The Shape of Racial Residential Preferences: Findings from a New Methodology

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have carefully considered not just if racial residential preferences exist, but also if these preferences exist net of other neighborhood quality measures such as crime rates and school quality. In this study, we examine the form or shape of racial residential preferences for whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Using the 2003 and 2005 Houston Area Survey, we use a factorial experiment design to examine racial preferences net of a given neighborhood's crime rate, school quality, and housing values. We find that among whites, neighborhood desirability declines steadily as the proportion of blacks or Hispanics in a neighborhood increases, net of the proxies; there is no evidence of a threshold or tipping point. In contrast, black and Hispanic preferences are relatively flat, indicating neither group expresses strong preferences for any kind of neighborhood over another.

INTRODUCTION

The literature on racial residential preferences has carefully considered not just if various racial groups hold racial preferences, but also what form these preferences take. Researchers have generally established that there are indeed racial preferences (Emerson, Chai, and Yancey 2001; Krysan and Bader 2007; Lewis, Emerson, and Klineberg 2011), but that these preferences take different forms for whites and blacks. The literature suggests first, there may be a tipping point or threshold effect in whites preferences, whereby neighborhood desirability quickly decreases once a certain percent of racial others is present in a neighborhood (Schelling 1971; Clark 1991). In contrast, literature suggests that blacks strongly prefer 50-50 neighborhoods, meaning neighborhoods that are fifty percent black and fifty percent whites or other racial out-groups (Farley et al. 1993; Farley, Fielding, and Krysan 1997; Charles 2001, 2003).

Much of the work in the field suffers from two difficulties. First, racial preferences cannot be examined independent of factors commonly associated with race, such as school quality, home values, and crime rates; this means that when individuals express preference for particular types of neighborhoods, researchers commonly cannot directly assess how much those preferences are reflecting assumed neighborhood characteristics associated with race.

Second, much literature that has examined ideal neighborhoods has used the Farley-Shuman showcard methodology. Respondents are shown a set of cards of hypothetical neighborhoods, and are then asked to rank the neighborhoods in order of preferences. Whites typically choose minimally integrated neighborhoods as their "ideal" neighborhood, whereas blacks typically choose the 50-50 neighborhoods. The difficulty with this methodology is that very small differences in preference may be exaggerated by using an ordinal ranking system as opposed to an intervalized preference structure. In fact, the methodology may bias respondents toward exhibiting racial preferences; unless a respondent volunteered "I don't know" or something similar when asked their ideal neighborhood, they may simply choose one of the options. An examination of neighborhood preferences using a different measurement of responses may indicate a different shape to racial residential preferences.

We use a factorial experiment design to assess the shape of residential neighborhood preferences for whites, blacks, and Hispanics. We use data from the 2003 and 2005 Houston Area Survey, an annual telephone survey of public opinion in Harris County, Texas. Two-stage random-digit dialing was used to select respondents, and interviews were conducted in English and Spanish in March of 2003 and 2005. Oversamples of blacks and Hispanics ensured approximately 500 interviews for each group.

MEASURING PREFERENCES

The showcard methodology developed in the 1970s by Farley et al. (1978) is perhaps most influential method of measuring racial preferences. As part of the Detroit Area Survey, respondents were shown cards with houses colored black and what, representing black and white residents of a hypothetical neighborhood. The number of white and black houses on the cards varied from all white to all black. Respondents were asked to choose the card for the neighborhood was the most attractive, as well as a second choice. In additiona, respondents were asked about their level of comfort with a variety of the neighborhood choices. The showcard methodology was replicated in the 1992-1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI), but modified to include Hispanics and Asians (Charles 2001; Farley et al. 1993, 1997; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996).

Overall, the showcard methodology has provided great insight into neighborhood preferences for all groups. One shortcoming of the method is that it is impossible to determine whether respondents are reacting to race itself, or the neighborhood characteristics often associated with race, such as crime rates and school quality (Charles 2000; Emerson et al. 2001; Lewis et al. 2011). This means, for example, that when whites, Hispanics, and Asians express discomfort with higher levels of integration with blacks, we cannot determine if that is a direct response to the race of hypothetical neighbors or a response to perceived levels of crime or school quality they associate with such neighborhoods.

Several studies have used preference for actual neighborhoods to address questions of neighborhood racial preferences. Work using both the Detroit Area Survey (DAS) and the MCSUI has asked people about actual neighborhoods in their city to examine the links between racial composition and neighborhood desirability (Charles 2001). There are two major

limitations in using actual neighborhoods to measure racial preferences. First, given current levels of segregation, there are generally a very limited set of neighborhoods. For example, neighborhoods in the DAS typically had at least 93% of a single race in a given neighborhood; while knowing preferences for these kinds of neighborhoods is informative, it cannot tell us much about the shape of neighborhood preferences for other kinds of neighborhoods, such as the 50-50 neighborhoods often chosen by blacks as most desirable from showcard methodology. In addition, actual neighborhoods have histories, reputations, schools, amenities, and other characteristics. While this more closely reflects reality than hypothetical neighborhoods, it is complicating to researchers attempting to single out the role of racial composition in neighborhood preferences.

A third source of data on racial preferences come from data on the factors associated locational attainment or residential movement (Alba and Logan 1991; Logan et al. 1996; Clark and Ledwith 2007; Rosenbaum and Friedman 2001; Woldoff 2008). Complicating research on preferences alone is the fact that where people is the end result of a great number of processes beyond simply preferences—affordability, housing and lending market practices, market information, housing preferences, and socioeconomic differences are just a few. Given limited information on these other processes, it is difficult (if not impossible) to sort out the role of racial preferences in locational attainment. As such, locational attainment is often viewed by researchers as a measure of assimilation or integration rather than a measure of racial preferences.

The fourth and most recently developed way of measuring racial preferences makes use of vignettes. The vignette methodology is predicated upon the idea that for the purpose of understanding how race shapes neighborhood preferences, hypothetical neighborhoods allow a

more pure understanding of racial preferences by allowing researchers to disentangle competing, related influences on an outcome (Durham 1986; Hunter and McClelland 1991; Rossi and Anderson 1982; Shlay et al. 2005). In the case of racial preferences, researchers have used both phone surveys (Emerson et al. 2001; Lewis et al. 2011) and video vignettes (Krysan et al. 2009) to test for the influence of racial makeup of a neighborhood independent of commonly cited proxies such as crime rates and school quality.

THE SHAPE OF RACIAL PREFERENCES

The methodologies outlined above have yielded numerous empirical results on the preferences of each race group.

