studies, dependent measures are based on considerations of integration with a single out-group; in the most recent of these (Clark 1992; Farley, et al. 1993; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996), results consistently indicate that all groups prefer neighborhoods that are predominantly same-race. The interest has been in understanding the relative roles of ethnocentrism and prejudice (among other things). A new measure, where respondents consider integration with several out-groups simultaneously, however, reveals that, on average, all groups prefer neighborhoods that are predominantly out-group (e.g., a combination of the three out-group alternatives, see Table 2).

Furthermore, evidence both here and elsewhere (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996) illustrates the elevated importance of prejudice over positive in-group attachment on out-group preferences. This suggests that prejudice is an important predictor of same-race preferences (since, in prior studies, the only alternative to avoiding one group is increasing the numbers of same-race neighbors). To date, however, there are no direct tests of factors influencing preferences for same-race neighbors; the second part of this analysis addresses this shortcoming in the literature.

Table 5 presents estimates from three models of preferences for same-race neighbors. Independent variables are the same as those used to model out-group preferences, with the exception of the measures of perceived social class difference and racial stereotyping. These two variables now measure perceptions of "out-group" social class difference and racial stereotypes relative to one's own group (e.g., if the respondent is Latino, the variables capture their views of Whites, Blacks, and Asians simultaneously).¹⁹

Model I estimates are located in the first column of Table 5. Respondent race/nativity status is a much more consistent and powerful predictor of preferences for same-race neighbors than for any of the various out-groups. All of the minority groups prefer fewer same-race neighbors than Whites do; and, contrary to the results presented in Table 2, Blacks do not prefer the smallest percentage of same-race neighbors, native-born Asians (-18.20 , $p < .001$) and Latinos (-11.85 , $p < .001$) do. Once again, foreign-born Latinos and Asians have more in common with each other than with their native-born co-ethnics, preferring more co-ethnic neighbors than all other non-White groups.

Age, education, and income all have less consistent effects on preferences for same-race neighbors. Respondents in their thirties (-4.10 , $p < .01$) and forties (-3.32 , $p < .05$) prefer significantly fewer same-race neighbors than younger respondents do, and the most educated respondents prefer substantially fewer same-race neighbors than the least-educated (-8.62 , $p < .01$). Respondents with \$20,000 to \$39,999 in annual income prefer fewer same-race neighbors than low-income respondents (-3.17 , $p < .05$), and those not reporting any income in the previous year want more same-race neighbors (5.48 , $p < .05$). Sex and political ideology have no significant effect on same-race neighborhood preferences.

Model II introduces measures of respondents' stake in their neighborhoods and objective neighborhood characteristics. Of the nine coefficients, only one is statistically significant: Respondents living in neighborhoods that are more than half same-race prefer roughly 8%

19. Including measures for each out-group requires modeling same-race preferences separately by respondent race; when modeled separately by respondent race, there is significant multi-collinearity between stereotyping of Blacks and Latinos.

Table 5 • Linear Regression Coefficients for Factors Influencing Preferences for Same-Race Neighbors

