

# Prismatic Metropolis: Race and Residential Segregation in the City of the Angels

CAMILLE L. ZUBRINSKY

*Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University*

AND

LAWRENCE BOBO

*Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles*

Most major urban areas remain segregated by race, especially in terms of black segregation from whites. We replicate and extend the innovative approach developed by Farley and colleagues for understanding processes of racial residential segregation with data collected in Los Angeles. Using a large ( $N = 4025$ ) multiracial sample of adults, we examine (1) actual and perceived differences in economic status, (2) mutual preference for same race neighbors, and (3) racial prejudice and discrimination as hypotheses for the persistence of residential segregation. With a systematic experimental design we gauge respondent openness to living in areas with varying proportions of black, white, Latino, or Asian neighbors. We find no support for actual or perceived cost of housing as a barrier to integration. Although all groups exhibit some degree of ethnocentric preference for same race neighbors, this tendency is strongest among whites rather than blacks and plays only a small role in perpetuating segregation. Blacks face the greatest hostility in the search for housing and are consensually recognized as most likely to face discrimination in the housing market. Racial minorities are more open to sharing residential space with whites than with other minorities. We find generally higher rates of openness to integration than Farley and colleagues found in their recent Detroit survey. © 1996 Academic Press, Inc.

In the wake of the urban upheavals of the late 1960s, the Kerner Commission made a dire forecast: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal" (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 1968, p. 1). Writing more than 20 years later the National Academy of

This research is supported by grants from the Ford Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the National Science Foundation SBR9515183. Address correspondence and reprint requests to Camille L. Zubrinsky, Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University, 300 Bricker Hall, 190 North Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210-1353.

Sciences report on the status of African-Americans saw little real progress in those intervening years, characterizing the conditions of blacks “as a glass that is half empty—if measured by the persisting disparities between black and white Americans since the early 1970s” (Jaynes and Williams 1989, p. 4). Both studies point to racial residential segregation as a major factor constraining black opportunity. More recent research shows that the black population remains highly segregated from whites (Farley and Frey, 1994; Harrison and Weinberg, 1992a, 1992b). This pattern is so clear, persistent, and deeply implicated in the problems of black unemployment and poverty that Massey and Denton dubbed the phenomena “American Apartheid” (1993).

There was a time when phrases such as “two societies, one black, one white” or the metaphor of “chocolate city, vanilla suburbs” (Farley, Schuman, Bianchi, Colasanto, and Hatchett, 1978) neatly expressed the urban social meaning of race and residential space and when it made sense to focus exclusively on the problematic position of blacks in the urban landscape. However, the United States is a far more racially and ethnically diverse society than it was at the time the Kerner Commission wrote, or even a decade later when Farley and colleagues undertook their pioneering examination of the microlevel processes involved in racial residential segregation. The greater racial heterogeneity of major urban areas (Waldinger, 1989) not only calls for a new metaphor, but also calls for fresh multiracial analyses. Most major urban centers are neither simply black or white, but rather are now *prismatic*: reflecting a spectrum of colors. Even those primarily concerned with the conditions of African-Americans relative to whites now must also take into account conditions affecting the Latino and Asian-American populations.

Continuing high levels of black–white residential segregation amidst increasing racial heterogeneity makes the city of Los Angeles a telling case for examining dynamics of residential segregation. Between 1970 and 1980, the total population in Los Angeles County grew to 7,477,517. By 1990, LA County had nearly 9 million residents (Turner and Allen, 1991). Yet, the index of residential dissimilarity for blacks and whites in Los Angeles moved from 91 in 1970, to 81 in 1980, to a still extreme 73 in 1990.<sup>1</sup> This latter number compares to a national average for metropolitan areas of 69 (Massey and Denton, 1993; Harrison and Weinberg 1992a, 1992b). These numbers contrast sharply with the 1990 LA County figures for Asian–white dissimilarity of 46 and of 61 for Latino–white dissimilarity (Harrison and Weinberg, 1992a).

Our purpose in this research is to examine the individual level, interrelated causes of racial residential segregation in the multiracial social context of Los Angeles. We draw on data from the 1993–1994 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality, a large multiracial general population survey ( $N = 4025$ ). We believe

<sup>1</sup> The index of dissimilarity is 100 when blacks and whites are completely segregated and nears zero when residents are randomly distributed consistent with their proportion of the population. At this rate of decline, a little less than 1% per year, the black–white dissimilarity score would not fall below a still very high 50 until well into the second decade of the next century.

the patterns observed in Los Angeles have important implications for other already and increasingly heterogeneous major metropolitan areas in the United States. We partly replicate but also extend to a multiracial environment the innovative approach to assessing attitudes on residential integration developed by Farley and colleagues (1978). The extension involves the use of a series of systematic split-ballot experiments that allowed us to assess reactions to integration with members of each of several other racial groups (e.g., Schuman and Bobo, 1988). Our analyses are thus not only based upon data from a multiracial sample, but gauge attitudinal responses to the full spectrum of racial groups.

We examine three widely discussed hypotheses concerning the persistence of racial residential segregation. First, racial residential segregation is sometimes attributed to real or to perceived differences in the ability to afford housing in desirable neighborhoods (see reviews by Galster, 1988, 1989). If real socioeconomic status differences account for residential segregation, we would expect to find that the groups most segregated from whites spend significantly less on housing. If perceptions of the cost of housing pose a barrier, then we should find that racial minorities hold inaccurate and exaggerated assessments of the cost of housing outside of their neighborhoods. Our data run against both hypotheses. There is considerable overlap in the actual housing expenditures of whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians. All groups have similar and comparatively accurate assessments of the cost of housing throughout Los Angeles County. Narrowly economic factors, hence, do not appear to play a central role in residential segregation.

Second, some explanations of residential segregation claim that all groups share ethnocentric tendencies that lead to a preference for living with those of similar racial background. Indeed, it has been suggested that this ethnocentric bias may be strongest among African-Americans (Clark, 1992), thus explaining their higher relative rates of isolation from whites. Like a number of other analyses (Farley et al., 1978, 1993; Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996), we find little support for the "mutual in-group preference" hypothesis. In particular, we find that African-Americans exhibit no greater ethnocentrism than do members of other racial groups and that blacks are consistently the most open to greater residential integration with other racial groups.

Third, residential segregation is often explained in terms of racial prejudice and discrimination (Farley et al., 1978; Massey and Denton, 1993; Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996). We assess the neighborhood preferences of white, African-American, Latino, and Asian-American residents of L.A. County. We also assess perceptions of neighborhood openness to racial minority group members and general perceptions of discrimination in the housing market. These results point to both prejudice and discrimination as potent factors in the perpetuation of residential segregation. We find evidence of a relatively clear-cut racial preference order or hierarchy with whites at the top or most preferred neighbors and blacks and Latinos at the bottom or least preferred neighbors, with reactions to Asian-Americans falling in between. In addition, there are serious concerns about both neighborhood and institutional discrimination against racial minority home seek-

ers. Concern over racial discrimination is consensually seen as greatest in regard to African-American home seekers.

## DATA AND MEASURES

The data for testing these hypotheses come from the 1993–94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality (LASUI). The LASUI is a large, multifaceted research project designed to explore inequality in Los Angeles County.<sup>2</sup> The LASUI is a face-to-face household survey of adults 21 years of age or older living in Los Angeles County households between September 9, 1993 and August 15, 1994. The primary sampling unit for the survey is the census tract.

There were a total of 4025 respondents, with the following numbers of whites ( $N = 863$ ), Blacks ( $N = 1,119$ ), Latinos ( $N = 988$ ), and Asians (1,055), resulting in an overall response rate of 68%. Due to a split-ballot format for some measures, some portions of the analysis are based on fewer cases.<sup>3</sup> Within each major racial/ethnic group, the distribution of sample characteristics on key social background factors closely resemble data from the 1990 Census. The terms non-Hispanic white, white, and Anglo are used interchangeably throughout the text, as are the terms Latino and Hispanic and African-American and black.

## RESULTS

### *Is It the Money?*

Where people live is partly determined by how much they can afford to pay for housing. In general, racial minorities earn less than whites do, and this difference in income may play a part in creating racial residential segregation. In 1993–94 white LASUI respondents reported a median household income of \$44,740 compared to \$35,973 for Asians. These figures are considerably higher than those for blacks and Latinos: \$28,732 and \$22,352, respectively. A similar pattern emerges when we consider rates of home ownership. Fully 52.6% of whites are homeowners, as are nearly half of Asians (47.1%). Conversely, slightly more than one-third of blacks (35.3%), and slightly less than one-third of Latinos (27.6%) report that they either own or are buying their homes.

Given these figures, it seems logical to assume that residential segregation is, at

<sup>2</sup> The LASUI is part of the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI). Three other cities participated in this large-scale survey of urban inequality and, as such, fielded similar instruments. The other cities are: Detroit, MI, Atlanta, GA, and Boston, MA. See Johnson, Oliver, and Bobo (1994) for fuller details on the MCSUI project.

<sup>3</sup> We evaluated the effectiveness of split ballot random assignment within racial groups, examining the distribution of seven demographic characteristics (nativity, sex, age, education, employment status, occupation, and income) and two measures of political orientation (political ideology and party identification) for the three sets of three-way experimental ballots used in the analysis. Of 108 separate tests, only six tested out as significant, all of these were of small magnitude, and of no consistent patterning, and only narrowly met conventional criteria of statistical discernibility ( $p < .05$ ). Hence, we conclude that the data indicate effective random assignment of respondents. For more detailed information, see Zubrinsky (1996, Chapter 2).

least in part, a socioeconomic class phenomenon. For Latinos and Asians, there seems to be some validity to this argument. Research suggests that, as Latinos and Asians improve their socioeconomic class standing, their rates of segregation from whites decrease (Denton and Massey, 1988; Massey and Fong, 1990). However, studies have consistently shown that black-white segregation does not vary appreciably by economic status: affluent blacks are just as segregated from whites as poor blacks (Denton and Massey, 1988; Farley et al., 1978, 1993; Kain, 1986; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Massey and Denton, 1993). In fact, poor whites are more likely to live among affluent whites than are affluent blacks (Massey and Denton, 1993).

We compared the monthly housing expenditures of whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians to see if differences in housing expenditures can account for racial residential patterns in any significant way.

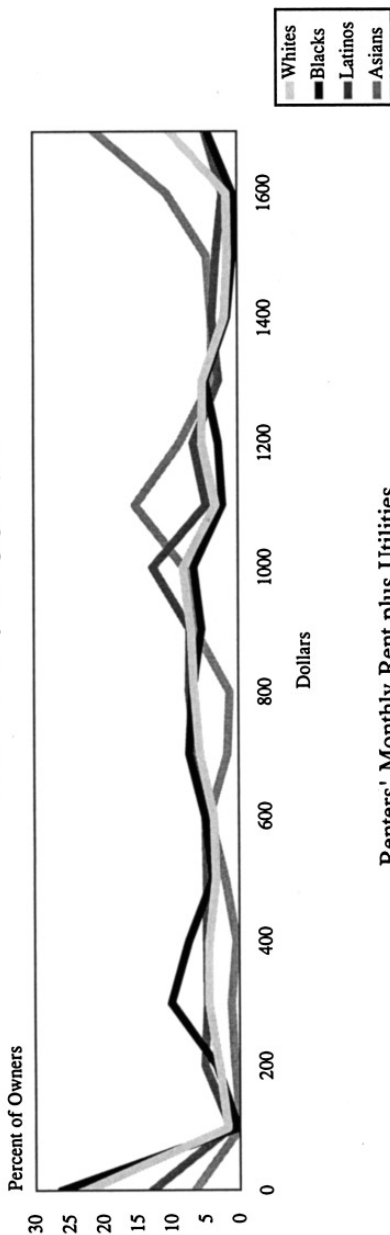
The top panel of Fig. 1 reports monthly mortgage payments including taxes, insurance, and utilities. We find a great deal of overlap in monthly mortgage payments across groups. These figures suggest that a substantial number of all groups—including blacks and Latinos—have mortgage payments that would allow them to live in desirable white neighborhoods. Asians have the highest average mortgage payment (\$1569/month), followed by Latinos (\$780/month) and whites (\$777/month). Consistent with their higher rates of segregation, black respondents do have the lowest average mortgage payment, \$572 per month. Still, more than one-third of blacks (37.7%)—compared to 43% of whites, 49% of Asians, and a full 51.4% of Latinos—report monthly mortgage payments between \$600 and \$1400 per month.

The bottom panel of Fig. 1 reveals even greater overlap among renters. Sixty-six percent of Asians spend between \$600 and \$1200 per month on rent and utilities, as do 55% of whites, 43% of blacks, and 40% of Latinos. Again, there are considerable racial differences. Asian respondents have the highest mean rent, at roughly \$742 per month. The average monthly rent reported by white respondents is about \$724 per month. The mean rent among blacks is only \$49 less than that of whites (\$675). Finally, Latinos spend an average of \$582 per month: \$92 per month less than blacks, \$142 less than whites, and \$160 less than Asians.