White preferences

Most studies from a range of methods have shown whites' express some racial preferences. Results from the showcard methodology have generally shown that whites were open to low levels of integration, but most object as the proportion of blacks increased. In the first studies conducted in the 1970s, whites expressed substantial resistance to even minimal levels of integration. A quarter said that even a single black neighbor would make them uncomfortable, 40% said they would leave an area that was on-third black, and the vast majority would leave a majority black neighborhoods (Farley et al. 1978). By the time the experiment was replicated in the 1990s, white comfort with minorities had increased; at that time, 60% of whites expressed comfort in a neighborhood one-third black, although only 45% expressed they would be willing to move into such a neighborhood (Charles 2001). A rank ordering of whites'

preferences became apparent, with whites most comfortable with Asians and least comfortable with blacks (Charles et al. 2001; Farley et al. 1997; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996).

Re-analyzing some of the same showcard data, Bruch and Mare (2006) showed that the 1976 Detroit Area Survey data presented a clear picture of a threshold effect mong whites, where few whites preferred neighborhoods more than even 10% non-white. Analysis of the later 1992-1994 data still showed a clear threshold for whites, whereby the most popular neighborhoods among whites were by far the least integrated, although mixed neighborhoods were more popular than they had been two decades before. Deeper analysis showed that whites could be split into two groups: a small proportion of whites who strongly preferred white-only neighborhoods, and the majority of whites who expressed declining preferences for a neighborhood as the proportion of whites declined.

Studies of actual neighborhoods have also shown whites' to express racial neighborhood preferences. The MCSUI asked respondents about desirability of neighborhoods in their metropolitan area (Charles 2001). In general, there was substantial agreement across racial groups on which neighborhoods were the most desirable; these generally were neighborhoods that were high-proportion white. Other work form the MCSUI has shown that communities with the highest proportion of minorities were rated the least desirable (Krysan 2002). In another study utilizing actual neighborhoods, Krysan and Bader (2007) found that real Detroit neighborhoods were less desirable as the proportion non-white increased, above and beyond the influence of other neighborhood characteristics.

Vignette studies have also shown the impact of race on white preferences. Emerson et al. (2001) read respondents a short vignette about a neighborhood with randomly generated combinations of neighborhood characteristics including racial makeup, housing values, crime

rate, and school quality. Using multivariate analysis, they were then able then examine the independent influence of each characteristic on the outcome. This work found that whites expressed they were less likely to want to buy a home as the percent black in a hypothetical neighborhood increased, independent of the commonly proxies of neighborhood quality; there was no impact of Hispanic or Asian neighborhood composition. In following work, Lewis et al. (2011) used a similar vignette design to examine the preferences of not just whites, but also blacks and Latinos. They found that both black and Hispanic neighborhood composition had a negative impact on whites' stated likelihood of buying a home (net of neighborhood quality proxies), although Asian neighborhood composition had no effect.

Black preferences

Minorities generally show different patterns of neighborhood preferences. Blacks in general rank highly integrated neighborhoods (such as those split half and half) as the most attractive (Farley et al. 1993, 1997; Charles 2001). In the very first experiment using showcards, for example, a full 85% of blacks chose the 50-50 integrated neighborhood as their first or second choice neighborhood (Farley et al. 1978). Reanalyzing the showcard data, Bruch and Mare (2006) showed that in the 1976 DAS data blacks strongly preferred integrated neighborhoods, with 50-50 neighborhoods most preferred. In the later 1992-1994 MCSUI data, blacks as a group showed equal preferences for integrated neighborhoods and all-black neighborhoods (with neighborhoods that were 40% black/60% non-black and all black neighborhoods both at a 0.3 probability of choice); further analysis decomposing this pattern showed that a few respondents expressed strong preference for an entirely same-race

neighborhood, whereas most blacks expressed moderately declining preference for a neighborhood as the proportion of black in the neighborhood decreased.

In contrast to these showcard studies that find evidence of black preference for integrated neighborhoods, vignette studies showed that black respondents expressed no racial preferences (Lewis et al. 2011) as measured by either a linear or quadratic function.

Hispanic and Asian preferences

An emerging literature has started examining Hispanic and Asian neighborhood preferences. The MCSUI provided some of the first evidence on Hispanic and neighborhood racial preferences (Charles 2001). The showcard studies revealed that Hispanic and Asian preferences for integration depended on the out-group. Hispanics and Asians both highly rated neighborhoods integrated with whites (even as more desirable than Hispanic-only or Asian-only neighborhoods). In contrast, both groups preferred neighborhoods with low levels of integration with blacks. Due to the methodological limitations of the showcard data, it was impossible to know if the reluctance expressed toward increasingly black neighborhoods was truly racial or associated with the same proxies of neighborhood quality that are problematic among white respondents. Testing this, the vignette study by Lewis et al. (2011) found no evidence of Hispanic racial preferences toward either blacks or Asians.

THE RESEARCH GAP

We seek to understand the shape of whites', blacks', and Hispanics' racial neighborhood preferences. In particular, we aim to examine not just if preferences exist, but also what form these preference take. For example, do whites show a threshold effect for neighborhood

preferences? Do blacks express a strong preference for racially integrated neighborhoods? And what is the shape of Hispanic neighborhood preferences? Unfortunately most studies that have examined these questions have been unable to separate the impact of neighborhood racial composition from other aspects of neighborhood quality often associated with neighborhood quality. As such, we hope to examine the shape of racial preferences independent of other neighborhood quality. We do this using vignettes in the factorial experiment design.

Our method provides several distinct advantages. First, we offer a full range of neighborhood compositions from 0 to 100 percent of a given other race. The Farley-Schuman showcard methodology, for example, presents a limited number of neighborhoods to respondents, meaning respondents are limited in the types of neighborhoods they respond to. Studies of actual neighborhoods are limited to the racial composition of existing neighborhoods; in fact, very few neighborhoods are highly integrated, and so respondents cannot express preference for integrated neighborhoods.

In addition, by using a factorial experiment methodology we are able to control for the commonly stated non-racial reasons that whites give for not wanting to live in racially integrated or predominantly black or Hispanic neighborhoods; namely, that these neighborhoods tend to have higher crime, worse schools, or declining property values. This allows us to examine if in fact there is an independently *racial* tipping point. We know of no other research on tipping points that takes into account these proxy variables. By ignoring these variables, tipping point research runs the risk of conflating an independently *racial* tipping point in preferences with a tipping point in preferences that may be in fact due to white Americans assuming that neighborhoods over a certain proportion minority are bad

DATA AND METHODS

Data

We use data from the 2003 and 2005 Houston Area Survey, an annual public opinion survey in Harris County, Texas. The survey is conducted out of Rice University and has run annually every year since 1982. A two-stage random-digit-dialing procedure is used and the survey is conducted over the phone. Respondents are selected randomly from the residents aged 18 or older from each household reached. The questionnaire is translated into Spanish using back translation and the reconciliation of discrepancies, and respondents may use either English or Spanish for the survey. The data here were collected during February and March of 2003 and 2005.