	I	II	III
<i>Social background characteristics</i>			
Race/nativity status			
Black	−10.19***	−8.84***	−7.84***
Native-born Latino	−11.85***	−10.47***	−8.46***
Native-born Asian	−18.20***	−13.20***	−15.58***
Foreign-born Latino	−9.74***	−8.52***	−8.85***
Foreign-born Asian	−9.50***	−5.10*	−11.91***
Sex (1 = male)	1.41	1.46	2.01
Age			
30–39	−4.10**	−3.37*	−3.10*
40–49	−3.32*	−2.99	−3.45*
50 and over	0.87	0.61	0.20
Education			
High school graduate/GED	−3.35	−3.67	−3.39
Some college	−3.55	−3.69	−4.28*
Bachelor’s degree	−3.23	−3.10	−3.96
Graduate/professional degree	−8.62**	−7.76**	−6.68*
Income			
\$20,000–39,999	−3.17*	−3.07	−3.33
\$40,000–59,999	0.23	0.22	0.49
\$60,000 or more	−3.14	−3.02	−3.17
Income not reported	5.48*	5.72*	4.15
Political ideology (1 = lib, 2 = mod, 3 = cons)	0.36	0.22	0.08
<i>Stake in the neighborhood</i>			
Homeowner (1 = yes)		0.24	0.73
Children at home			
0–5 years old		0.06	0.22
6–12 years old		−1.24	−0.58
13–17 years old		−2.03	−1.25
<i>Neighborhood characteristics</i>			
Tract-level poverty			
20–40%		2.16	2.20
Over 40%		2.37	2.72
Tract-level racial composition			
10–30% same-race		2.23	3.05
31–50% same-race		0.85	−0.03
Over 50% same-race		7.93***	6.77***
<i>Race-related attitudes & perceptions</i>			
Perceived SES difference			−0.44
Common fate identity			1.04
Racial stereotyping			6.34***
Constant	59.60***	52.22***	47.55***
R ²	0.10***	0.13***	0.18***
N	3,870	3,870	3,195

Notes: The reference category is Whites. The Stereotype Difference and SES Difference scores are −6 to +6 scales. In this case, the scores represent ratings of all three out-groups, rather than a single target-group. High (positive) scores indicate unfavorable ratings of out-groups relative to one’s own group; low (negative) scores indicate favorable ratings of out-groups; a score of 0 indicates no perceived difference between groups.

Source: 1993–94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

more same-race neighbors in their ideal multi-ethnic neighborhoods.²⁰ Sixty-one percent of all LASUI respondents—78.5% of Whites, 53.1% of Latinos, 47.7% of Blacks, and 7.3% of Asians—live in neighborhoods that are over half same-race; this is enough segregation to negatively impact preferences for out-group neighbors.²¹

The full model is located in the third column of Table 5. Of the three measures of race-related attitudes and perceptions, only racial stereotyping produces a significant effect on preferences for same-race neighbors (6.34, $p < .001$). As stereotypes of out-groups become increasingly negative (positive scores reflect unfavorable ratings of out-groups), preferences for same-race neighbors increase, net of other factors. Contrary to assertions that a neutral ethnocentrism—shared by all groups—results in preferences for majority same-race neighborhoods (Clark 1992), an individual's sense of common fate identity does not significantly influence preferences for same-race neighbors.

The inclusion of the full range of variables does not eliminate race/nativity-status differences in same-race preferences. Net of other factors, Whites still prefer the highest percentage of same-race neighbors, but are now followed by Blacks (-7.84 , $p < .001$). Foreign-born similarities disappear as co-ethnics have more in common with each other: native- and foreign-born Asians prefer the fewest same-race neighbors (-15.58 and -11.91 , $p < .001$, respectively), and foreign-born and native-born Latinos (-8.85 and -8.46 , $p < .001$, respectively) fall in between Blacks and Asians.

Adding the race-related measures reduces the effect of living in a majority same-race neighborhood on preferences for such neighbors by about 15%. Middle-aged respondents continue to prefer fewer same-race neighbors than younger respondents do. A non-linear education effect emerges in which individuals with some college or with advanced degrees, prefer fewer same-race neighbors than those with less than a high school education; remaining measures of social background, neighborhood stake, and objective neighborhood characteristics are all non-significant. There is a 44% increase in variance explained between Models I and III; again, however, the total amount of variance explained (18%) is quite small.