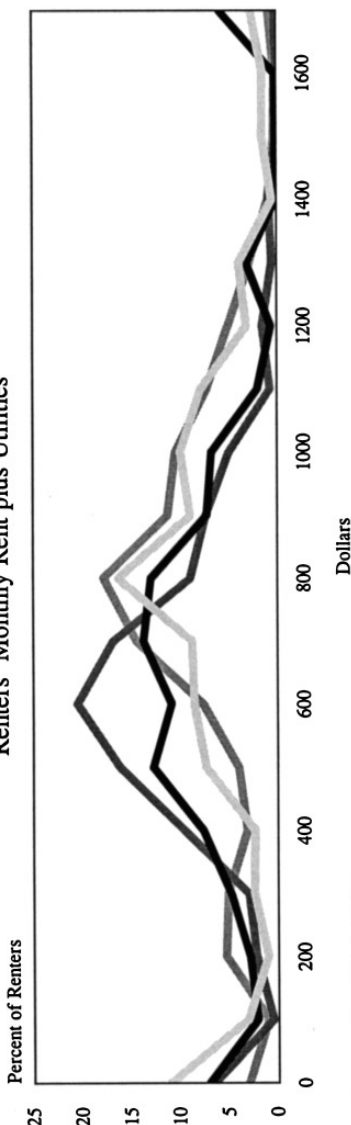
Based on these results, we reject the hypothesis that residential segregation is the result of objective differences in socioeconomic status that leave blacks and Latinos unable to afford desirable housing. Our findings are consistent with previous research by Farley and colleagues (1993), that found substantial overlap in the monthly housing expenditures of blacks and whites in Detroit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Results from the 1992 DAS indicate that 60% of black homeowners in the central city and 52% of suburban whites spend between \$300 and \$599 per month in mortgage payments; however, there was also a racial difference in average mortgage payment of \$250. Among renters, blacks report an average monthly gross rent of \$383 per month, compared to the average white rent of \$520. Again, the overlap in housing expenditures is high: 61% of both central city blacks and suburban whites had gross rent payments between \$300 and \$599 per month.

## Homeowners' Monthly Mortgage Payments



## Renters' Monthly Rent plus Utilities



Source: 1993-94 LASUI  
 p < .0001 Valid/Missing Owners: 1531/2494; Renters 2305/1720

FIG. 1. Housing expenditures for whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Los Angeles County.

*Understanding the Housing Market*

Despite much overlap in actual housing expenditures, groups may differ widely in their knowledge of housing costs. To investigate racial/ethnic group differences in knowledge and perceptions of the housing market, the LASUI asked all respondents about seven residential areas in Los Angeles County: Alhambra, Baldwin Hills, Canoga Park, Culver City, Glendale, Palmdale, and Pico Rivera. These areas were chosen to represent both appealing and important types of communities within the Los Angeles area, share moderate housing prices, wide name recognition, and are dispersed throughout Los Angeles County. They also vary in historical reputations regarding integration, and in their current racial composition.

Canoga Park, Palmdale, Glendale, and Culver City are predominantly white communities (69, 67, 65, and 58%, respectively). Pico Rivera is predominantly Latino (83%), Baldwin Hills is a predominantly black (59%) middle-class community, and Alhambra is a mixed city of Asians (38%), Latinos (36%), and whites (25%). Glendale and Culver City have reputations for hostility toward blacks, yet both have significant and growing Latino populations. In the past, the Culver City Police Department has had a reputation for treating blacks with hostility. And, although still predominantly white, Culver City is adjacent to the heavily Latino and black community of South Central Los Angeles and is itself becoming increasingly diverse. Palmdale is in a newly developing area of the county, offering new and relatively inexpensive housing in an “out of the city” atmosphere. Canoga Park is a white working and middle-class community in the west San Fernando Valley which has been a conservative stronghold, but that has growing minority representation.

*The cost of housing.* To gauge knowledge of Los Angeles area housing costs, we asked each respondent to estimate the cost of an average home for each of the seven areas described above. When necessary, respondents could refer to a map to help them make sense of the expansive Los Angeles area.

The first panel of Table 1 summarizes the demographics of each area, reporting both racial/ethnic composition and total population. The middle section of Table 1 reports the average estimated cost of homes for each area across racial/ethnic categories, as well as mean housing values from the Census of 1990. The third and final section of Table 1 lists the ratio of estimated to actual housing costs for the seven communities, again by racial/ethnic category. The closer the ratio to 1.00, the more accurately a group has estimated the cost of the average home for that area.

Actual average home values range from a low of just over \$150,000 in Palmdale to approximately \$342,000 in Glendale. In contrast to their variation in racial composition—and their disparate locations—Alhambra, Baldwin Hills, and Canoga Park are all moderately priced homes ranging from about \$225,000 to \$258,000. These prices are consistent with the average cost of housing for Los Angeles County as a whole. The two most expensive neighborhoods—Glendale and Culver City—are also the two with the greatest reputations for hostility

TABLE 1  
Information about Locations and Cost of Housing Estimated by Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality Respondents and by the Census of Housing

	1990 Census data			Cost of homes estimated in 1993-94 LASUI by: (reported in thousands)				Mean value 1990 Census (1000s)				Ratio of estimated to actual costs				
	Population size	Black	Latino	Asian	Black	Latino	Asian	White	Black	Latino	Asian	White	Black	Latino	Asian	White
		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)											
Alhambra	82,106	2	36	38	\$203.9	\$209.4	\$221.1	\$198.8*	0.89	0.92	0.97	0.87	0.89	0.92	0.97	0.87
Baldwin Hills	15,254	59	12	8	299.7	242.9	220.3	223.9*	1.33	1.08	0.98	1.00	1.33	1.08	0.98	1.00
Canoga Park	105,601	2	19	9	210.2	186.7	217.3	207.3*	0.81	0.72	0.84	0.80	0.81	0.72	0.84	0.80
Culver City	38,793	10	19	12	229.9	202.9	224.1	212.4*	0.70	0.61	0.68	0.64	0.70	0.61	0.68	0.64
Glendale	180,038	1	20	14	258.1	236.2	255.4	258.2*	0.75	0.69	0.74	0.75	0.75	0.69	0.74	0.75
Palmdale	68,917	6	22	4	160.8	151.3	167.3	137.3*	1.07	1.01	1.11	0.91	1.07	1.01	1.11	0.91
Pico Rivera	59,177	0.4	83	3	167.6	168.9	173.3	162.9	1.02	1.03	1.05	0.99	1.02	1.03	1.05	0.99
L.A. County	8,863,164	11	37	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
										\$227.9						
										224.6						
										257.6						
										329.4						
										341.7						
										150.2						
										163.8						
										223.8						

Sources: 1993-94 Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality. The 1990 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing.

\*  $p < .05$ .



toward blacks. Conversely, the two least expensive areas—Palmdale and Pico Rivera—both have substantial Latino populations (22 and 83%, respectively). Significant numbers of Latino residents in the lower priced communities is consistent with both their lower median income compared to other groups, as well as the sizable increase in new Latino homebuyers over the past several years (O'Neill, 1994).

Overall, respondents have accurate information about housing prices throughout Los Angeles County; this is true both within and across racial/ethnic categories. One might have anticipated less accurate information about Palmdale. Not only is it a new and developing community, it is on the far northern edge of the Los Angeles area and thus distant from the more densely populated parts of the county. Still, there are a few exceptions to this general pattern of accuracy. In only one instance is an individual group's estimate inaccurate: blacks significantly overestimate the cost of an average home in Baldwin Hills (a ratio of 1.33). This is particularly interesting, given that blacks are attributing greater value to homes in the community with the largest same-race population (Baldwin Hills is nearly 60% black). Latinos also stand out for overestimating the cost of a home in Baldwin Hills (1.08)—a community that is more than 10% Latino. Finally, Latinos are the only group to significantly underestimate the average home price in Canoga Park (.72), another community with substantial Latino representation (19%).

*Inaccurate* knowledge is also consistent across racial categories, and serves to further support our assertion that all groups have accurate information about housing costs. Average housing costs in the two most expensive neighborhoods—Culver City and Glendale—are significantly underestimated across groups. Ratios of estimated to actual cost in Culver City range from .61 to .70. Respondents fared only slightly better in their knowledge of Glendale (.69 to .75). However, consistent with actual housing prices, each group does perceive Glendale to be substantially more expensive than the other six communities. Estimates for each group range from a low \$236,200 by Latinos to a high of just over \$258,000 by blacks. These estimates are quite high compared to those generally given for the other communities.

It is possible that accurate knowledge of housing costs might be viewed as a proxy for objective socioeconomic class standing. The notion being that those who are in a position to purchase—or those who are already homeowners—would have more accurate knowledge about the housing market than non-homeowners or those with lower median incomes. Consistent with national trends, whites and Asians have higher incomes and are more likely to own their homes than blacks and Latinos. However, all four groups appear to have broadly accurate knowledge of housing prices, suggesting that information about the cost of housing is not sharply differentiated by socioeconomic status.

Our findings are consistent with those of Farley and colleagues (1978, 1993) for the Detroit Metropolitan area. Based on these results, therefore, we also

conclude that racial residential segregation in Los Angeles cannot be explained by inaccurate knowledge of housing prices in Los Angeles.

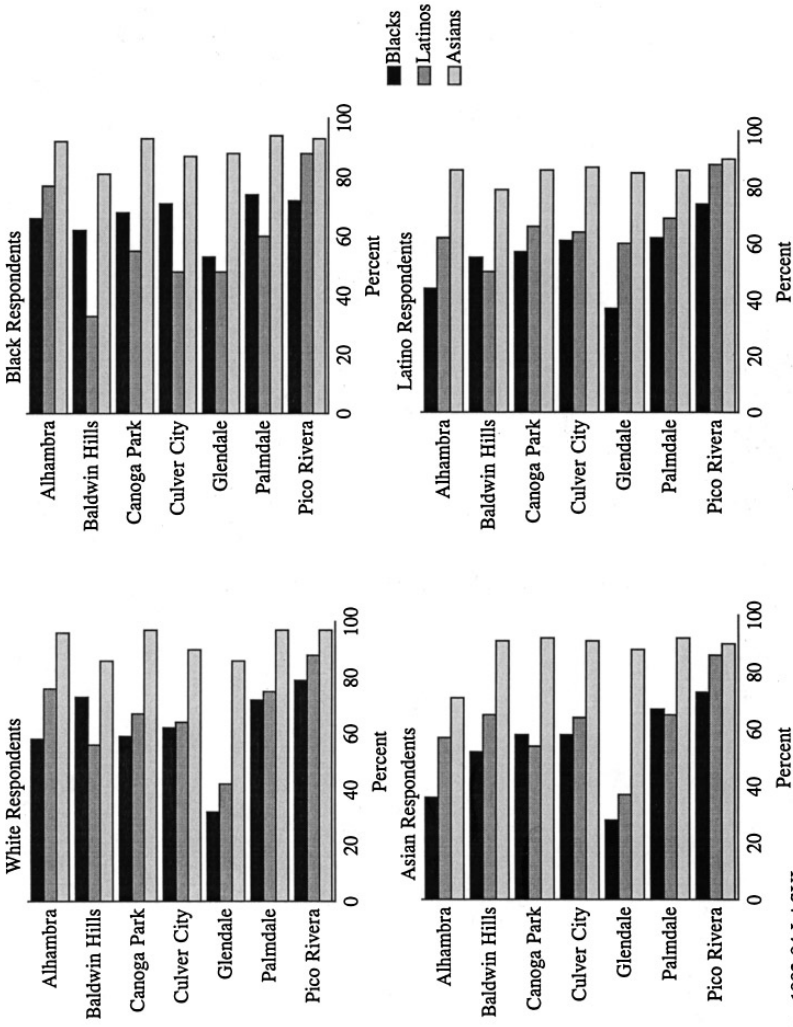
*Minority purchasing power.* Previous research by Farley and colleagues (1993) found that Detroit-area residents—both black and white—had extensive and accurate knowledge of blacks' financial capabilities (p. 12). They concluded that, because most whites and blacks accurately perceived suburban residences as within the financial reach of most blacks, residential segregation could not be explained by the actual or perceived financial limitations of blacks (1993, p. 14).

The LASUI modified the DAS question on perceived financial ability to include perceptions about Latino and Asian financial capabilities, as well as those of blacks. Using a split-ballot format where one-third of each racial respondent category considers a single target group, we asked whether “almost all,” “many,” “about half,” “a few,” or “just about no” blacks, Latinos, or Asians can afford to live in each of the seven Los Angeles area communities. Results are reported for each target group by respondent race. Figure 2 illustrates the percentage of respondents reporting that “about half,” “many,” or “almost all” blacks, Latinos, and Asians can afford to live in each area.

It is immediately apparent that all groups express overwhelming confidence in the financial capabilities of Asians, while expressing much more variable confidence in the financial capabilities of blacks and Latinos. In all but one instance, at least 80% of respondents—regardless of race—felt that at least half of Asians could afford to live in all seven communities. The single exception comes from Asian respondents themselves, when asked about the community of Alhambra. Still, Asians—like all other groups—express overwhelming confidence in their financial capabilities, with nearly three-quarters responding favorably.

In contrast, all respondents—again, regardless of race—express significantly less confidence in the financial capabilities of blacks and Latinos. In only one instance do more than 80% of all respondents assert such favorable perceptions of either group: 86% of Asians, and 88% of whites, blacks, and Latinos believe that at least half of Latinos can afford to live in Pico Rivera. Recall that Pico Rivera is one of the two least expensive communities and also the one with the largest Latino population (83%). These factors might explain such high levels of confidence in the financial abilities of the group with the lowest median income. Similarly, confidence in the financial capabilities of blacks exceeds 70% across respondent categories only when considering the two least expensive communities of Palmdale and Pico Rivera and among whites when the community is the predominantly black Baldwin Hills.