In addition to the random sample of all Harris County residents, oversamples are collected to achieve a sample size of 500 black and 500 Hispanic respondents. These additional interviews are conducted using identical random selection procedures, ending the interview after the first few questions if a respondent is not of the required ethnic background. The oversamples ensure large enough sample sizes of each of the three major racial and ethnic groups of the city of Houston: blacks, whites, and Hispanics. The response rates for the Houston Area Survey were 53% in 2003 and 48% in 2005, indicating the percent of completed interviews to all possible numbers dialed in the telephone samples. Of the numbers where a live person was reached on the phone, 80% of households completed interviews.[1]

Factorial Experiment Design

We use a factorial experiment modeled after Emerson et al. (2001) and replicated by Lewis et al. (2011), sometimes referred to as a vignette study. Each respondent is told a vignette about looking for a house to buy, then given a randomly generated set of neighborhood

characteristics; they are then asked how likely they were to buy the home in question. Neighborhood characteristics randomly generated included the racial composition of the neighborhood, crime rate, school quality, and housing values. The racial composition was expressed as a percent of the respondent's racial group and one given outgroup. For example, a white respondent might hear, "Checking on the neighborhood, you find that it is 30% white, 70% Hispanic." A black respondent might hear, "Checking on the neighborhood, you find that it is 90% black, 10% white." Each respondent heard just one vignette and was asked how likely it was (from very unlikely to very likely) that they would buy the home in question.

The factorial experiment design is a powerful tool for two reasons. First, in addition to varying racial characteristics, the respondents also hear a random combination of other neighborhood characteristics (school quality, crime rate, and housing values). This allows us to control for proxy variables in examining the independent impact of race. Each group (whites, blacks, and Hispanics) was asked about neighborhoods that were combination of their racial group and one of the two other out-groups; thus while each respondent hears only one vignette with a randomly generated racial composition, overall we are able to assess each racial group's preference toward each out-group. Thus, about one-third of whites were asked about black-white neighborhoods, another third were asked about Hispanic-white neighborhoods, and the final third was asked about Asian-white neighborhoods.

Previously analyzing this data, Lewis et al. (2011) discovered that while for black and Hispanic respondents only the neighborhood proxies (schools, crime, and housing values) were important in neighborhood desirability, among white respondents race played a powerful role; whites found neighborhoods less desirable as the proportion of blacks and Hispanics grew, although there was no impact of Asian neighborhood composition.

We go past previous studies by not simply examining if there is a racial effect, but by examining the shape of racial preferences. For whites, we aim to determine if a threshold or tipping point is driving the effects of black and Hispanic neighborhood composition. For blacks, we aim to determine if 50-50 neighborhoods are in fact the most desirable. We also examine Hispanics, a group whose preferences are less commonly studied than the other racial groups.

We analyze data by using ordered logit regression models for each racial composition pair. Thus, we run one set of models for whites asked about black-white neighborhoods, another set of models for whites asked about Hispanic-white neighborhoods, and another for whites asked about Asian-white neighborhoods. We also run three sets of models for blacks and three for Hispanics to account for all of the neighborhood types. In each model, we control for a set of individual and family characteristics (such as education, gender, income, age, home ownership, marital and parental status) as well as the racial proxies of school quality, crime rate, and home values.

RESULTS

For ease of presentation, we have presented figures of predicted probabilities while including full regression results in an appendix. Ordered logit models are used to create predicted probabilities of a respondent saying he or she would be "very likely" to buy the home in question[2]. The predicted probability of a respondent saying he or she would be "very likely" to buy the home in question is presented by the percent of a given racial out-group in the hypothetical neighborhood. All control variables and other neighborhood proxies are held at their means. For each line presented in the following graphs, there are underlying logit models with Ns of between 275 and 400 respondents.

Figure 1 shows that whites' show a clear decline in desirability of a home as the proportion of either blacks or Hispanics in a neighborhood increases. The underlying regression models (Tables 1 and 2 in the appendix) indicate that both of these lines show significant trends. Notably, there is no evidence of a threshold or tipping point in whites preferences, but rather the preferences seem to indicate a steady decline over the full range of neighborhood combinations.

Figure 2 shows blacks' preferences; the predicted probability being "very likely" to buy the home in question is shown as it relates to the proportion of whites or Hispanics in the neighborhood. These lines do not show strong trends, and the underlying regression models (Tables 3 and 4 in the appendix) indicate that neither line has a statistically significant trend. In sum, it does not appear that blacks' exhibit strong neighborhood racial preferences. Notably, there is no peak in neighborhood desirability in the middle of the spectrum, meaning this data shows no evidence that blacks prefer 50-50 neighborhoods over any other types of neighborhoods.

Figure 3 illustrates Hispanic preferences. The only visible pattern of Hispanic preferences seems to be perhaps a mild aversion to entirely Hispanic neighborhoods (the 0 value on the x-axis) and entirely non-Hispanic neighborhoods (the 100 value on the x-axis). The lines are essentially flat, indicating that at no level of an out-group does race matter for neighborhood desirability. The underlying regression models (Tables 5 and 6 in the appendix) show that the coefficients are not significant, indicating no statistically significant trends in these lines.

A few other points are worth noting here. For many of the groups, neighborhoods presented as 100% a respondents' own race are slightly less desirable than other neighborhoods. In addition, there is some evidence of this also at the high end on for Hispanic residents; neighborhoods described as 100% Hispanic were slightly less desirable than other

neighborhoods. Finally, the relative level of the lines deserves note—whites overall express more negative preferences to any given neighborhood than blacks or Hispanics.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper presents for the first time data on the form of racial neighborhood preferences net of the influence of other neighborhood quality characteristics such as crime rates and school quality. Using a more measure of racial composition that can be separated from neighborhood characteristics allows us to examine the shape of racial preferences as they exist apart from other factors that influence neighborhood desirability.

Overall, our results indicate that whites express that a neighborhood is less desirable as the proportion of either blacks or Hispanics increases, and this trend is relatively linear. Our data show no indication of any threshold or tipping point in whites' neighborhood preferences, but rather a slow and steady decline in desirability as the presence of each of these groups increases in a neighborhood. In contrast, blacks and Hispanics show no clear pattern of racial preferences, as evidenced by their relatively flat lines regarding neighborhood desirability by neighborhood racial composition.

Other small findings emerged as a result of this work. Nearly all groups expressed some distaste for neighborhoods that were 100% their own race group. This may suggest that whites, blacks, and Hispanics prefer low levels of integration to no integration; cynically, it may suggest that when the question was phrased this way, respondents may have recognized the question was about race and responded in a socially desirable way. Still, this finding is of note given previous work has not necessarily found such aversions.

Second, whites expressed that overall neighborhoods had lower desirability than either blacks or Hispanics did, as evidenced by the overall lower mean scores. This may reflect more stringent preferences among whites, or a "higher bar" in what whites consider an acceptable neighborhood. Further research would be needed to test that hypothesis.