Race/Nativity-Status Differences in Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences

Finally, to what extent does the influence of these factors vary by respondent race/nativity status? The last part of this analysis attempts to answer this question, introducing interactions between race/nativity status and each of the measures of neighborhood stake, objective neighborhood characteristics, and race-related attitudes and perceptions to estimates of preferences for various out-group and same-race neighbors. Results demonstrate that the importance of respondent race/nativity status, neighborhood stake, neighborhood characteristics, and race-related attitudes and perceptions vary greatly by both respondent race/nativity status and target-group, and further strengthen race-based explanations of neighborhood racial-composition preferences.²²

The White and Latino Neighbors models (columns 1 and 3, respectively) show the least variation by race/nativity status. When Whites are the potential neighbors, native-born Asians stand out from other respondent groups in two ways. First, the effect of racial stereotyping is positive (6.00, $p < .05$)—as stereotypes of Whites worsen, preferences for White neighbors increase—but remains negative for all other groups (-1.94 , $p < .01$). Second, residing in 20 to

20. Again the reader is reminded of the cross-sectional nature of these data, and the potential for reversing the causal ordering between actual neighborhood composition and preferences.

21. Due to space limitations, this information is not presented in Table 3, but is available from the author upon request.

22. Due to space limitations, effects for sex, age, education, income, and political ideology are not shown. All possible interactions between race/nativity status and neighborhood stake, neighborhood context, and race-related attitudes and perceptions were analyzed for each target group; only those producing significant coefficients are presented here. This information is available from the author upon request.

Table 6 • Linear Regression Coefficients for Factors Influencing Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences, with Interaction Effects

	White Neighbors	Black Neighbors	Latino Neighbors	Asian Neighbors	In-Group Neighbors
<i>Social background characteristics</i>					
Race/nativity status					
Black	NA	NA	-0.20	0.63	-3.50
Native-born Latino	1.25	-0.47	NA	-0.82	-10.00***
Native-born Asian	0.57	3.83**	5.69***	NA	-8.56**
Foreign-born Latino	7.42***	-4.69***	NA	-0.20	-1.98
Foreign-born Asian	8.18***	1.21	0.46	NA	0.83
<i>Stake in the neighborhood</i>					
Homeowner (1 = yes)	1.32	-1.59*	-0.81	0.13	2.31
Children at home					
0-5 years old	-1.50	-0.19	-0.42	1.91*	-0.86
6-12 years old	-0.40	0.69	0.98	0.26	-0.73
13-17 years old	-1.03	0.66	3.73***	-1.07	-2.59
<i>Neighborhood characteristics</i>					
Tract-level poverty					
20-40%	1.04	1.21	-0.86	-1.73	2.14
Over 40%	-0.16	2.56	-1.43	-1.88	2.64
Tract-level racial composition					
10-30% Target-group	1.13	0.12	-0.65	1.10	3.07
31-50% Target-group	8.12***	4.67	0.57	3.93*	0.90
Over 50% Target-group	11.47***	6.79***	5.44***	9.82	6.80***
<i>Race-related attitudes & perceptions</i>					
Perceived SES difference	0.14	0.09	-0.09	-0.21	-0.42
Common fate identity	-0.85	0.24	-0.44	0.02	0.97
Racial stereotyping	-1.94**	-3.15***	-4.14	-5.12***	12.21***

(continued)

40% poverty tracts significantly increases preferences for White neighbors compared to other groups (9.26, $p < .01$). Each is consistent with a belief that close proximity to Whites represents socioeconomic success. In the Latino target-group model, only Blacks' preferences are significantly effected by racial stereotyping (2.72, $p < .001$), though the magnitude of this effect is less than half that of Model III (see Table 4). For all other groups, the effect of racial stereotyping is non-significant.

Considerably more variation is found in the remaining models. When potential neighbors are Black (Table 6, column 2), native-born Asian parents of teenagers (-8.57, $p < .001$) and/or residents of tracts that are more than half Black (-10.63, $p < .001$) prefer fewer Black neighbors. The same is true for native-born Latinos living in tracts that are 31 to 50% Black (-14.73, $p < .05$) and foreign-born Asian residents of high-poverty neighborhoods (-11.66, $p < .01$). The perception of social class difference influences native-born Latinos' and foreign-born Asians' preferences for Black neighbors in the hypothesized direction; for other groups, this effect is non-significant. This, along with the persisting negative effect of homeownership lends support to explanations based on social-class concerns. These effects, however, are substantially smaller than that of racial stereotyping (-3.15, $p < .001$), suggesting that stereotyping is a more potent predictor of preferences for Black neighbors.