Blacks are the out-group consistently perceived as the most financially constrained. Only 36% of Asians believe that a substantial number of blacks can afford to live in the moderately priced community of Alhambra. At the same time, 57% of Asians feel that more than half of Latinos can afford the same community; a difference of more than 20%. Similarly, 58% of whites see Alhambra within the reach of blacks, but 76% believe it is affordable for Latinos. Finally, Latinos



Source: 1993-94 LASUI  
 p < .0001

FIG. 2. Respondents' perceptions that "about half," "many," or "almost all" blacks, Latinos, and Asians can afford housing in selected areas, by respondent race.

themselves are 18% more likely to view co-ethnics as having the financial capability to live in Alhambra compared to blacks.

A home in the high-priced community of Glendale is seen as even less attainable for blacks. Only 28% of Asians and 32% of whites believe that at least half of blacks can afford to live in Glendale, compared to 37% of Asians and 42% of whites with similar perceptions of Latinos. Latinos are only slightly more likely to see Glendale as affordable for blacks (37%); however, they are nearly twice as likely to perceive themselves as having the requisite financial resources (60%). The only consistent exception to this pattern is in relation to the predominantly black community of Baldwin Hills. This community is the only instance in which two of the three non-black respondent groups have more confidence in the financial capabilities of blacks than those of Latinos.

Conversely, blacks have substantially more confidence in their own financial capabilities. Unlike other groups' perceptions of them, a majority of blacks perceive all seven areas to be within their financial reach—including Glendale. Moreover, blacks are the only group to consistently rank themselves ahead of Latinos. In fact, blacks rank Latinos higher than themselves only twice: in Pico Rivera and Alhambra, the two communities with the largest Latino populations and among the smallest black populations.

The general perception that Latinos have greater financial capability than blacks is curious, given blacks' higher median income. However, despite objective socioeconomic disparities, in six of the seven communities, both whites and Latinos perceive blacks as least likely to afford housing in substantial numbers. For Asians, this is the case for five out of seven communities (interestingly, Asians rank Latinos ahead of blacks in Baldwin Hills, but slightly behind blacks in Canoga Park and Palmdale).

Thus, among all groups except blacks themselves, there appears to be a rank-ordering<sup>5</sup> of racial minority groups that is consistent with their levels of residential segregation in Los Angeles County. Asians are at once the least segregated racial minority group, and at the same time the group perceived as having the financial resources necessary to live throughout the metropolitan area. Latinos are more segregated from whites than are Asians, but less segregated than blacks. Similarly, Latinos are perceived to have fewer financial resources than Asians, but greater financial resources than the most segregated group, blacks. However, because none of the racial minority groups perceive themselves as significantly financially constrained, like Farley and colleagues (1993) we must reject the notion that residential segregation results from minority perceptions that desirable housing is beyond their financial reach.

<sup>5</sup> In discussing the emergence of a rank-order, it is important to note that respondents were not asked to rank or compare one minority group to another. Rather, using a split ballot, one-third of each racial respondent category considered the financial capabilities of a single target group (e.g., blacks or Latinos, or Asians). Thus, for example, one-third of white respondents were asked only how many blacks they thought could afford each area—not how many blacks compared to how many Asians and/or Latinos (the same is true for respondents queried about Latinos or Asians).

*Neighborhood desirability.* Relatively high rates of racial residential segregation may occur because groups simply have different perceptions about what constitutes a desirable place to live. We investigate perceptions of community desirability by asking all respondents to rate each of the seven residential locations as “very desirable,” “somewhat desirable,” “somewhat undesirable,” or “very undesirable” places to live. Figure 3 presents the percentage of positive responses by racial group.

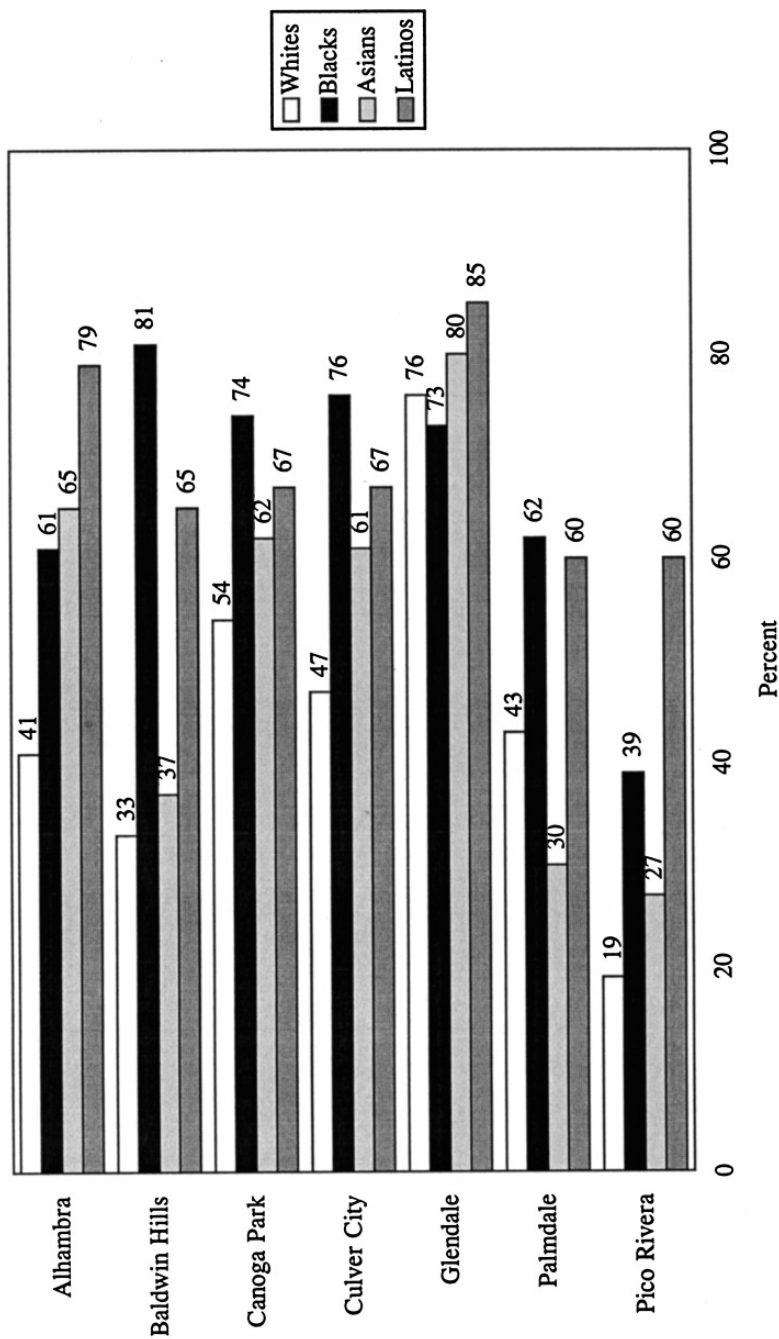
Contrary to the personal preference hypothesis, members of all groups express similar perceptions of overall desirability for the seven communities in question. Regardless of race, Pico Rivera is always perceived as the least desirable area. Even though a clear majority (60%) of Latinos perceive Pico Rivera as at least somewhat desirable (compared to 39% of blacks, 27% of Asians, and a scant 19% of whites), it still ties with Palmdale as this group’s least desirable community. This low ranking by all groups is, no doubt, due to the combination of its high minority population, and its less than average housing cost.

Similarly, members of each racial group perceive Glendale in the most favorable light. Fully 85% of Latinos, 80% of Asians, and 76% of whites perceive Glendale to be a “somewhat” or “very” desirable place to live. Blacks are the lone exception to this pattern. Among this group, the predominantly black, middle-class community of Baldwin Hills takes top honors, perceived favorably by 81% of black respondents. However, consistent with the other groups, 73% of blacks also perceive Glendale to be among the most desirable places to live.

Perceptions regarding the other areas take on an interesting pattern. For example, only the predominantly white and moderate- to high-priced communities of Glendale and Canoga Park are perceived as desirable by more than half of whites (76 and 54%, respectively). These communities are followed in whites’ perceptions by the racially mixed communities of Culver City (47%) and Alhambra (41%), and the distant but inexpensive community of Palmdale (43%). Finally, the heavily minority communities of Pico Rivera and Baldwin Hills are perceived as desirable by only one third of whites. This is particularly telling in the case of Baldwin Hills relative to Palmdale, since home values in the former far exceed those in the latter.

On the other hand, blacks, Latinos, and Asians are much more likely to perceive areas with substantial numbers of minorities as desirable. Thus, while only two of the seven communities are perceived as desirable by a majority of whites, the opposite is true for both blacks and Latinos. In fact, at least 60% of Latinos perceive each of the seven areas as desirable, and among blacks only once do favorable perceptions fall below 60% (Pico Rivera, 39%). Asians are the one non-white group whose perceptions most closely resemble those of whites: the only areas that less than 60% of Asians perceive favorably are Pico Rivera (27%), Baldwin Hills (37%), and Palmdale (30%).

These results indicate general agreement across racial groups about the desirability of these communities as places to live. All groups perceive the community of Glendale to be a desirable place to live; much more desirable than the



Source: 1993-94 LASUI  
 $p < .0001$

FIG. 3. Percent of respondents rating selected areas as "very desirable" or "somewhat desirable" places to live, by respondent race.

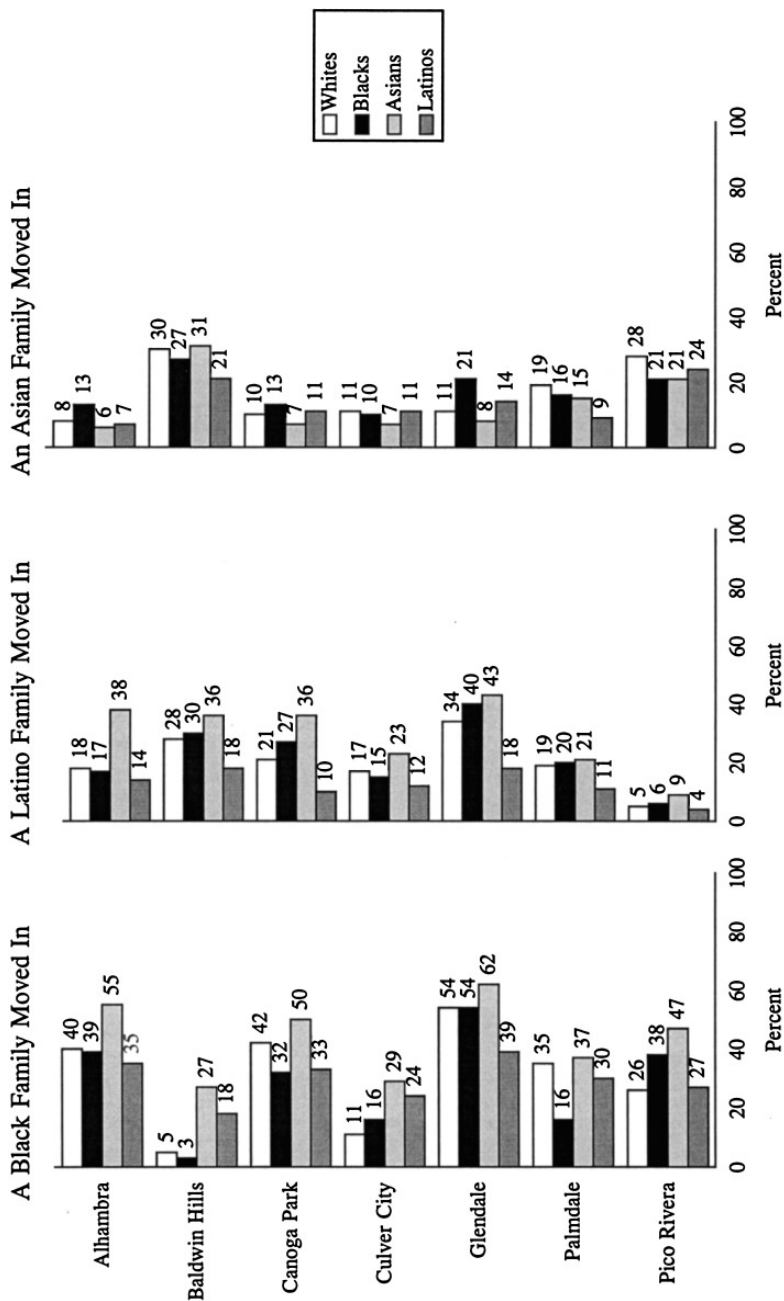
communities of Pico Rivera, Palmdale and, except for blacks, Baldwin Hills. Among whites, a community with fewer racial minority group members appears to be more desirable; non-whites also appear to appreciate significant numbers of co-ethnics, while at the same time favoring areas that are racially mixed. Given these findings, we conclude that racial groups share similar perceptions about desirable places to live. Thus, racial residential segregation cannot be explained as the result of sharp group differences in taste, nor can it be understood as the result of minorities' negative perceptions of predominantly white areas.