This study has several important limitations. Vignettes read on the phone may be difficult for respondents to respond to, as they involve a relatively large amount of information. The fact that our neighborhood quality variables are significant in the expected directions suggests that respondents are able to respond to the information they are given, but this could still be a concern. In addition, this work faces the limitations of all studies that use hypothetical neighborhoods and stated preferences. Namely, the preferences may not be salient as they are of "hypothetical" neighborhoods. Additionally, given stated preferences are attitudinal measures, it is unclear exactly what connection these attitudes have to behavior. Finally, our study is not nationally representative, as it involves the residents of one metropolitan area. While this is common to a number of studies regarding racial preferences, it inherently limits our ability to generalize the full US population.

Despite the limitations, this work provides a unique examination of the shape or form of racial residential preferences separate from the impact of measures of neighborhood quality. Results suggest that neither blacks nor Hispanics express strong racial preferences at any part of the racial composition spectrum. This contradicts some previous work that has found a preference among blacks for integrated neighborhoods over all-black or all-non-black neighborhoods. In addition, we find that whites express declining preferences for a neighborhood as the proportion of either blacks or Hispanics increase, and in this data the magnitude of preferences are very similar for either outgroup.

Figure 1: Predicted probabilities from ordered logit regressions show that whites are less likely to say they would buy a home in question as the proportion of blacks and Hispanics in the neighborhood increases

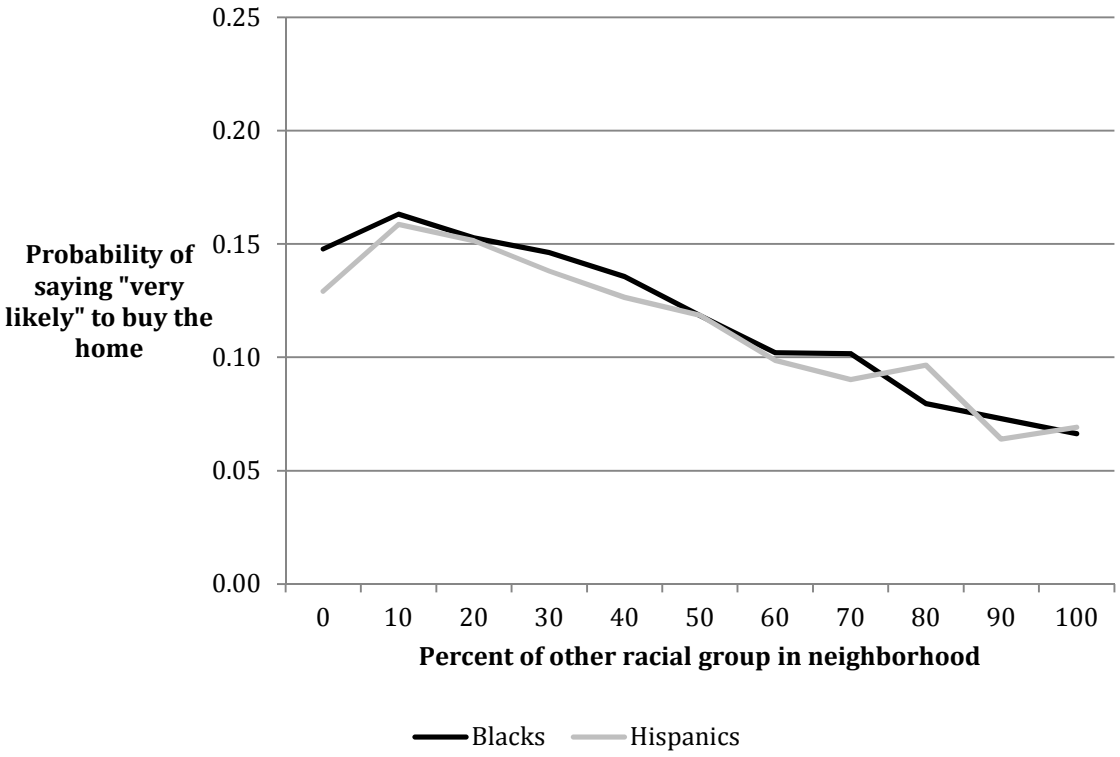


Figure 2: Predicted probabilities from ordered logit regressions show that blacks express no clear pattern of neighborhood preferences

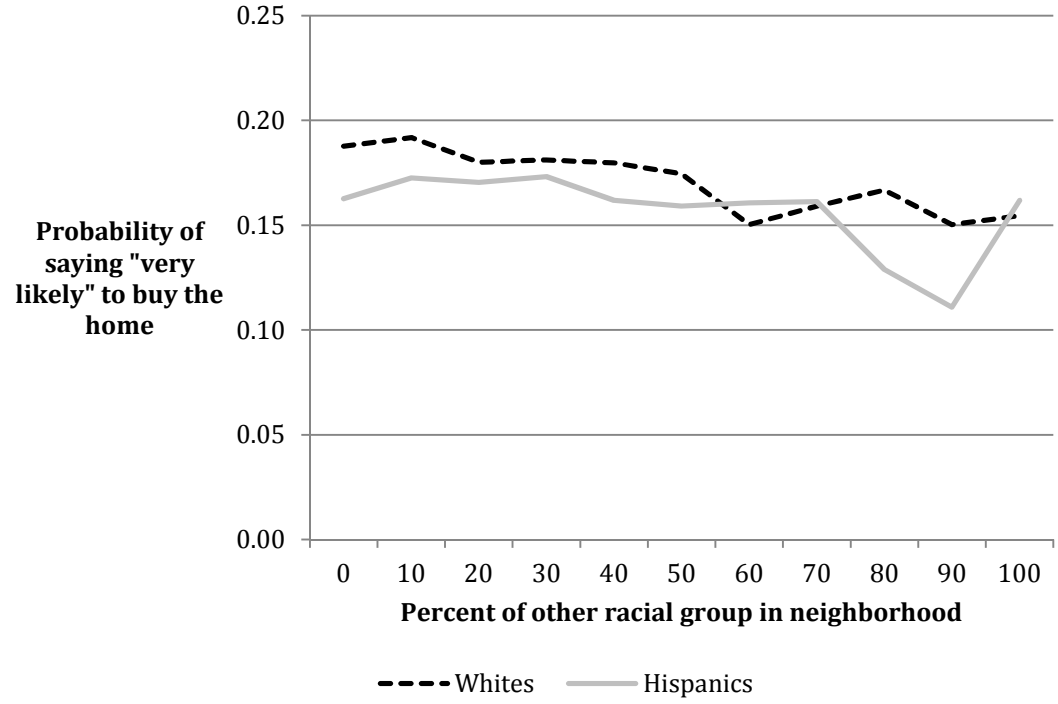
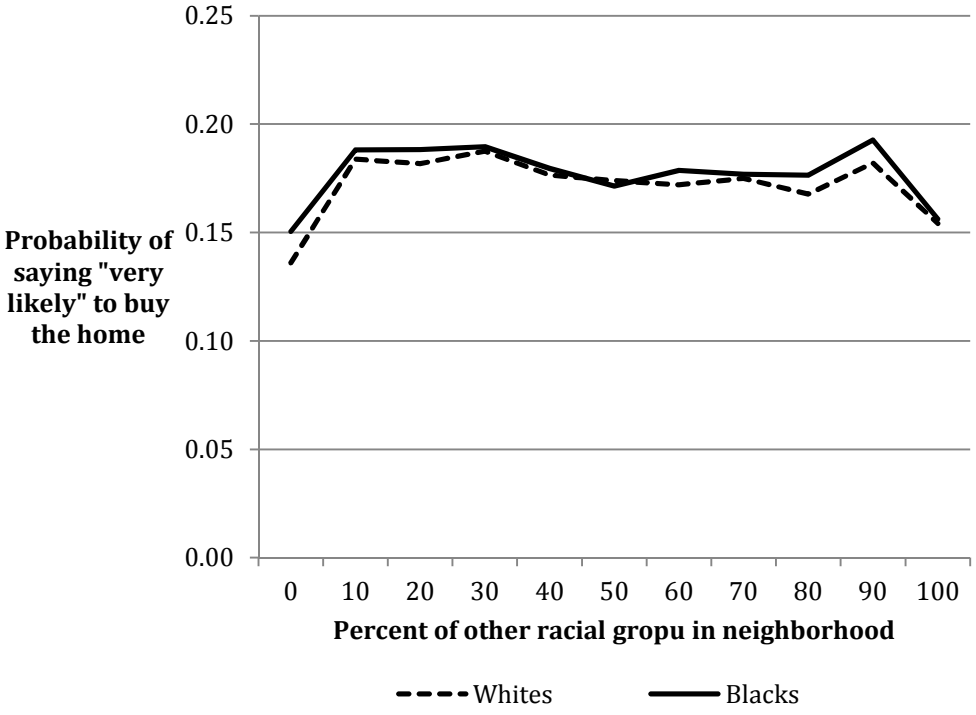