There is also a good deal of respondent-race/nativity variation in the influence of various

Table 6 • (continued)

	White Neighbors	Black Neighbors	Latino Neighbors	Asian Neighbors	In-Group Neighbors
<i>Race and stake in the neighborhood</i>					
Black × 13–17 year-old children				4.10**	
NB Latino × 0–5 year-old children				–5.75*	11.13*
NB Latino × 13–17 year-old children					9.88*
NB Latino × homeowner					–7.64**
NB Asian × 13–17 year-old children		–8.57***			
<i>Race and neighborhood context</i>					
NB Latino × 10–30% target group in tract				5.88**	
NB Latino × 31–50% target group in tract		–14.73*		9.76*	
NB Asian × 20–40% poverty in tract	9.26**				
NB Asian × over 50% target group in tract		–10.63***			
FB Asian × over 40% poverty in tract		–11.66**			
<i>Race and race-related attitudes and perceptions</i>					
Black × perception of class difference				1.02*	
NB Latino × perception of class difference		–1.60*			
FB Asian × perception of class difference		–2.20***			
Black × racial stereotyping			2.72***	3.55**	–8.50***
NB Latino × racial stereotyping				4.55**	–7.08*
NB Asian × racial stereotyping	6.00*				–10.32***
FB Latino × racial stereotyping				5.47***	–11.38***
FB Asian × racial stereotyping					–13.89***
Constant	17.52***	19.77***	23.22***	14.90***	44.21***
R ²	0.18***	0.14***	0.18***	0.11***	0.21***
N	2,608	2,355	2,485	2,553	3,195

Notes: Except for the In-Group Neighbors model, respondents whose race matches the dependent variable are excluded. For White and In-Group Neighbors models, the reference category is Blacks; for remaining models the reference category is Whites. The Stereotype Difference and SES Difference scores are –6 to +6 scales. High (positive) scores indicate unfavorable ratings of out-groups relative to one’s own group; low (negative) scores indicate favorable ratings of out-groups; a score of 0 indicates no perceived difference between groups. Difference scores in the In-Group Neighbors model include all out-groups in a single measure.
Source: 1993–94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

factors on preferences for Asian neighbors. Parenting effects Blacks’ and native-born Latinos’ preferences, albeit in opposite ways. Blacks with teenaged children prefer more, and native-born Latinos with very young children (birth to 5 years) fewer Asian neighbors (–5.75, p < .05). Native-born Latinos are also influenced by the racial composition of their neighborhoods to a greater degree than other groups, net of other factors. Racial stereotyping effects vary greatly by respondent race/nativity, influencing Whites’ preferences most (–5.12, p < .05), followed by much smaller effects for both Blacks (–5.12 + 3.55 = –1.57, p < .01) and native-born Latinos (–5.12 + 4.55 = –0.57, p < .01). The effect of stereotyping is smallest among foreign-born Latinos (–5.12 + 5.47 = 0.35, p < .001), and is positive. Among Black respondents, perceived social-class difference has a small, positive effect on preferences for Asian neighbors.

Finally, factors predicting preferences for same-race neighbors also vary substantially by respondent race/nativity. Native-born Latino parents of very young and teenaged children

prefer significantly more same-race neighbors compared to other groups (11.13 and 9.88, $p < .05$, respectively), but homeowners from this group prefer fewer same-race neighbors (-7.64 , $p < .01$). Once again, the impact of racial stereotyping varies dramatically, having the greatest impact on Whites—increasing preferences for same-race neighbors by roughly 12% as ratings of out-groups become increasingly unfavorable relative to one's own group. For native-born Latinos (-7.08 , $p < .05$), Blacks (-8.50 , $p < .001$), native-born Asians (-10.32 , $p < .001$), and foreign-born Latinos (-11.38 , $p < .001$) the effect of stereotyping is much smaller; the effect of stereotyping is reversed for foreign-born Asians, suggesting that unfavorable perceptions of out-groups decrease preferences for same-race neighbors.