*Perceptions of hostility toward minorities.* Just as it initially seemed to make sense to understand residential segregation as yet another manifestation of socioeconomic disparities, it also seems logical to think that minority homeseekers make conscious decisions to avoid communities that they perceive as hostile toward members of their group. No one wants to live in neighborhoods where they feel unwelcome, fear for the safety of their children, or are concerned about the destruction of their property because of differences in race, national origin, religious beliefs, and the like. The persistence of racially segregated neighborhoods could be due, in part, to differences in the perceptions of minority group members about where they feel welcome. To determine whether or not such perceptual differences exist, LASUI respondents were asked the following for each of the seven communities: "Now thinking about [AREA], if a [Black/Latino/Asian] family moved into that area, do you think they would be welcome, or do you think that the people already living there would be upset?" Once again, we employ a split ballot format that divides each respondent racial/ethnic group into thirds and asks them to consider one of the three target groups. Figure 4 summarizes our findings, illustrating the percentage of each respondent category perceiving an area as hostile toward new minority entrants.

Across racial categories, Baldwin Hills rates as the least hostile toward blacks. Only 3% of blacks, 5% of whites, 18% of Latinos, and 27% of Asians responded that residents would be upset if a black family moved in. The only other community that is clearly perceived as receptive to new black households by all groups is Culver City.

The predominantly white, high-priced community of Glendale is believed to be the most hostile toward blacks. A majority of whites (54%), blacks (54%), and Asians (62%) responded that residents would be upset by a new black neighbor. Slightly fewer Latinos (39%) perceived Glendale in this way; still, this is the community that the largest percentage of Latinos saw as anti-black. Predominantly white Canoga Park and racially mixed Alhambra are also perceived as communities that are hostile toward blacks (Alhambra is mixed, but only 2% black). Between 32 and 55% of all respondent groups thought Alhambra and Canoga Park residents would be upset by a new black household.

The pattern of perceived hostility toward Latinos is slightly different. As in the case of blacks and Baldwin Hills, Pico Rivera (83% Latino) is the community believed to be most open to Latino newcomers. Fewer than 10% of all groups thought that Pico Rivera residents would be upset by a new Latino household.



Source: 1993-94 LASUI  
 $p < .0001$

FIG. 4. Percent of respondents reporting that area residents would be upset if a black family moved in, a Latino family moved in, and an Asian family moved in.



And, like blacks, Glendale is perceived as the community most likely to be upset by a new Latino household (34% of whites, 40% of blacks, 43% of Asians, and 18% of Latinos). Generally, however, all groups tend to view all communities as less hostile toward Latinos than blacks. There are no instances where more than half of any respondent group perceives an area as anti-Latino. Moreover, Latinos themselves perceive substantially less hostility toward their own group than blacks do. Never do more than 18% of Latinos believe that any area would be upset by a new Latino household; however, at least one-third of blacks perceive four communities as hostile toward members of their group.

Finally, in only two instances are residents expected to be upset by a new Asian household: the predominantly black community of Baldwin Hills and the predominantly Latino community of Pico Rivera. This makes sense, given the history of tense relations between Asians (particularly Koreans) and blacks, and the emerging tensions between Asians and Latinos (Bobo et al., 1994; Johnson and Farrell, 1993). Even for Baldwin Hills and Pico Rivera, though, fewer than one third of all respondents believe that residents would be upset if an Asian family moved in. This is much lower than perceptions of hostility toward blacks and, to a slightly lesser degree, Latinos in Glendale. It appears that areas perceived as most hostile toward Asians are still thought to be more welcoming than areas that are most hostile toward blacks and Latinos. Aside from these relatively minor exceptions, Asians are generally perceived to be welcome anywhere—by others and by Asians themselves.

Our results suggest that whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians perceive hostility toward minorities differently, but only to the extent that perceptions of hostility vary with the race of the potential new neighbor. Blacks are perceived—both by others and by themselves—as the group most likely to upset the existing residents of almost any community. The only exceptions to this pattern are the predominantly black community of Baldwin Hills, and in Culver City, a community adjacent to the historically black South Central Los Angeles, but also with a history of hostility toward blacks. Latinos, on the other hand, perceive themselves, and are perceived by others, as facing significantly less hostility. This is true, both independent of and, in relation to blacks. Finally, when considering the entry of a new Asian household, the consensus is that little hostility exists.

We find little support for the notion that inaccurate knowledge of housing costs, minority perceptions of inadequate financial resources, or even differences in the perceived attractiveness of residential communities contribute to our understanding of persisting racial residential segregation. Racial minority groups have accurate information about the housing market, and believe that substantial portions of their communities can afford desirable housing. Additionally, all groups share similar perceptions of communities as desirable places to live. However, we do find support for the possibility that minority perceptions of hostility toward them influence whether or not they search for housing in those same areas. Again, this is especially true of the most segregated population in Los Angeles, African-Americans.

*Perceptions of Housing Market Discrimination*

We now turn to perceptions of housing market discrimination: institutional barriers that hinder racial minorities' efforts to secure desirable housing. Discriminatory treatment in the housing market refers specifically to interactions with landlords, real estate agents, and banks and lenders. In this way, minority concerns about discrimination differ from a perception that residents in a particular community harbor hostile attitudes toward them. Once we have decided to seek housing in a given community, we have likely ruled out the potential for disgruntled new neighbors. However, in any housing search, we must interact with "gatekeepers" that can either facilitate or hinder our efforts (Pearce, 1979).

Research that deals with the discriminatory treatment of minorities by representatives of the real estate and lending industries has consistently found that blacks and Latinos still face significant levels of discrimination—despite fair housing legislation. Unequal treatment ranges from "steering" minority homeseekers away from predominantly white suburban neighborhoods or refusing to advertise in anything other than "mainstream" publications, to the subtle inconveniences of unavailable agents, homes that are suddenly "sold" or lenders that hold minority homeseekers to higher credit and/or income standards (Turner et al., 1991; Turner, 1992; Yinger, 1991; Munnell et al., 1993; Jackson, 1994). Quite often, minority homeseekers are unaware that they are victims of discrimination.

When we asked LASUI respondents whether they had experienced discrimination while searching for housing in Los Angeles County, fewer than 10% of both Asians (5.8%) and Latinos (9.0%) felt that they themselves had been discriminated against. However, nearly 28% of black respondents answered in the affirmative. This pattern is consistent with the rank-ordering of perceptions found in the previous section. Asians are perceived as having the greatest financial capacity and to be most welcome in all communities. Blacks, on the other hand, are perceived as having the least financial capacity and as most likely to receive hostile treatment in all communities, and Latinos fall in between. These figures also highlight the subtlety of today's housing market discrimination. Results from national audit studies indicate that blacks and Hispanics experience discriminatory treatment in roughly 50% of their initial encounters with real estate agents, and learn about 25% fewer housing options than comparable whites (Turner, 1992, p. 197). Blacks and Latinos are also 60% less likely than whites with comparable status and credit history to secure home mortgage loans (Jackson, 1994, p. 165).

When asked about the degree of housing market discrimination faced by blacks, Latinos, and Asians today compared to 10 years ago, a clear majority of Hispanics (56%) and Asians (57%) perceived no change in the treatment of co-ethnics. However, just over one-third of blacks perceived no change in housing market discrimination against members of their group. Black respondents were twice as likely as either Hispanics or Asians to perceive an increase in discriminatory treatment of co-ethnics over the last decade. Moreover, a clear majority of whites (between 59 and 69%) also perceived no change in the degree

of housing market discrimination faced by any of the three groups over the last decade.

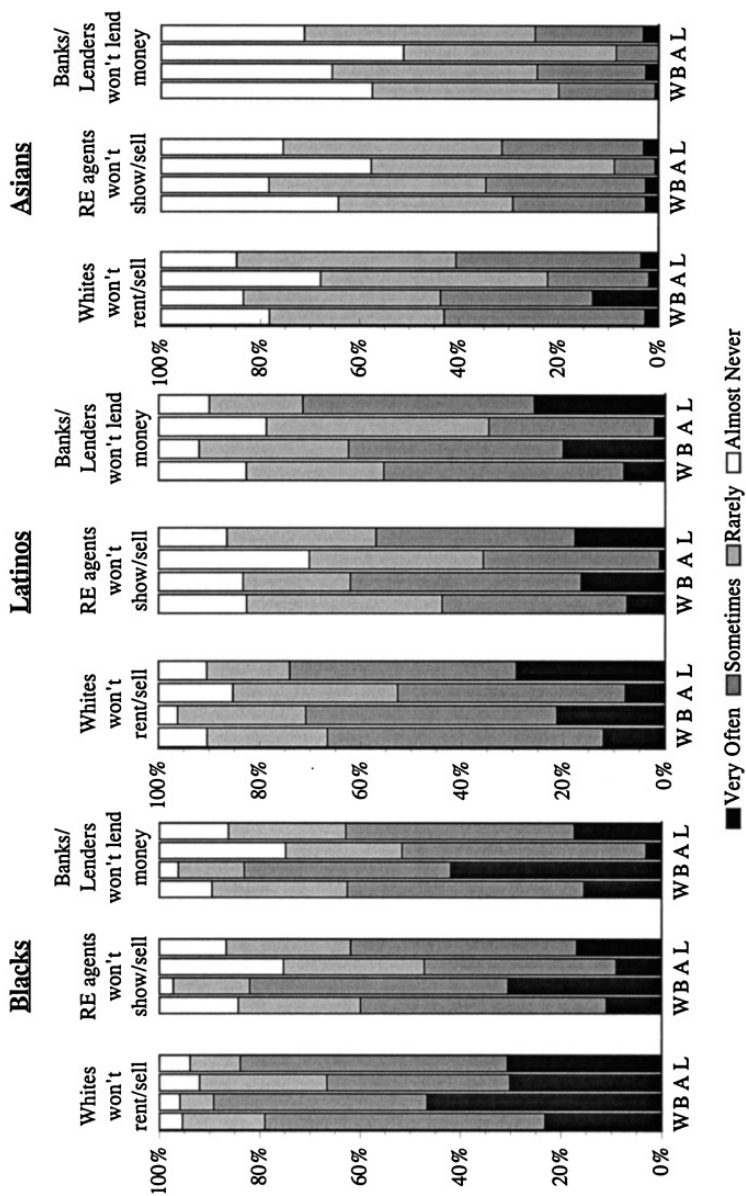
If there is general agreement about the *persistence* of housing market discrimination, there is much less agreement about the *source* of that discrimination. To get a better picture of perceptions about housing market discrimination, we asked respondents to estimate how often they thought that blacks, Latinos, and Asians miss out on good housing in the Los Angeles area because: (1) whites will not rent or sell; (2) real estate agents will not show, sell, or rent; and, (3) banks and lenders will not loan money to purchase a home. Again, we employed a split ballot format, and asked whether these barriers affected minorities “very often,” “sometimes,” “rarely,” or “almost never.” Results are summarized in Fig. 5.

Irrespective of race, respondents agree that blacks confront discrimination that causes them to miss out on good housing opportunities. The only instance where the perception of institutional barriers confronted by blacks drops below 50% is among Asians: 47% see discrimination by real estate agents as a problem for blacks “very often” or “sometimes.” In fact, across groups, Asians are least likely to perceive discriminatory treatment by landlords, real estate agents, or lenders as a problem for anyone, particularly for Asians themselves.

Similar to perceptions of community hostility, all groups perceive institutional discrimination to be less of a concern for Latinos than for blacks, and of least concern for Asians. For example, 79% of whites said that blacks miss out on good housing “very often” or “sometimes” because whites refuse to rent or sell to them; 67% of whites saw this as a concern for Latinos. Similarly, Asians are 17 percentage points more likely to believe that discrimination by banks and lenders constrains the efforts of blacks as opposed to Latinos. On the other hand, perceptions that Asians frequently confront institutional barriers in their pursuit of good housing never approach 50%.

Blacks and Latinos are most likely to perceive consistent housing market discrimination to be a problem for members of their own groups. However, they also perceive these barriers to be of significant concern for each other. Fully 89% of blacks responded that members of their group miss out on good housing “very often” or “sometimes” because whites will not rent or sell to them. Seventy-one percent of blacks also view this as a concern for Latinos. Latinos, while perceiving institutional barriers to be of great concern for members of their own group, often believe it is a greater barrier for blacks.

Consistent with Farley and colleagues (1993), we find that whites are more likely to believe that individual whites dislike and/or discriminate against blacks and Latinos than they are to believe that institutional structures—in fact, entire industries—systematically discriminate. Finally, as we stated above, Asians generally do not perceive themselves, or anyone else, to be targets for discriminatory treatment.



Source: 1993-94 LASUI  
 p < .0001

FIG. 5. Perceptions of the frequency that blacks, Latinos, and Asians confront institutional barriers in the housing market, by respondent race.

*Neighborhood Racial Group Composition Preferences*

The final section of our analysis deals with group preferences for neighborhoods with particular racial compositions. Clark (1986, 1992) asserts that preferences for majority same-race neighborhoods cut across racial groups, arguing that these in-group preferences are universal, reflecting positive feelings about one's own group, rather than prejudice or antipathy toward one or more out-groups (Clark, 1986, 1992).