Figure 3: Predicted probabilities from ordered logit regressions show that Hispanic neighborhood preferences are relatively flat



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APPENDIX: REGRESSION TABLES

ordered logit models for whites asked about white-black neighborhoods

	Percent outgroup								
10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
0.144	-0.332	-0.363+	-0.520**	-0.718***	-0.866***	-0.756***	-1.021***	-1.051***	-1.118***
(0.47)	(-1.41)	(-1.75)	(-2.66)	(-3.80)	(-4.56)	(-3.82)	(-4.65)	(-4.21)	(-3.29)
-1.192***	-1.229***	-1.219***	-1.249***	-1.261***	-1.243***	-1.256***	-1.255***	-1.235***	-1.265***
(-6.24)	(-6.38)	(-6.36)	(-6.47)	(-6.53)	(-6.45)	(-6.52)	(-6.51)	(-6.43)	(-6.55)
0.853***	0.876***	0.878***	0.921***	0.926***	0.928***	0.875***	0.870***	0.840***	0.787***
(4.55)	(4.65)	(4.66)	(4.85)	(4.88)	(4.89)	(4.64)	(4.61)	(4.47)	(4.18)
1.027***	1.048***	1.045***	1.073***	1.118***	1.109***	1.074***	1.149***	1.127***	1.071***
(5.49)	(5.59)	(5.58)	(5.70)	(5.89)	(5.85)	(5.70)	(6.02)	(5.92)	(5.68)
-0.0125*	-0.0130*	-0.0132*	-0.0132*	-0.0141*	-0.0129*	-0.0126*	-0.0124*	-0.0126*	-0.0135*
(-2.10)	(-2.19)	(-2.22)	(-2.22)	(-2.36)	(-2.16)	(-2.11)	(-2.06)	(-2.11)	(-2.25)
-0.0217	-0.0188	-0.0177	-0.0159	-0.0177	-0.0151	-0.0117	-0.00506	-0.0153	-0.0262
(-0.62)	(-0.53)	(-0.50)	(-0.45)	(-0.50)	(-0.42)	(-0.33)	(-0.14)	(-0.44)	(-0.74)
-0.0318	-0.0158	0.000208	0.0126	0.0108	0.0304	-0.000265	-0.0190	-0.0305	-0.0373
(-0.17)	(-0.09)	(0.00)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.16)	(-0.00)	(-0.10)	(-0.17)	(-0.20)
-0.0328	-0.0265	-0.0252	-0.0228	-0.0276	-0.0141	-0.0118	0.0115	0.00562	0.00987
(-0.13)	(-0.11)	(-0.10)	(-0.09)	(-0.11)	(-0.06)	(-0.05)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)
0.815+	0.757+	0.702	0.706	0.711	0.677	0.696	0.712	0.803+	0.866+
(1.82)	(1.70)	(1.57)	(1.58)	(1.58)	(1.48)	(1.54)	(1.56)	(1.77)	(1.93)

Married	-0.199 (-0.92)	-0.224 (-1.03)	-0.235 (-1.08)	-0.235 (-1.08)	-0.229 (-1.05)	-0.230 (-1.05)	-0.216 (-0.99)	-0.196 (-0.89)	-0.174 (-0.80)	-0.197 (-0.90)
Children under 18	-0.604** (-2.83)	-0.606** (-2.84)	-0.588** (-2.76)	-0.592** (-2.77)	-0.612** (-2.86)	-0.617** (-2.88)	-0.640** (-2.99)	-0.601** (-2.80)	-0.639** (-2.98)	-0.612** (-2.86)
Interviewer ethnicity	0.124 (0.61)	0.111 (0.54)	0.113 (0.55)	0.134 (0.65)	0.156 (0.76)	0.191 (0.93)	0.231 (1.12)	0.182 (0.88)	0.200 (0.97)	0.144 (0.70)
N	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438

Table 2: Results from ordered logit models for whites asked about white-Hispanic neighborhoods