Discussion

In an effort to understand neighborhood racial-composition preferences in a multiethnic environment, this analysis introduces an innovation on the original Farley-Schuman showcard methodology that allows respondents to create neighborhoods with what they consider to be the ideal racial composition. Deceptively simple, this experiment elicits highly candid, easy-to-interpret responses that are comparable across respondent racial categories. Preferences are measured without constraining either in-group/out-group pairings or the degree of integration; it is entirely up to the respondent.

Analysis based on this technique 1) offers striking results that strengthen those of the original showcard research (Farley, et al. 1978, 1993, 1994; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996); 2) demonstrates the complex nature of preferences across respondent- and target-group categories; and 3) illustrates the critical role of race in understanding neighborhood racial-composition preferences. Whites are clearly the most-favored out-group among all non-White groups. On average, Whites make up between 23 and 33% of minority's ideal neighborhoods. Equally clear, Blacks are always the least-preferred out-group neighbors. Fully 40% of Asians, nearly one-third of Latinos, and one-fifth of Whites create neighborhoods that completely exclude Blacks. Latinos are also excluded from a sizeable percentage of White (17%) and Asian (26%) neighborhoods.

These results exhibit a clearly defined racial-preference hierarchy and complicate explanations that rely primarily on social-class concerns or mutually expressed ethnocentric tendencies. Preferences for same-race neighbors are not the same across groups. Whites prefer a higher percentage of same-race neighbors on average, and are the most likely to specify all-same-race neighborhoods. Conversely, Blacks—the most segregated group in Los Angeles County and the U.S.—are the least likely to specify all-same-race neighborhoods.

In terms of overall residential patterns in Los Angeles, these results are both disturbing and cause for limited optimism. On one hand, these results reveal greater resistance to residential integration—particularly with Blacks—than previously thought. This seems to suggest that meaningful declines in residential segregation are unlikely. On the other hand, these responses also indicate that the average White and Asian respondents—who currently reside in neighborhoods that are roughly 4% Black (see Table 3)—could be comfortable with substantially more residential contact with Blacks than they currently experience. This latter pattern may help explain the slight decrease in Black-White segregation in Los Angeles between 1980 and 1990 (Farley and Frey 1994) and offers hope for more gains in the new millennium.

In addition to the development of a new measurement tool, my goal was the simultaneous analysis of a variety of factors thought to affect preferences for various out-group and same-race neighbors in important ways. Some have argued that these factors are not necessarily racially motivated (Clark 1988; Thernstrom and Thernstrom 1997); previous analyses of preferences have often ignored these factors or considered them separately. Results reveal the complexities of this issue—associations often vary by both respondent- and target-group race—while strengthening race-based arguments in several important ways.

First, it was hypothesized that individuals with a high degree of commitment to, or stake

in, their neighborhoods would prefer less integration, net of other factors. As it turns out, however, the influence of homeownership and parenting on neighborhood racial-composition preferences is limited, having no significant effect on preferences for White or Latino neighbors. When significant effects emerge, their racial character is clear: all homeowners prefer fewer Black neighbors than non-owners do. This is consistent with the long-standing belief that when Blacks move into a neighborhood, crime and declining properties undoubtedly follow. Effects also vary to some degree by respondent race/nativity. Native-born Asian parents of teens prefer fewer Black neighbors compared to other parents of teens; native-born Latino parents of very young children prefer fewer Asian neighbors and more same-race neighbors (native-born Latinos with teens also prefer more same-race neighbors). These results do not suggest a simple desire to preserve one's cultural heritage; rather, they suggest that openness to integration varies by one's investment in their neighborhood, but more importantly by both respondent- and target-group race.