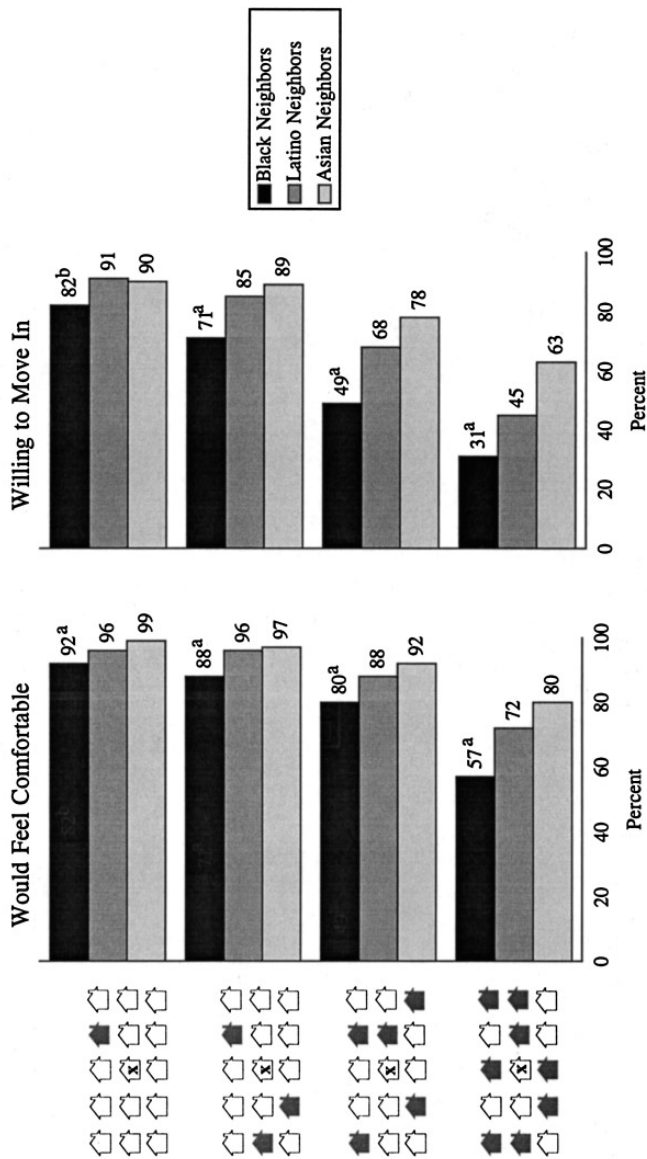
We examine group differences in residential preferences using the showcard procedure originally designed for use in the DAS (Farley et al., 1978, 1993). Using a split-ballot format, we have expanded the original experiment to include Latinos and Asians, in addition to blacks and whites. Thus, one-third of each racial group is asked to consider varying degrees of integration with one of each of the three remaining out-groups. The series of questions asked of white respondents differs slightly from the questions asked of blacks, Latinos, and Asians. We treat each respondent category in turn.

*White preferences.* To gauge the neighborhood preferences of whites, we presented respondents with a series of cards. Each card depicts 15 houses with varying degrees of integration with either blacks, Latinos, or Asians. The respondent's home is represented by the house in the middle of the card. To begin, respondents are shown the first card and asked to imagine that they live in an all-white neighborhood. They are then shown the second card with one minority home (either black, Latino, or Asian) and 14 white homes. We ask respondents if they would feel, "very comfortable," "somewhat comfortable," "somewhat uncomfortable," or "very uncomfortable" in this marginally integrated setting. If respondents indicate some degree of comfort, they are shown cards with increasing levels of integration until they either indicate discomfort, or reach the end of the series—a neighborhood that is majority out-group.<sup>6</sup> The first panel of Fig. 6 summarizes whites' responses for each target group.

It is encouraging to see that most whites feel comfortable with some degree of integration, even a substantial level of integration. More than 90% of whites express comfort with the most marginal degree of integration—one non-white family—and there are only slight declines as integration increase to the third scenario, a neighborhood that is one-third non-white. However, the rank-ordering observed in previous sections of our analysis is again apparent: white respondents feel most comfortable with Asians, slightly less comfortable with Latinos, and express the least amount of comfort with black neighbors. By the time white respondents reach the final scenario—a majority non-white neighborhood—comfort levels drop considerably. Again, this is especially true when the target neighbors are black. A full 80% of whites express feelings of comfort with a neighborhood that is one-third black. However, when asked to consider a neighborhood that is 53% black and 47% white, the percentage expressing comfort drops to 57%. This is a decrease of 23%, and the largest drop in the chart.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrations of all showcards are available upon request from the authors.

## White Respondents



Source: 1993-94 LASUI

Dark houses represent target group

a  $p < .001$ ; b  $p < .01$ 

FIG. 6. Comfort in neighborhoods with varying degrees of integration with blacks, Latinos, and Asians.

In contrast, nearly three-quarters of whites still feel comfortable in a majority Latino neighborhood, and a full 80% express comfort with a majority Asian neighborhood. Not only do whites express the least comfort with blacks but also the decline in comfort from one scenario to the next is always largest when the potential neighbors are black.

This first set of questions assumes that white respondents are already living in an all-white neighborhood, and tests their degree of comfort with racial neighborhood change. In essence, it tests the notion of white flight: the point at which white residents become uncomfortable in their neighborhoods and, presumably, decide to move away. This is a long-standing explanation of residential segregation. However, it is also important to know whether or not white residents would be willing to move into a neighborhood with more than token numbers of non-whites, since this, too, affects racial residential patterns.

Thus, to measure their willingness to *enter* various integrated settings, we also asked white respondents to consider a slightly different scenario, using the same set of cards:

Suppose you have been looking for a house and have found a nice one you can afford. This house could be located in several different types of neighborhoods, as shown on these cards. Would you consider moving into any of these neighborhoods?

The split-ballot format used for the first scenario applies here as well. So, for example, white respondents revealing their comfort level with increasingly black neighborhoods will now consider moving into a neighborhood with varying degrees of integration with blacks. Responses to this second scenario make up the second panel in Fig. 6.

Not surprisingly, the two panels are quite similar. Nearly all whites say that they would be willing to move into a neighborhood with a single non-white family. As the percentage of non-whites increases, willingness to move in decreases; however, the decline in willingness begins much sooner than the decline in expressed comfort with neighborhood transition—especially for white-black integration. When we asked about feeling comfortable with neighborhood change, the decline between the first two cards is always less than 5%. Moreover, the decline between the second and third scenarios is always less than 10% (see left panel, Fig. 6).

On the other hand, the decline in willingness to move into a neighborhood that is one-fifth non-white is already at 12% for white-black neighborhoods. There is significantly less willingness to move into the neighborhood that is one-third non-white. Only 49% of whites would move into a neighborhood that is one-third black, compared to 68% of whites considering integrated living with Latinos. Again, Asians fare well, since a full 78% of whites would be willing to move into a neighborhood that is one-third Asian. Finally, tolerance for majority-minority neighborhoods is much lower when whites are considering the purchase of a new home, as opposed to racial transition in one's current neighborhood. Less than

half of whites would consider moving into an area that is more than 50% black or Latino (31 and 45%, respectively). Moreover, the 63% of whites willing to move into a majority Asian neighborhood is still substantially less (–17%) than the 80% of whites that said they would feel comfortable if their current neighborhood became majority Asian.

These results suggest that white preferences for majority same-race neighbors are conditioned by the race of potential neighbors. Whites are significantly more likely to feel comfortable with substantial integration when their non-white neighbors are Asian and, to a slightly lesser degree, Latino. Substantial integration with blacks is much less desirable. This rank-ordering of out-groups as neighbors contradicts a view of residential preferences as a general form of ethnocentrism: these preferences are quite race-specific.

*Black preferences.* We employ a slightly different experiment to test the neighborhood preferences of blacks. Instead of asking about comfort levels in a neighborhood experiencing racial transition, we asked black respondents to imagine that they have been looking for a house and have found a nice one that they can afford. They are told that the house could be located in several different types of neighborhoods, and shown a series of five cards. These five neighborhood show cards differ from the white respondent cards, ranging from an all black neighborhood illustrated in Card 1, to a fifth card that is entirely white, Latino, or Asian, with the exception of the black respondent's home in the middle.

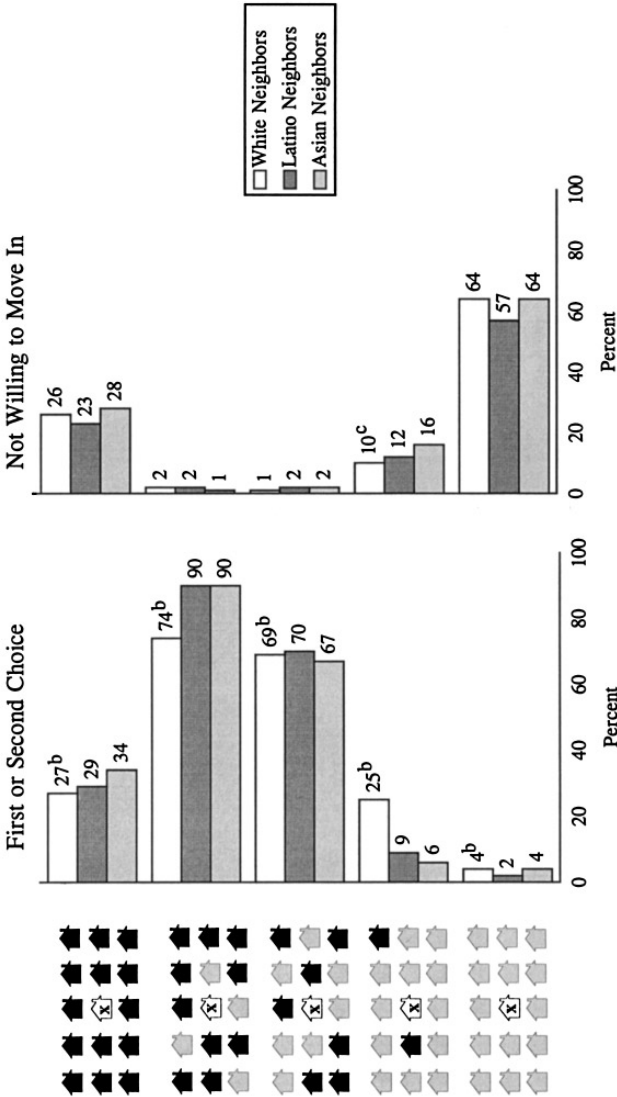
In each set of cards, black homes are shaded black. The shading of out-group homes varies by race: white homes are left white, Latino homes are a darker gray, and Asian homes are the lightest shade of gray. Next, respondents are instructed to arrange the five "neighborhoods" from most to least desirable. Like the white respondent experiment, we employ a split-ballot format: one-third of blacks consider integration with whites, one-third with Latinos, and the remaining one-third of black respondents contemplates integration with Asians. The left panel of Fig. 7 shows the percentage of black respondents selecting each of the five cards as either their first or second choice.

Among blacks, there seems to be a desire, not only for a substantial number of co-ethnics, but for integration as well. The two most popular neighborhoods—irrespective of target group race—are Cards 2 and 3; Card 2 is roughly 27% out-group, while Card 3 comes closest to a 50/50 situation with seven out-group neighbors.

There is a small trend among blacks for the attractiveness of the all-black neighborhood to vary by target group race. Blacks are least likely to rate an all black neighborhood as most attractive if the scenario involves integration with whites (27%) compared to integration with Latinos (29%) or Asians (34%). This pattern persists as the number of out-group neighbors increases. A neighborhood with 12 white and 2 black neighbors is roughly three times more attractive than one with 12 Latino and 2 black neighbors. The difference is slightly over four times when the neighborhood is predominantly Asian. Finally, fewer than 5% of



**Black Respondents**



Source: 1993-94 LASUI  
 Lighter houses represent target group  
 b  $p < .01$ ; c  $p < .05$

FIG. 7. Attractiveness of neighborhoods with varying degrees of integration with whites, Latinos, and Asians.

blacks find the single “black on the block” scenario to be attractive, regardless of the race of potential neighbors.

We also asked whether there were any neighborhoods that black respondents simply would not want to move into. Similar to the follow-up question in the white respondents’ experiment, this question is intended to help glean information about blacks’ willingness to enter a neighborhood, rather than simply indicating what blacks find attractive. Results are presented in the right panel of Fig. 7.