	Percent outgroup									
	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Outgroup	0.281	-0.162	-0.385+	-0.535**	-0.592**	-0.835***	-0.852***	-0.715**	-1.144***	-1.026*
	(0.91)	(-0.68)	(-1.89)	(-2.73)	(-3.06)	(-4.19)	(-4.02)	(-3.12)	(-4.01)	(-2.35)
Crime rate	-1.688***	-1.697***	-1.710***	-1.717***	-1.695***	-1.729***	-1.717***	-1.701***	-1.758***	-1.730***
	(-8.26)	(-8.31)	(-8.36)	(-8.38)	(-8.28)	(-8.38)	(-8.34)	(-8.29)	(-8.47)	(-8.41)
School Quality	1.346***	1.347***	1.365***	1.388***	1.351***	1.419***	1.396***	1.348***	1.402***	1.384***
	(6.82)	(6.82)	(6.89)	(6.97)	(6.81)	(7.08)	(6.99)	(6.80)	(7.01)	(6.95)
Home values	0.638***	0.647***	0.647***	0.661***	0.641***	0.675***	0.711***	0.687***	0.670***	0.695***
	(3.30)	(3.36)	(3.36)	(3.42)	(3.32)	(3.48)	(3.65)	(3.55)	(3.45)	(3.58)
Age	-0.00422	-0.00421	-0.00461	-0.00599	-0.00590	-0.00621	-0.00689	-0.00542	-0.00512	-0.00438
	(-0.68)	(-0.68)	(-0.74)	(-0.96)	(-0.94)	(-0.99)	(-1.10)	(-0.87)	(-0.82)	(-0.71)
Education	-0.0270	-0.0271	-0.0222	-0.0258	-0.0246	-0.0266	-0.0315	-0.0240	-0.0192	-0.0311
	(-0.70)	(-0.71)	(-0.58)	(-0.67)	(-0.64)	(-0.69)	(-0.82)	(-0.63)	(-0.50)	(-0.81)
Female	0.0343	0.0431	0.0601	0.0886	0.109	0.0429	0.0421	0.0539	0.0594	0.0548
	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.32)	(0.46)	(0.57)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.31)	(0.29)
Home owner	-0.479+	-0.476+	-0.493*	-0.483+	-0.470+	-0.475+	-0.488+	-0.473+	-0.471+	-0.432+
	(-1.92)	(-1.91)	(-1.97)	(-1.93)	(-1.87)	(-1.87)	(-1.91)	(-1.87)	(-1.86)	(-1.73)
Foreign born	-0.0537	-0.0857	-0.105	-0.129	-0.0881	-0.107	-0.0656	-0.0809	-0.205	-0.0850
	(-0.12)	(-0.19)	(-0.23)	(-0.29)	(-0.20)	(-0.24)	(-0.15)	(-0.18)	(-0.46)	(-0.19)
Married	-0.160	-0.179	-0.199	-0.233	-0.241	-0.285	-0.216	-0.205	-0.201	-0.198
	(-0.77)	(-0.86)	(-0.95)	(-1.11)	(-1.14)	(-1.34)	(-1.02)	(-0.98)	(-0.96)	(-0.95)

Children under 18	-0.0424	-0.0302	-0.0225	-0.0368	-0.0130	0.0227	-0.0225	-0.0196	-0.0682	-0.0296
	(-0.20)	(-0.14)	(-0.11)	(-0.18)	(-0.06)	(0.11)	(-0.11)	(-0.09)	(-0.32)	(-0.14)
Interviewer ethnicity	0.0387	0.0327	0.0531	0.0660	0.0811	0.0923	0.111	0.101	0.0835	0.0392
	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.25)	(0.31)	(0.38)	(0.43)	(0.52)	(0.47)	(0.39)	(0.18)
Cutpoint 1	-1.275+	-1.657*	-1.747*	-1.913**	-1.870**	-1.974**	-1.967**	-1.689*	-1.639*	-1.597*
	(-1.72)	(-2.28)	(-2.47)	(-2.68)	(-2.64)	(-2.78)	(-2.76)	(-2.41)	(-2.35)	(-2.29)
Cutpoint 2	-0.333	-0.714	-0.798	-0.956	-0.911	-0.997	-0.991	-0.727	-0.665	-0.644
	(-0.45)	(-0.99)	(-1.13)	(-1.35)	(-1.29)	(-1.41)	(-1.40)	(-1.04)	(-0.96)	(-0.93)
Cutpoint 3	1.029	0.645	0.568	0.420	0.472	0.401	0.398	0.650	0.719	0.724
	(1.38)	(0.89)	(0.80)	(0.59)	(0.67)	(0.57)	(0.56)	(0.93)	(1.03)	(1.04)
N	408	408	408	408	408	408	408	408	408	408

Table 3: Results from ordered logit models for blacks asked about black-white neighborhoods

	Percent outgroup									
	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Outgroup	0.0754	-0.349	-0.234	-0.188	-0.243	-0.502**	-0.334+	-0.219	-0.319	-0.297
	(0.24)	(-1.46)	(-1.11)	(-0.98)	(-1.30)	(-2.68)	(-1.74)	(-1.06)	(-1.29)	(-0.98)
Crime rate	-1.558***	-1.548***	-1.553***	-1.551***	-1.539***	-1.537***	-1.545***	-1.548***	-1.546***	-1.563***
	(-7.96)	(-7.91)	(-7.94)	(-7.93)	(-7.86)	(-7.85)	(-7.90)	(-7.92)	(-7.91)	(-7.99)
School Quality	0.778***	0.786***	0.785***	0.786***	0.802***	0.845***	0.812***	0.784***	0.785***	0.781***
	(4.14)	(4.18)	(4.18)	(4.18)	(4.25)	(4.44)	(4.29)	(4.17)	(4.18)	(4.16)
Home values	0.322+	0.322+	0.323+	0.326+	0.330+	0.338+	0.324+	0.315+	0.301	0.300
	(1.74)	(1.74)	(1.75)	(1.76)	(1.79)	(1.83)	(1.75)	(1.71)	(1.63)	(1.62)
Age	-0.00897	-0.00985	-0.00980	-0.00984	-0.00984	-0.00996+	-0.00962	-0.00928	-0.00881	-0.00891
	(-1.50)	(-1.64)	(-1.63)	(-1.63)	(-1.64)	(-1.66)	(-1.61)	(-1.55)	(-1.48)	(-1.50)
Education	0.0179	0.0215	0.0230	0.0221	0.0217	0.0260	0.0194	0.0202	0.0214	0.0193
	(0.48)	(0.58)	(0.61)	(0.59)	(0.58)	(0.69)	(0.52)	(0.54)	(0.57)	(0.52)
Female	-0.137	-0.146	-0.151	-0.152	-0.155	-0.149	-0.134	-0.138	-0.134	-0.139
	(-0.73)	(-0.78)	(-0.81)	(-0.81)	(-0.82)	(-0.79)	(-0.71)	(-0.73)	(-0.71)	(-0.74)
Home owner	-0.366+	-0.373+	-0.359+	-0.369+	-0.379+	-0.427*	-0.406*	-0.391+	-0.407*	-0.386+
	(-1.82)	(-1.85)	(-1.78)	(-1.83)	(-1.88)	(-2.10)	(-2.00)	(-1.93)	(-2.00)	(-1.91)
Foreign born	0.0225	0.0589	0.0233	0.0244	0.0446	0.0800	0.0939	0.0561	0.0887	0.0360
	(0.04)	(0.11)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.07)
Married	0.0291	0.0314	0.0309	0.0266	0.0239	0.0214	0.0431	0.0350	0.0264	0.0184
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.09)