It was also hypothesized that the characteristics of individuals' actual neighborhoods might influence preferences in important ways. In the end, neighborhood socioeconomic status (measured as tract-level poverty) influences preferences only twice, again in the expected directions. Native-born Asians in medium-poverty neighborhoods prefer more Whites, and foreign-born Asians in high-poverty neighborhoods prefer fewer Blacks in their ideal neighborhoods. Both results are consistent with perceptions of the top and bottom of our society's social and economic hierarchy. And, in general, increased exposure to specific target-groups (measured as tract-level, target-group racial composition) is positively associated with preferences. For the two most segregated groups—Blacks and Latinos—a much higher rate of exposure is needed (over 50%); the average level of exposure is too low to reap this benefit of interracial contact. For native-born Latinos and Asians, however, the effect of increased exposure to Blacks is negative. It appears, then, that all groups do not experience the benefits of interracial contact in the same way. This, too, points to the importance of race. Again, because the data are cross-sectional, it is impossible to determine from these data whether preferences led to current residential locations, or if residential location comes to impact preferences. Most likely, there are reciprocal effects—preferences shape location decisions and the experience of particular neighborhoods then helps to shape preferences (Galster 1989; Sigelman and Welch 1993).

The potent effect of racial stereotyping and the non-significant role of common fate identity offer the most clear and convincing evidence of the role of race in understanding preferences for both out-group and same-race neighbors. Negative racial stereotyping—a constitutive element of racial prejudice—significantly decreases preferences for out-group neighbors, and increases preferences for same-race neighbors. Effects often vary by respondent race/nativity, but this overall pattern is clear. The measure of racial stereotyping used here captures not only simple out-group antipathy, but also the magnitude of difference that in-group members perceive between their own group and particular out-groups. As such, this measure may also capture the extent to which groups define themselves and their social positions vis-à-vis each other: prejudice as a sense of group position (Blumer 1958; Jankowski 1995; Bobo 1999; Gans 1999). The latter definition is consistent with 1) the rank-ordering of out-group neighbors found here; 2) the effect of stereotyping on preferences; and 3) the actual relative status positions of Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in U.S. society (Gans 1999; Jankowski 1995).

Contrary to the in-group preference hypothesis (Clark 1992; Patterson 1997), common fate identity—an indicator of positive in-group attachment—does not negatively influence preferences for out-group neighbors or positively influence preferences for same-race neighbors. Research by Tajfel (1982) suggests that common fate identity is the element of racial identification most likely to influence behavior. More recently, Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) tested the effect of "mere in-group preference" on attitudes toward residential integration using a feeling thermometer—a widely used measure tapping affective reactions to social groups in sociology (Jackman 1977; Jackman and Muha 1984; Bobo 1988; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997) and political psychology (Sears 1988:897)—concluding that "in-group favoritism is

not a powerful determinant" of attitudes toward integration. Racial identification, however, is a multi-faceted construct. Measures tapping other aspects of racial identification or in-group attachment—for example Black (or other group) nationalism—may well be significant predictors of neighborhood racial composition preferences. Future research should examine this possibility.

Finally, there is limited support for the role of perceived social class difference; however, the negative effect of perceiving Blacks as "tending to be poor" relative to one's own group (as native-born Latinos and foreign-born Asians do) is always smaller than the effect of racial stereotyping. More importantly, the lack of similar effects, at least with respect to Latinos (a group that also "tends to be poor") suggests that even this must be viewed through the prism of race.

There is growing, direct evidence that negative racial attitudes play an important role in aggravating racial residential segregation. This implies that the problem is unlikely to be ameliorated without sharply increasing the costs of discrimination or generally altering the social climate that sustains associated stereotypes. Active enforcement of anti-discrimination laws would do both. This analysis begins to tackle the complex nature of neighborhood racial-composition preferences and their likely relationship to racial residential segregation. While it is not my intention to reduce everything to race, the results of this analysis illustrate the enduring importance of race as an organizing principle in American society. As the nation becomes increasingly multiethnic, understanding the role of race becomes more challenging and, arguably, more important. Sadly, to the extent that Los Angeles represents the emerging "Prismatic Metropolis" (Zubrinisky and Bobo 1996) growing diversity may simply expand America's racial hierarchy while the top and bottom positions remain unchanged.

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