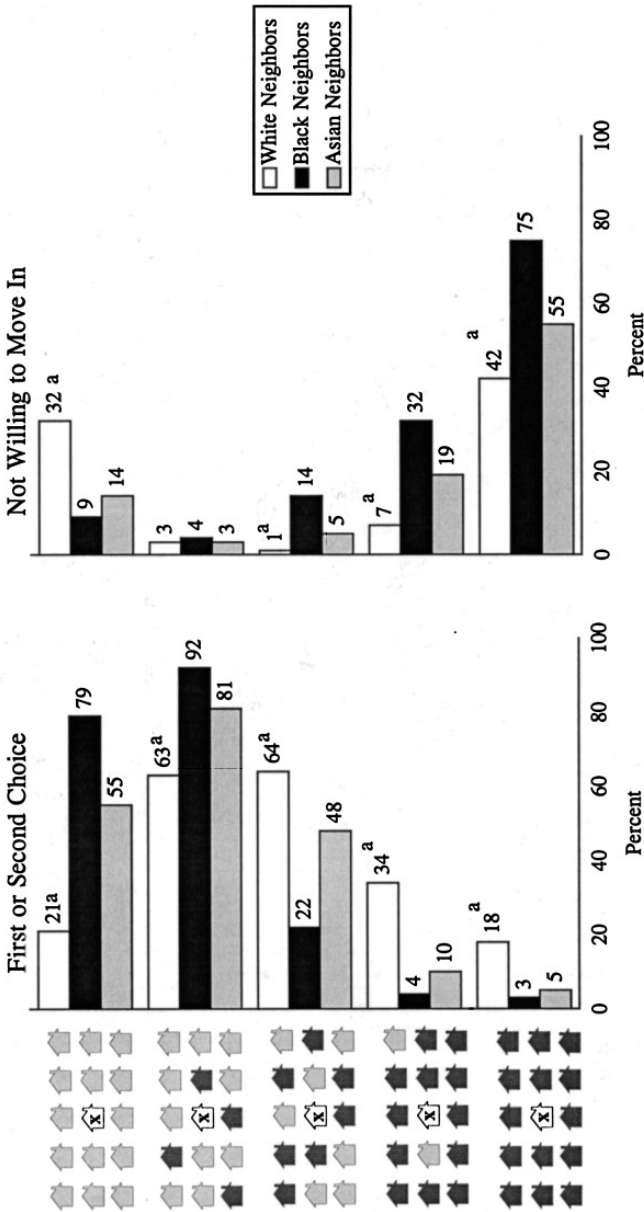
Consistent with the pattern of responses in the first panel, blacks indicate that they are most unwilling to move into a neighborhood where they would be the “pioneer” black family. A sizeable majority of blacks (ranging from 57 to 64%) said they would be unwilling to move into such a neighborhood, regardless of the race of their neighbors. This, along with the 26% of blacks who are unwilling to move into an all-black neighborhood, is also consistent with an historic desire for substantial integration (Pettigrew, 1973; Bobo, Schuman, and Steeh, 1986; Farley et al., 1978, 1993).

However, in contrast to a history of preference for 50/50 neighborhoods (Pettigrew, 1973, 1979; Bobo et al., 1986), blacks in Los Angeles, like whites, seem to prefer neighborhoods that are majority same-race. This comes as less of a surprise, given blacks’ perceptions of prejudice and discrimination summarized in previous sections of this paper. Finally, there does appear to be a rank-ordering of potential out-group neighbors. Generally speaking, blacks rate whites as the most desirable out-group, followed by Latinos and Asians, respectively. According to black respondents, the “ideal” black-white neighborhood is one with six white households and eight black households (mean black preference = 5.7). The “ideal” black-Latino neighborhood has five Latino homes (mean black preference = 4.9), as does the “ideal” black-Asian neighborhood (mean black preference = 4.7). Finally, this low ranking of Asians as potential neighbors is indicative of the overt tensions in recent years between blacks and Asians—particularly Koreans—in Los Angeles County (Bobo et al., 1994, 1995; Johnson and Oliver, 1989). It also emphasizes the differing perceptions between blacks and whites. White respondents rank Asians as the most desired potential neighbors. This is likely due to a perception of Asians as having similar socioeconomic class standing as well as a strong work ethic (Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996).

*Latino preferences.* To examine the neighborhood preferences of Latinos, we used the same series of question used for blacks. Latino respondents are first asked to arrange the five neighborhood cards from most to least attractive, and then to comment on their willingness to enter any of the five neighborhoods. Using the split-ballot format, one-third of Latinos contemplated integration with whites, one-third with blacks, and the remaining one-third considered varying degrees of integration with Asians.

The left panel of Fig. 8 reports the percentage of Latinos rating each of the five cards as either their first or second choice for each of the three target groups. To emphasize the shift from all same-race to all other-race neighborhoods, the lighter homes represent same-race, or Latino, homes.

Latino Respondents



Source: 1993-94 LASUI  
 Darker houses represent target group  
 a p < .0001

FIG. 8. Attractiveness of neighborhoods with varying degrees of integration with whites, blacks, and Asians.

Like both blacks and whites, the attractiveness of the various neighborhoods appears to depend in large part on the race of potential neighbors. An all-Latino neighborhood is most attractive when the remaining alternatives involve integration with blacks and least attractive when the alternatives involve sharing residential space with whites. Nearly 80% of Latinos chose Card 1 as their first or second choice when blacks were the target group, compared to 21% of Latinos receiving the Latino-white scenario, and 55% of those asked about Asians.

Like blacks, the most popular neighborhood overall is Card 2—a neighborhood that is majority same-race, but also populated with more than token numbers of whites, blacks, or Asians. Card 3—the closest to a 50/50 neighborhood—is nearly three times more attractive with white neighbors (64%) than it is with black neighbors (22%). Latinos also appear to be more significantly more willing to “pioneer” in white neighborhoods than blacks are. Cards 4 and 5 are attractive to 34 and 18% of Latinos, respectively, if their neighbors are white (compared to 25 and 4% of blacks, respectively). However, the idea of being one of two, or the only Latino in anything other than a predominantly white neighborhood is about as unappealing to Latinos as it is to blacks.

When asked which of the neighborhoods they were unwilling to move into, the pattern of responses is similar to that of blacks. As the number of co-ethnics in a neighborhood decreases, Latino unwillingness to enter those neighborhoods increases. The clear exception being an all Latino neighborhood in the white scenario. When contemplating integration with whites, the all same-race alternative is unacceptable to nearly one-third of Latino respondents.

Latinos, like blacks, seem to have what would appear to be conflicting desires for a strong co-ethnic presence as well as substantial integration. However, like both blacks and whites, these desires rise and fall with the race of their neighbors and present a clear rank-ordering of out-groups as desirable neighbors. Whites are clearly the most desirable neighbors; it is equally evident that blacks are the least desirable neighbors. Given the emerging reports of Latino-Asian (again, particularly Korean) tension in Los Angeles (Bobo et al., 1994; Johnson and Farrell, 1993; Johnson and Oliver, 1989), it is not surprising that substantial Latino-Asian integration is also significantly less desirable than integration with whites.

Finally, Latino respondents express a substantially higher preference for 100% same-race neighborhoods than blacks do. This might very well be a manifestation of their status as recent immigrants (Ong et al., 1992). The desire for co-ethnic neighborhoods may reflect the language barrier faced by new immigrants from Latin America, as well as the initial need for reliance on ethnic cultural institutions (churches, community organizations, grocery stores, and so on). Thus, first and second generation immigrants have strong desires for co-ethnic neighborhoods, while later generations find the perceived improvement in social class status and quality of life associated with predominantly white neighborhoods to be more attractive.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Indeed, when we compare preferences by native born status, we find statistically significant

*Asian preferences.* The investigation of Asian residential preferences is the same as those of blacks and Latinos. Asian respondents have quite a bit in common with other groups. Like blacks and Latinos, the all same-race neighborhood is least attractive when the alternatives involve Asian–white integration. Figure 9 summarizes the Asian respondents' first and second choice neighborhoods for each of the three target groups. Once again, the darker houses represent target-group homes. Only 18% of Asians rate an all Asian neighborhood among the most attractive under the Asian–white scenario, compared to more than three-quarters of respondents in the Asian–black scenario, and the 53% of Asians that are shown the Asian–Latino neighborhoods.

Another similarity that Asians share with blacks and Latinos is the popularity of Card 2. Nearly all respondents rate this neighborhood as the most attractive Asian–black and Asian–Latino neighborhood. But, like Latinos, the most desirable degree of integration with whites is Card 3—the neighborhood closest to a 50/50 split. Moreover, with the exception of white neighbors, Asians are the least likely to find predominantly out-group neighborhoods attractive. The Latino and black neighborhoods with only two other Asian homes were attractive to a scant 1% of respondents. The lone “Asian on the block” situation is unattractive to all Asians with non-white neighbors.

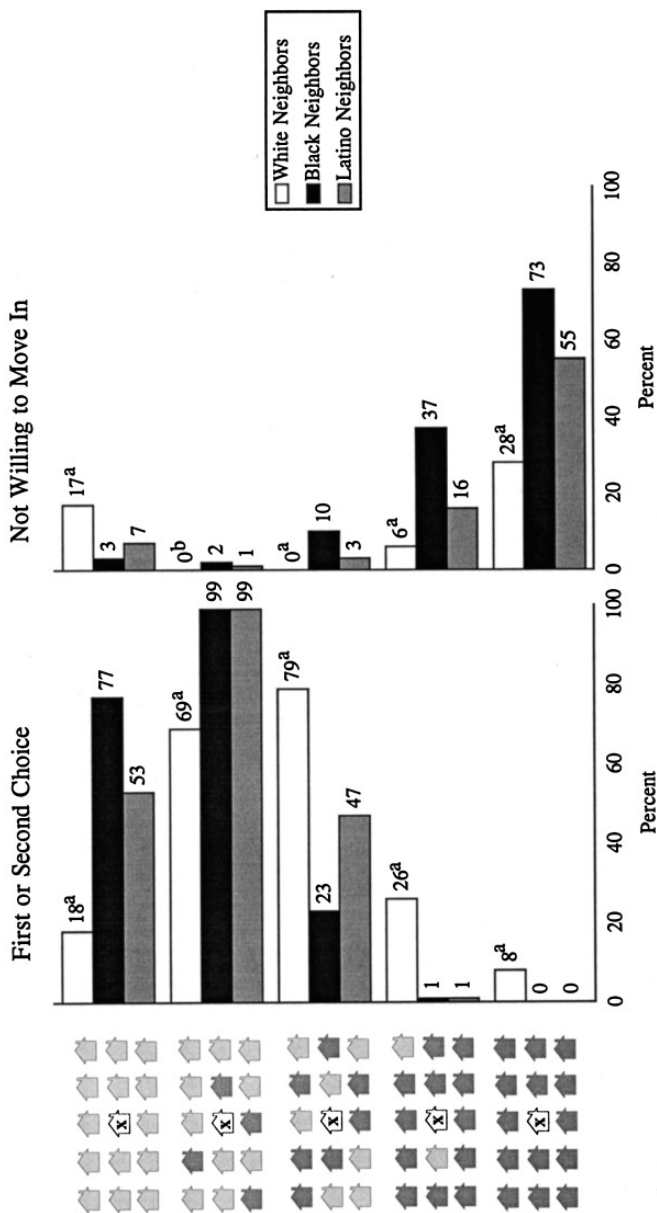
Like all other groups, whites stand out as the most desirable neighbors. The most desirable Asian-white neighborhood according to LASUI respondents is one that resembles Card 3, roughly half white. It is equally clear that, once again, blacks are the least desirable neighbors, since the most desirable Asian–black neighborhood is one devoid of black neighbors.

This pattern is substantiated by responses to the question regarding willingness to enter each of the five neighborhoods. Asian respondents express the greatest resistance to all-Asian neighborhoods when considering integration with whites. Thus, Asians are nearly two to three times more willing to “pioneer” in all-white neighborhoods (72%) than in either an all-black (27%) or an all-Latino (45%) neighborhood. Willingness to enter neighborhoods with substantial numbers of blacks follows the expected pattern. Only 3% of Asians refuse the all same-race neighborhood, and the percentage of Asians unwilling to enter a neighborhood increases as it becomes more black. In the Asian–black scenario, the refusal rates for Cards 2 through 5 are 2, 10, 37, and 73%, respectively. The pattern for the Asian–Latino scenario is similar; the exception being that the Asian-only neighborhood is more undesirable than Cards 2 and 3. However, Asian refusals for

---

differences that support this argument. When whites are the potential neighbors, 27.2% of foreign-born Latinos chose the all same-race neighborhood as most attractive, compared to only 4.6% of native-born Latinos ( $p < .01$ ). Foreign-born Latinos are also more likely than native-born Latinos (84.5% and 63.8%, respectively) to prefer an all same-race neighborhood to sharing residential space with blacks ( $p < .001$ ). When considering residential integration with Asians, foreign-born Latinos are more likely than their native-born counterparts (58.7 and 45.5%, respectively) to express preferences for all co-ethnic neighborhoods ( $p < .001$ ).

## Asian Respondents



Source: 1993-94 LASUI

Darker houses represent target group

a  $p < .001$ ; b  $p < .01$ 

Fig. 9. Attractiveness of neighborhoods with varying degrees of integration with whites, blacks, and Latinos.

Latino neighborhoods 2 through 5 increase steadily from a low of 1% to a high of 55%.

Once again, it appears that neighborhood preferences are driven by the race of potential neighbors. Like Latinos and blacks, Asian respondents are much more open to integration with whites than with other non-whites. And, like whites and Latinos, Asians are least inclined to find integration with blacks attractive. All groups do, in fact, express strong preferences for substantially same-race neighborhoods, but also desire integration as opposed to segregation. This is particularly true among racial minority group members. Like Latinos, Asian preferences for substantial numbers of co-ethnic neighbors could be related to the large numbers of recent immigrants within their ranks, and the need for parallel cultural institutions during the transitional period<sup>8</sup> (Ong et al., 1992). Blacks continue to stand out as the group most likely to find substantial integration with all other groups to be attractive: more than 65% of blacks responded that Card 3 was the most attractive—regardless of the race of the target group (see Fig. 7). The only time that Latinos or Asians find this to be the case more than 48% of the time is in response to whites. White comfort in, or willingness to enter, a neighborhood that is just over 50% out-group (see Fig. 6, Card 5) is much more dependent upon target group race. If whites' current neighborhoods took on the characteristics of Card 5, a sizable majority say they would still feel comfortable there. However, the percentage of whites willing to enter the most integrated neighborhood is substantially lower for all out-groups, particularly for blacks and, to a lesser extent, Latinos.