Children under 18	-0.162	-0.142	-0.154	-0.166	-0.164	-0.149	-0.153	-0.150	-0.155	-0.162
	(-0.86)	(-0.76)	(-0.82)	(-0.88)	(-0.87)	(-0.79)	(-0.82)	(-0.80)	(-0.83)	(-0.86)
Interviewer ethnicity	-0.0637	-0.0569	-0.0656	-0.0600	-0.0645	-0.0563	-0.0606	-0.0578	-0.0666	-0.0634
	(-0.33)	(-0.29)	(-0.34)	(-0.31)	(-0.33)	(-0.29)	(-0.31)	(-0.30)	(-0.34)	(-0.33)
Cutpoint 1	-1.412*	-1.741**	-1.611*	-1.581*	-1.593*	-1.630**	-1.601*	-1.521*	-1.502*	-1.518*
	(-2.13)	(-2.69)	(-2.55)	(-2.51)	(-2.54)	(-2.62)	(-2.57)	(-2.45)	(-2.43)	(-2.44)
Cutpoint 2	-0.683	-1.010	-0.880	-0.851	-0.861	-0.890	-0.868	-0.791	-0.770	-0.787
	(-1.04)	(-1.57)	(-1.40)	(-1.36)	(-1.38)	(-1.44)	(-1.40)	(-1.28)	(-1.25)	(-1.27)
Cutpoint 3	0.633	0.310	0.438	0.467	0.457	0.438	0.454	0.528	0.550	0.531
	(0.96)	(0.48)	(0.70)	(0.75)	(0.74)	(0.71)	(0.74)	(0.86)	(0.90)	(0.86)
N	425	425	425	425	425	425	425	425	425	425

Table 4: Results from ordered logit models for blacks asked about black-Hispanic neighborhoods

	Percent outgroup									
	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Outgroup	0.182	-0.0263	0.0110	-0.231	-0.221	-0.160	-0.140	-0.456+	-0.633+	-0.164
	(0.44)	(-0.08)	(0.04)	(-0.98)	(-0.96)	(-0.69)	(-0.57)	(-1.66)	(-1.91)	(-0.37)
Crime rate	-1.124***	-1.129***	-1.127***	-1.133***	-1.147***	-1.141***	-1.134***	-1.159***	-1.172***	-1.125***
	(-4.68)	(-4.68)	(-4.69)	(-4.71)	(-4.75)	(-4.73)	(-4.71)	(-4.79)	(-4.83)	(-4.68)
School Quality	0.830***	0.819***	0.822***	0.808***	0.807***	0.813***	0.818***	0.815***	0.814***	0.816***
	(3.57)	(3.52)	(3.54)	(3.48)	(3.48)	(3.51)	(3.53)	(3.51)	(3.51)	(3.52)
Home values	0.705**	0.694**	0.696**	0.689**	0.697**	0.698**	0.695**	0.709**	0.710**	0.695**
	(3.02)	(2.99)	(2.99)	(2.97)	(3.00)	(3.00)	(2.99)	(3.05)	(3.05)	(2.99)
Age	-0.0248**	-0.0249***	-0.0249***	-0.0242**	-0.0244**	-0.0247**	-0.0249***	-0.0252***	-0.0267***	-0.0250***
	(-3.29)	(-3.29)	(-3.29)	(-3.20)	(-3.24)	(-3.28)	(-3.30)	(-3.33)	(-3.50)	(-3.31)
Education	-0.105*	-0.102*	-0.103*	-0.0998+	-0.0994+	-0.101+	-0.104*	-0.104*	-0.109*	-0.103*
	(-2.00)	(-1.97)	(-1.97)	(-1.92)	(-1.91)	(-1.93)	(-1.99)	(-2.00)	(-2.10)	(-1.99)
Female	0.149	0.145	0.145	0.155	0.159	0.153	0.139	0.136	0.116	0.139
	(0.64)	(0.62)	(0.62)	(0.66)	(0.68)	(0.65)	(0.59)	(0.58)	(0.49)	(0.59)
Home owner	0.0122	0.00839	0.00970	0.000990	0.0102	0.0115	0.0182	0.0337	0.0306	0.00999
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.00)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.04)
Foreign born	-0.512	-0.494	-0.499	-0.484	-0.538	-0.505	-0.499	-0.468	-0.462	-0.471
	(-0.70)	(-0.68)	(-0.68)	(-0.67)	(-0.74)	(-0.69)	(-0.68)	(-0.63)	(-0.63)	(-0.64)
Married	0.0483	0.0496	0.0479	0.0591	0.0504	0.0513	0.0441	0.00653	0.0368	0.0466
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.02)	(0.14)	(0.18)

Children under 18	-0.104	-0.101	-0.101	-0.0887	-0.0765	-0.0881	-0.0954	-0.0782	-0.115	-0.105
	(-0.43)	(-0.42)	(-0.42)	(-0.37)	(-0.32)	(-0.37)	(-0.40)	(-0.32)	(-0.48)	(-0.44)
Interviewer ethnicity	0.0211	0.0198	0.0209	0.0334	0.0237	0.0250	0.0210	0.0150	-0.0156	0.0163
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(-0.05)	(0.05)
Cutpoint 1	-2.569**	-2.748**	-2.715**	-2.806**	-2.783**	-2.757**	-2.785**	-2.869**	-3.015***	-2.758**
	(-2.72)	(-2.92)	(-3.06)	(-3.18)	(-3.15)	(-3.13)	(-3.14)	(-3.23)	(-3.36)	(-3.12)
Cutpoint 2	-1.743+	-1.922*	-1.890*	-1.980*	-1.957*	-1.931*	-1.959*	-2.038*	-2.183*	-1.932*
	(-1.86)	(-2.06)	(-2.15)	(-2.26)	(-2.24)	(-2.21)	(-2.23)	(-2.32)	(-2.46)	(-2.21)
Cutpoint 3	-0.472	-0.652	-0.620	-0.702	-0.680	-0.657	-0.689	-0.759	-0.900	-0.662
	(-0.51)	(-0.70)	(-0.71)	(-0.81)	(-0.78)	(-0.76)	(-0.79)	(-0.87)	(-1.02)	(-0.76)
N	275	275	275	275	275	275	275	275	275	275

Table 5: Results from ordered logit models for Hispanics asked about Hispanic-white neighborhoods