Given these results, we cannot conclude that the high level of residential segregation experienced by blacks in Los Angeles is the result of black preferences for majority same-race neighborhoods. Substantial numbers of black respondents found the 50/50 neighborhood to be most attractive and only in situations of complete segregation or of complete isolation (i.e., pioneering) were blacks unwilling to enter a neighborhood where they found a nice home within their price range. However, it is possible that the lower tolerance for integration with blacks expressed by all other groups, functions as a barrier to increased integration. Finally, given the clear and persistent rank-ordering of out-groups—in which whites are indisputably the most desired neighbors, and blacks are, just as indisputably the least desirable—across racial lines, we must reject the notion that group preferences for neighborhoods with particular racial composi-

<sup>8</sup> As was true of Latinos, there are statistically significant differences in the residential preferences of native-born and foreign-born Asians. Foreign-born Asians are more likely than native-born Asians to find the all-Asian neighborhood most attractive when responding to the Asian-white scenario (21 and 3%, respectively). These figures increase to 54% of foreign-born Asians preferring an all co-ethnic neighborhood when the alternative involves integration with Latinos (a difference of +10.4%). Finally, the importance of the race of potential neighbors is clear—irrespective of immigrant status. Eighty-three percent of foreign-born Asians preferred the all-Asian neighborhood to any integration with blacks, as did 86% of native-born Asians.

tions reflect a universal, and therefore innocent, form of ethnocentrism (Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996).

### *Neighborhood Racial Preferences and Social Background Characteristics*

There is a great deal of variation in attitudes toward integration both within and across racial groups. Recognizing this, it is important to determine whether or not other social background factors beyond race itself are associated with tolerance for racial residential integration. To do this, we constructed a racial preference index (RPI) similar to the one used by Farley and colleagues (1978) for use in fuller multivariate analyses.

For white respondents, the RPI scores range from 0—low acceptance of racial residential integration—to 100—high acceptance of residential integration. A score of 25 is given for all neighborhoods where white respondents said they would feel “very comfortable,” a score of 20 is given for feeling “somewhat comfortable.” If whites feel “somewhat uncomfortable” or “very uncomfortable” in a neighborhood, but are willing to move into a neighborhood, they receive a score of 12.5. Whites who are either “somewhat” or “very” uncomfortable and unwilling to move into a neighborhood receive a score of zero. Finally, the scores for responses to all four neighborhoods are summed for each respondent.<sup>9</sup>

The RPI constructed for blacks, Latinos, and Asians is different, in that it is based on a different series of neighborhood preference questions (as described and analyzed above). Scores for the non-whites RPI range from 12.5—low acceptance for racially mixed neighborhoods—to 100—high acceptance of racial residential integration. Non-white respondents are asked to arrange five neighborhood show cards with varying degrees of integration from most to least attractive. To create the RPI, these five choices are each given scores where, like the overall scale, high values indicate acceptance of integration and low scores reflect the opposite. These scores are weighted by whether or not respondents express willingness to move into each neighborhood.<sup>10</sup> To arrive at the RPI, the five weighted values are summed for each respondent.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> A simple measure of favorability to residential integration was calculated for whites and correlated with the RPI to ensure that the concept being measured is not lost through the use of a scale. The simple measure is the total number of non-white houses pictured on each of the cards that individuals gave favorable comfort ratings to. The correlation between this simple measure and the RPI is .96 ( $p < .0001$ ,  $N = 799$ ). Thus, we are confident that the construction of the scale did not obscure the meanings of individual responses (see Colasanto 1977, Chapter 4).

<sup>10</sup> Neighborhoods other than the all same race alternative are multiplied by a factor of 1 if the respondent would move in, and by a factor of .5 if the respondents would not move in. This weight is reversed for the all same race alternative. For more detailed information regarding the construction of the racial preference index, see Colasanto (1977, Chapter 4).

<sup>11</sup> Like the white racial preference index, a simple measure of acceptance of integration was correlated with the racial preference index for non-white to ensure that translating responses into a scaled item did not result in a loss of information. The simple measure is a count of the out-group houses pictured on the neighborhood cards that respondents selected as their first and second choices.



Recall that the white RPI is based on a different set of questions than those used to compute the minority respondent RPI. The high mean preference scores of whites do not allow us to conclude that whites are more open to integration than non-whites. Our analysis of neighborhood racial preferences in the previous section suggests that the opposite is true.<sup>12</sup> When we look at mean scores by respondent and target group race, the racial preference hierarchy observed throughout our analysis is immediately observable. Despite overall high scores, whites are most accepting of residential integration with Asians (87.39) and least accepting of residential integration with blacks (69.59). As anticipated, white acceptance of integration with Latinos falls in between, with a mean RPI score of 78.16 ( $F = 39.23, p < .0001$ ).

Latinos and Asians follow similar preference patterns. Whites receive the highest mean racial preference score, 50.45 and 50.05, respectively. Consistent with the pattern of rank-ordering, blacks receive the lowest racial preference scores, averaging less than 30 among both Latino and Asian respondents. The mean target group (i.e., experimental ballot) differences among Latinos and Asians are statistically significant beyond the .001 level ( $F = 105.88$  for Latinos and  $F = 310.57$  for Asians). Blacks are the only group whose mean racial preference scores do not differ significantly across target groups ( $F = 1.89$ ). In short, blacks are the only group not to discriminate on the basis of race in their neighborhood composition preferences.

We now move to OLS regression analysis. For each racial category, the RPI is the dependent variable. Independent variables always include the following demographic variables: sex, age, education, income, and native versus non-native born status. Model I introduces independent effects for experimental ballot, or target group race.<sup>13</sup> Model II adds interactions between experimental ballot and the five demographic characteristics. Results are shown in Table 2.

The first column for each respondent race category reports regression coefficients for Model I, which includes demographic characteristics and experimental ballot variables. Blacks stand out as the only group for whom target group race does not predict acceptance of racial residential integration. This is consistent with our previous observation that blacks are at once the most open to integration and yet most often seen as the least desirable neighbors.

---

The correlation between this simple measure and the non-white racial preference index is .83 ( $p < .0001, N = 3092$ ). Once again, we are confident that the scale does not obscure information from individual responses.

<sup>12</sup> The structure of white respondent's neighborhood preference questions imposes a linearity that is not present in the structure of neighborhood preference questions posed to non-whites. Even more important are differences in the degree of integration that whites and non-whites are asked to consider. The neighborhood cards for white respondents range from all white to just over 50% other-race; however, non-whites consider degrees of integration ranging from all same-race to all other-race. Thus, the apparent high acceptance could be attributed to the fact that whites are not asked to imagine a situation where they are the only white family in the neighborhood (Colasanto, 1977, p. 100).

<sup>13</sup> For white respondents, the baseline target group is blacks; for blacks, Latinos, and Asians, the baseline target group is whites.

TABLE 2  
Multivariate Regression Coefficients Examining the Effects of Target Group Race and Selected Social Background Characteristics on Acceptance of Racial Residential Integration

	WHITES <sup>a</sup>		BLACKS <sup>b</sup>		LATINOS <sup>b</sup>		ASIANS <sup>b</sup>	
	Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II
Constant	72.27*	93.02*	32.88*	17.57*	28.68*	17.82*	51.21*	56.14*
Demographics								
Sex (male = 1)	.19	6.42	5.88*	3.83	1.15	3.77	-1.85	-5.19**
Age	-.17**	-.32**	.05	.21**	.27*	.31*	-.10**	-.26*
Education	.18	-.62	.12	.88**	.77*	.97*	.09	-.05
Income	-1.94	-1.68	-2.01	-8.07	6.50***	2.56*	5.80*	1.37*
Nativity (U.S. = 1)	4.74***	-2.59	2.21	-2.14	.39	.14	3.38***	6.32**
Experimental ballot <sup>c</sup>								
Black neighbors	—	—	—	—	-11.83*	-.91	-23.83*	-29.47*
Latino neighbors	7.48*	-8.05	-.07	16.09***	—	—	-19.97*	-28.76*
Asian neighbors	17.74*	-4.50	-2.25	11.40	-8.38*	-2.74	—	—
Interaction terms								
BN * Sex	—	—	—	—	—	-7.00***	—	4.79
BN * Age	—	—	—	—	—	-.07	—	.26**
BN * Education	—	—	—	—	—	-2.81**	—	-.37
BN * Income	—	—	—	—	—	-2.91**	—	-1.36*
BN * Nativity	—	—	—	—	—	-.69	—	-1.82
LN * Sex	—	-9.23***	—	2.34	—	—	—	7.15**
LN * Age	—	.23	—	-.28**	—	—	—	.23**
LN * Education	—	-.90	—	-.77	—	—	—	.03
LN * Income	—	-7.08	—	-4.70	—	—	—	-8.48***
LN * Nativity	—	11.85	—	-2.17	—	—	—	-7.52
AN * Sex	—	-6.86	—	1.11	—	-2.53	—	—
AN * Age	—	.19	—	-.11	—	-.06	—	—
AN * Education	—	1.39	—	-2.95*	—	.57	—	—
AN * Income	—	5.81	—	-1.46	—	-2.87*	—	—
AN * Nativity	—	9.44	—	.35	—	.74	—	—
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.1037	.1187	.0266	.0489	.2119	.2417	.4017	.4458
F	12.72*	6.62*	4.70*	3.87*	33.52*	16.87*	74.07*	36.26*
Mean RPI		79.68		39.77		38.65		34.83
SD		23.69		17.17		21.74		17.34
N		710		950		848		746

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

<sup>a</sup> The white racial preference index (RPI) is a scale based on responses to cards with varying degrees of integration. Scores range from 0—low acceptance of racial residential integration—to 100—high acceptance of racial residential integration.

<sup>b</sup> The non-white racial preference index is a scale based on responses to cards with varying degrees of integration that are slightly different than those used to compute the white racial preference index. Non-white racial preference index scores range from 12.5—low acceptance of racial residential integration—to 100—high acceptance of racial residential integration.

<sup>c</sup> The baseline experimental ballot for white respondents is black neighbors; for non-white respondents, it is white neighbors.

\*\*\*  $p < .0001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ .

Conversely, among whites, Latinos, and Asians, the importance of target group race in predicting attitudes toward residential integration is compelling. For all three groups, the pattern of rank-ordering persists, with blacks always at the bottom of the queue. White RPI scores for Latino and Asian neighbors are 7.5 and 17.7 points higher than they are for black neighbors ( $p < .0001$ ). Latino scores are 8 and 12 points lower for black and Asian neighbors, respectively, than for white neighbors ( $p < .0001$ ). And, most striking is the importance of race to an understanding of Asian neighborhood preferences. Asian RPI scores drop at least

20 points when considering residential integration with either blacks ( $-23.83$ ,  $p < .0001$ ) or Latinos ( $-19.97$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). Both of these effects exceed a standard deviation unit in magnitude.

Nativity is a significant predictor of Asian respondents' racial preference attitudes ( $3.38$ ,  $p < .05$ ), with native-born Asians showing more tolerance for racial residential integration than foreign-born Asians. This is also the case among white respondents ( $4.74$ ,  $p < .05$ ). However, contrary to our expectations, immigrant status is not a significant predictor of neighborhood racial preferences among Latinos, net of such other factors as age, education, and income. For both Latinos and Asians, there is a significant positive effect of income on RPI scores. Black men are more accepting of racially mixed neighborhoods than black women ( $5.88$ ,  $p < .0001$ ). Finally, the amount of variance explained for Latinos and Asians is substantially greater than for both whites and blacks. Standard demographic characteristics and target group race explain 41% of the variation in Asian's neighborhood racial preferences. For Latinos, the comparable figure is 22%. This is roughly half the variance explained for Asians, but still more than twice that explained by Model I for whites ( $r^2 = .10$ ), or blacks ( $r^2 = .03$ ).

Adding interactions between the five demographic characteristics and target group race (experimental ballot) enhances our understanding of white and black racial neighborhood preferences only slightly. Among white respondents, only one of 10 interactions produces a significant effect on racial preference scores: men tend to be less tolerant of integration with Latinos than women ( $-9.23$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

Among blacks, only two of the interactions produce significant effects. First, age has a more pronounced negative effect on RPI scores in reaction to potential Latino neighbors as compared to potential white neighbors. This may be due, in part, to the huge influx of Latino immigrants into traditionally black communities (e.g., South Central Los Angeles) during the last decade where many older blacks have remained (Johnson, Oliver, and Farrell, 1992). Second, education has a large negative effect on RPI scores when considering potential Asian neighbors, but tends to have positive effects with regard to potential neighbors who are Latino or white. This sharply differential effect may occur because highly educated blacks are more sensitive to the general image of some segments of the Asian community (i.e., Korean merchants) as exploitative and disrespectful of the black community.

A total of four interactions are statistically significant among Latino respondents. Men have lower RPI scores than women, and education has a negative effect on Latino RPI scores when the potential neighbors are black, as opposed to white or Asian. Finally, income has a negative effect on Latino preferences for integration with both blacks and Asians, relative to whites.

Asian respondents stand out with the most striking connections among target group race, social background characteristics and acceptance of racially mixed neighborhoods. Asian men are more tolerant of residential integration with Latinos than Asian women. Moreover, as income increases, Asian preferences for integration with both blacks and Latinos decreases. Interestingly, the decrease in

Asian acceptance of integration with Latinos ( $-8.48, p < .05$ ) is more than eight times the decrease in acceptance of integration with blacks ( $-1.36, p < .0001$ ). In addition, age has a slight positive effect on Asian preferences for integration with blacks, compared with potential integration with whites and Latinos. In this expanded model, nativity and target group race do not produce significant effects, suggesting that our previous hypotheses regarding Asian preferences for majority same-race neighborhoods might be a function of immigrant status are, at best, complicated by other demographic considerations.

Multivariate analyses support bivariate patterns: a racial hierarchy that nearly always finds whites on top and blacks at the bottom. Consistent with previous results, both here and elsewhere (Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996), blacks demonstrate greater overall acceptance of racial residential integration—irrespective of target group race or demographic characteristics. Finally, contrary to bivariate results, native-born status and target group race do not interact to significantly influence the neighborhood racial preferences of Latinos or Asians.

## CONCLUSIONS

Large cities in the United States were once properly understood as “chocolate cities” ringed by “vanilla suburbs.” Today, and increasingly in the future, it makes more sense to talk in terms of prismatic metropolises, composed of a broad spectrum of racial groups and cultures. Dramatic increases in racial diversity have not, however, brought an end to racial residential segregation. Our purpose has been to assess the processes contributing to racial residential segregation in these newly prismatic urban areas taking Los Angeles County as an important case in point. We examined three types of accounts for the relatively high and only slowly changing rates of segregation: (1) the cost and associated information levels about various neighborhoods, (2) mutual ethnocentric preferences for same-race neighborhoods, and (3) racial prejudice and discrimination. Of the three, our results lean most heavily in the direction of racial prejudice and discrimination as factors contributing to segregation, especially for the high rates of black–white separation.

Our results show great overlap in the housing expenditures of whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Los Angeles. There is substantial accuracy across groups in the perception of housing costs in different neighborhoods. Furthermore, groups do not differ widely in their perceptions of various communities as desirable or undesirable places to live, with these perceptions heavily linked to the cost of housing in an area and whether the area is majority minority or not. The more homes in an area are perceived to be worth, the more desirable the neighborhood. If minorities are in the majority, the more likely it is that whites and other-race minorities will see a neighborhood as less desirable. Consistent with other analyses of Census data (Kain 1986) and individual level data sources (Farley et al., 1978, 1993), cost, information about costs, and general neighborhood quality assessments do not appear to play much of a role in the sorting of racial groups into distinct residential communities.

There is some role for ethnocentrism, as suggested by a number of patterns in our data. Groups tend to exaggerate the value of homes in same-race dominated areas. Members of all groups tend to give higher desirability evaluations to areas of same-race predominance. And members of all groups tend to prefer majority same-race neighbors. Yet, ethnocentrism does not appear to be the deciding factor and there is no evidence of greater ethnocentrism among blacks as compared to other groups. For reasons outlined below, we think the racial prejudice and discrimination hypothesis better fits the full array of findings. It is worth emphasizing here, however, that all groups appear to want both integration and a significant number of same-race neighbors.

There is large and significant variation in which racial groups are seen as more desirable neighbors. Furthermore, several findings show that African Americans face the greatest obstacles in the search for housing. Blacks face the greatest likelihood of encountering hostilities from members of other groups. Blacks are consensually recognized as facing the greatest odds of encountering discrimination. Black neighborhoods, even if comparatively affluent (i.e., Baldwin Hills), are seen as less desirable. There is, in effect, a hierarchy of preference. At the top of the preference hierarchy are whites. Closely following whites in order of preference are Asians who, in turn, are followed by Latinos. At the bottom of the preference hierarchy are African-Americans.

These patterns cast ethnocentrism, especially black ethnocentrism and greater reluctance to become a "pioneer" family in a very different light. Neither blacks, Latinos, nor Asians look forward to the prospect of becoming a pioneer family, especially if entering an other-race minority-dominated community. Latinos and Asians, however, are a good deal more likely to consider "pioneering" in a white community than blacks are. Does this reflect greater black ethnocentrism? We think not. Blacks are generally the group most open to living in racially mixed neighborhoods and among the least likely to select an "all same race neighborhood" as a preferred location. Blacks are reluctant to pioneer for what seem to be quite sensible reasons: they are the most likely to encounter hostility from others and racial discrimination in the search for housing.

At some level we should not mince words on two scores. First, whites are quite plainly the "dominant racial group." Members of each minority group perceive white-dominated communities, especially the more affluent areas, as highly desirable places to live and save for concern over the isolation and hostility that may confront a lone pioneer family, are quite willing to live in white dominated areas. At no point do minorities view residence in other-race but minority dominated communities as attractive as residence in an otherwise comparable white community. The preferences of blacks, Latinos, and Asians reflect an orientation toward moving into a white dominated mainstream and a reluctance to become locked into minority, even same-race dominated areas. This presumably reflects ideas about the mix of resources, opportunities and costs that attach to residence in largely white as opposed to largely minority communities.

Second, it is not merely empirically untenable to assert that simple economics

or a morally innocent mutual ethnocentrism are major components of the process of racial residential segregation: these are egregiously mistaken analyses given our results and those of other recent studies (Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996; Farley et al., 1994; Galster, 1990, 1991; Galster and Keeney, 1988; Massey and Denton, 1993). Race matters. And it matters not merely because members of any given group prefer "their own kind," but because everyone is aware of and must adapt to the historically developed, structurally rooted, and psychologically unavoidable American racial order or hierarchy.

This prismatic city has many hues. Our results suggest that a distinct range of hues will continue to be a discernible part of the distribution of individuals and groups in residential space for the foreseeable future. Growing diversity elaborates and complicates the American racial formula or hierarchy, but it does not fundamentally uproot or shatter it.

## REFERENCES

- Bobo, L., Schuman, H., and Steeh, C. (1986). "Changing attitudes toward residential integration," *in* *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy* (J. M. Goering, Ed.), pp. 152–169, Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Bobo, L., Zubrinsky, C. L., Johnson, J. H. Jr., and Oliver, M. L. (1995). "Work orientation, job discrimination, and ethnicity: A focus group perspective," *in* *Research in the Sociology of Work* (R. L. Simpson and I. Harper Simpson, Eds.), Vol. 5, pp. 45–85, JAI Press, Greenwich, CT.
- Bobo, L., Zubrinsky, C. L., Johnson, J. H., Jr., and Oliver, M. L. (1994). "Public opinion before and after a spring of discontent," *in* *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future* (M. Baldassare, Ed.), pp. 103–133, Westview, New York.
- Bobo, L., and Zubrinsky, C. L. (1996). Attitudes toward residential integration: Perceived status differences, mere in-group preference, or racial prejudice? *Social Forces* **74**(3), 883–909.
- Clark, W. A. V. (1986). "Residential segregation in American cities: A review and interpretation," *Population Research and Policy Review* **7**, 113–121.
- Clark, W. A. V. (1992). "Residential preferences and residential choices in a multiethnic context," *Demography* **29**(3), 451–466.
- Colasanto, D. L. (1977). *The Prospects for Racial Integration in Neighborhoods: An Analysis of Residential Preferences in the Detroit Metropolitan Area*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.
- Denton, N. A., and Massey, D. S. (1988). "Residential segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians by socioeconomic status and generation," *Social Science Quarterly* **69**, 797–817.
- Farley, R., and Frey, W. H. (1994). "Changes in the segregation of Whites from Blacks during the 1980s: Small steps toward a more integrated society," *American Sociological Review* **59**(1), 23–45.
- Farley, R., Steeh, C., Krysan, M., Jackson, T., and Reeves, K. (1994). "Stereotypes and segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit area," *American Journal of Sociology* **100**(3), 750–800.
- Farley, R., Krysan, M., Jackson, T., Steeh, C., and Reeves, K. (1993). "Causes of continued racial residential segregation in Detroit: 'Chocolate city, vanilla suburbs' revisited," *Journal of Housing Research* **4**(1), 1–38.
- Farley, R., Schuman, H., Bianchi, S., Colasanto, D., and Hatchett, S. (1978). "Chocolate city, vanilla suburbs: Will the trend toward racially separate communities continue?" *Social Science Research* **7**, 319–344.
- Galster, G. C. (1988). "Residential segregation in American cities: A contrary Review," *Population Research and Policy Review* **7**, 93–112.

- Galster, G. C. (1989). "Residential segregation in American cities: A further response to Clark," *Population Research and Policy Review* **8**, 181–192.
- Galster, G. C. (1990). "Racial steering in urban housing markets: A review of the audit evidence," *The Review of Black Political Economy* **18**(3), 105–129.
- Galster, G. C. (1991). "Housing discrimination and urban poverty of African-Americans," *Journal of Housing Research* **2**(2), 87–122.
- Galster, G. C., and Keeney, M. W. (1988). "Race, residence, discrimination, and economic opportunity: Modeling the nexus of urban racial phenomena," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* **24**, 87–117.
- Harrison, R. J., and Weinberg, D. H. (1992a, May). Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in 1990, Paper presented at the Population Association of America Meeting, Denver, Co.
- Harrison, R. J., and Weinberg, D. H. (1992b, August). Changes in Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation, 1980–1990, Paper presented at the American Statistical Association Meeting, Boston, MA.
- Jackson, W. E., III. (1994). "Discrimination in mortgage lending markets as rational economic behavior: Theory, evidence, and public policy," in *African Americans and the New Policy Consensus: Retreat of the Liberal State* (M. E. Lashley and M Njeri Jackson, Eds.), pp. 157–178, Greenwood Press, Newport, CT.
- Jaynes, G. D., and Williams, R. M., Jr. (1989). *A Common Destiny: Blacks in American Society*, National Academy Press, Washington, DC.
- Johnson, J. H., Jr., and Farrell, W. C., Jr. (1993). "The fire this time: The genesis of the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992," *North Carolina Law Review* **71**(5), 1403–1420.
- Johnson, J. H., Jr., and Oliver, M. L. (1989). "Interethnic minority conflict in urban America: The effects of economic and social dislocations," *Urban Geography* **10**(5), 449–163.
- Johnson, J. H., Jr., Oliver, M. L., and Bobo, L. (1994). "Understanding the contours of deepening urban inequality: Theoretical underpinnings and research design of multi-city study," *Urban Geography* **15**(1), 77–89.
- Johnson, J. H., Jr., Oliver, M. L., and Farrell, W. C. (1992). "The Los Angeles rebellion: A retrospective view," *Economic development Quarterly* **6**(4), 356–372.
- Kain, J. F. (1986). "The influence of race and income on racial segregation and housing policy," in *Housing Desegregation and Federal Policy* (J. M. Goering, Ed.), pp. 99–118, Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Massey, D. S., and Denton, N. A. (1993). *American Apartheid*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Massey, D. S., and Fong, E. (1990). "Segregation and neighborhood quality: Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in the San Francisco Metropolitan area," *Social Forces* **69**(1), 15–32.
- Munnell, A. H., Brown, L. E., McEneaney, J., and Tootell, G. M. B. (1992). *Mortgage Lending in Boston: Interpreting HMDA Data*, Working paper 92-7, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.
- National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders. (1968). *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Dutton, New York.
- O'Neill, S. (1994). "Casa, sweet casa: Latino homebuyers are the fastest-growing group in the Los Angeles county real estate market," *Los Angeles Times*, December 4, p. K1, column 4.
- Ong, P. M., Lawrence, J. R., and Davidson, K. (1992). "Pluralism and Residential Patterns in Los Angeles," Unpublished paper, School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Pearce, D. M. (1979). "Gatekeepers and homeseekers: Institutional patterns in racial steering," *Social Problems* **26**, 325–342.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1973). "Attitudes on race and housing: A social psychological view," in *Segregation in Residential Areas* (A. H. Hawley and V. P. Rock, Eds.), pp. 43–58, National Academy of Sciences Press, Washington, DC.
- Schuman, H., and Bobo, L. (1988). "Survey-based experiments on white racial attitudes toward residential integration," *American Journal of Sociology* **94**, 273–299.
- Taeuber, K. E., and Taeuber, A. F. (1965). *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change*, Aldine, Chicago.

- Turner, E., and Allen, J. P. (1990). *An Atlas of Population Patterns in Metropolitan Los Angeles and Orange Counties*, California State University Department of Geography, Northridge.
- Turner, M. A., Struyk, R. J., and Yinger, J. (1991). *Housing Market Discrimination Study: Synthesis*, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, DC.
- Turner, M. A. (1992). "Discrimination in urban housing markets: Lessons from Fair Housing audits," *Housing Policy Debate* 3(2), 185–215.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1990). *Census of Population and Housing File STF3A*.
- Waldinger, R. (1989). "Immigration and urban change," *Annual Review of Sociology* 15, 211–232.
- Yinger, J. (1991). *Housing Market Discrimination Study: Incidence and variation in Discriminatory Behavior*, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Washington, DC.
- Zubrinisky, C. L. (1996). *I Have Always Wanted to Have a Neighbor Just Like You: Race and Residence in the City of Angels*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.