	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Outgroup	0.420	0.190	0.245	-0.0334	-0.0761	-0.0883	-0.0448	-0.116	0.0147	-0.213
	(1.28)	(0.77)	(1.12)	(-0.17)	(-0.39)	(-0.45)	(-0.22)	(-0.54)	(0.06)	(-0.61)
Crime rate	-1.513***	-1.507***	-1.506***	-1.491***	-1.489***	-1.489***	-1.492***	-1.487***	-1.495***	-1.496***
	(-7.36)	(-7.33)	(-7.34)	(-7.27)	(-7.26)	(-7.27)	(-7.28)	(-7.25)	(-7.29)	(-7.30)
School Quality	1.576***	1.571***	1.577***	1.575***	1.575***	1.577***	1.575***	1.572***	1.573***	1.580***
	(7.72)	(7.71)	(7.73)	(7.72)	(7.73)	(7.73)	(7.73)	(7.72)	(7.71)	(7.74)
Home values	-0.0418	-0.0379	-0.0380	-0.0312	-0.0268	-0.0251	-0.0300	-0.0294	-0.0322	-0.0304
	(-0.21)	(-0.19)	(-0.20)	(-0.16)	(-0.14)	(-0.13)	(-0.15)	(-0.15)	(-0.17)	(-0.16)
Age	-0.0101	-0.00973	-0.0100	-0.00982	-0.00982	-0.00972	-0.00984	-0.00976	-0.00978	-0.0100
	(-1.23)	(-1.19)	(-1.22)	(-1.20)	(-1.20)	(-1.18)	(-1.20)	(-1.19)	(-1.19)	(-1.22)
Education	-0.00796	-0.0112	-0.0132	-0.0111	-0.0112	-0.0111	-0.0114	-0.0123	-0.0111	-0.0127
	(-0.23)	(-0.33)	(-0.39)	(-0.32)	(-0.33)	(-0.32)	(-0.33)	(-0.36)	(-0.32)	(-0.37)
Female	0.0122	0.0135	0.0143	0.000574	-0.000396	-0.000441	0.00213	0.00534	-0.000439	0.00247
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.00)	(-0.00)	(-0.00)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(-0.00)	(0.01)
Home owner	-0.0975	-0.0866	-0.0980	-0.0812	-0.0760	-0.0763	-0.0807	-0.0864	-0.0815	-0.0839
	(-0.46)	(-0.41)	(-0.47)	(-0.39)	(-0.36)	(-0.36)	(-0.38)	(-0.41)	(-0.39)	(-0.40)
Foreign born	-0.219	-0.231	-0.228	-0.228	-0.226	-0.231	-0.231	-0.235	-0.227	-0.237
	(-1.01)	(-1.06)	(-1.05)	(-1.05)	(-1.04)	(-1.06)	(-1.06)	(-1.08)	(-1.04)	(-1.09)
Married	-0.303	-0.341	-0.351	-0.326	-0.324	-0.325	-0.327	-0.320	-0.330	-0.316
	(-1.30)	(-1.46)	(-1.50)	(-1.40)	(-1.39)	(-1.40)	(-1.40)	(-1.37)	(-1.41)	(-1.35)

Children under 18	-0.0339 (-0.14)	-0.0189 (-0.08)	-0.000389 (-0.00)	-0.0437 (-0.19)	-0.0485 (-0.21)	-0.0457 (-0.19)	-0.0437 (-0.19)	-0.0512 (-0.22)	-0.0398 (-0.17)	-0.0499 (-0.21)
Interviewer ethnicity	-0.212 (-0.81)	-0.201 (-0.77)	-0.195 (-0.74)	-0.191 (-0.73)	-0.187 (-0.72)	-0.187 (-0.72)	-0.195 (-0.75)	-0.199 (-0.76)	-0.191 (-0.73)	-0.188 (-0.72)
Cutpoint 1	-1.394* (-2.13)	-1.653** (-2.73)	-1.656** (-2.82)	-1.821** (-3.13)	-1.838** (-3.17)	-1.832** (-3.18)	-1.822** (-3.15)	-1.850** (-3.19)	-1.800** (-3.12)	-1.846** (-3.20)
Cutpoint 2	-0.466 (-0.71)	-0.729 (-1.22)	-0.733 (-1.26)	-0.898 (-1.56)	-0.915 (-1.60)	-0.910 (-1.60)	-0.900 (-1.57)	-0.928 (-1.62)	-0.877 (-1.54)	-0.924 (-1.62)
Cutpoint 3	1.144+ (1.74)	0.880 (1.46)	0.879 (1.50)	0.711 (1.23)	0.695 (1.21)	0.701 (1.22)	0.710 (1.23)	0.683 (1.19)	0.732 (1.28)	0.686 (1.20)
N	386	386	386	386	386	386	386	386	386	386

Table 6: Results from ordered logit models for Hispanics asked about Hispanic-black neighborhoods

	Percent outgroup									
	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Outgroup	0.286	0.129	0.107	-0.107	-0.195	-0.0576	-0.0950	-0.0859	0.0485	-0.269
	(0.89)	(0.52)	(0.52)	(-0.56)	(-1.05)	(-0.31)	(-0.50)	(-0.44)	(0.21)	(-0.92)
Crime rate	-1.359***	-1.350***	-1.353***	-1.349***	-1.349***	-1.351***	-1.354***	-1.350***	-1.349***	-1.359***
	(-7.10)	(-7.06)	(-7.08)	(-7.06)	(-7.06)	(-7.07)	(-7.08)	(-7.07)	(-7.06)	(-7.10)
School Quality	1.141***	1.140***	1.138***	1.143***	1.145***	1.139***	1.142***	1.141***	1.140***	1.145***
	(6.02)	(6.01)	(6.00)	(6.02)	(6.04)	(6.01)	(6.02)	(6.02)	(6.01)	(6.03)
Home values	-0.112	-0.113	-0.113	-0.112	-0.106	-0.110	-0.110	-0.110	-0.109	-0.102
	(-0.61)	(-0.61)	(-0.61)	(-0.61)	(-0.57)	(-0.60)	(-0.60)	(-0.59)	(-0.59)	(-0.55)
Age	-0.00899	-0.00860	-0.00846	-0.00895	-0.00916	-0.00876	-0.00865	-0.00856	-0.00860	-0.00907
	(-1.11)	(-1.06)	(-1.04)	(-1.10)	(-1.13)	(-1.08)	(-1.07)	(-1.06)	(-1.06)	(-1.12)
Education	-0.0458	-0.0451	-0.0454	-0.0483	-0.0503	-0.0474	-0.0480	-0.0470	-0.0464	-0.0499
	(-1.48)	(-1.45)	(-1.47)	(-1.56)	(-1.62)	(-1.53)	(-1.55)	(-1.52)	(-1.50)	(-1.60)
Female	0.303+	0.300	0.297	0.300	0.307+	0.297	0.292	0.292	0.296	0.291
	(1.65)	(1.63)	(1.61)	(1.63)	(1.66)	(1.61)	(1.58)	(1.58)	(1.61)	(1.58)
Home owner	-0.255	-0.247	-0.249	-0.256	-0.261	-0.255	-0.259	-0.258	-0.253	-0.241
	(-1.27)	(-1.24)	(-1.25)	(-1.28)	(-1.31)	(-1.27)	(-1.29)	(-1.29)	(-1.26)	(-1.21)
Foreign born	-0.336	-0.329	-0.331	-0.340	-0.338	-0.335	-0.334	-0.328	-0.339	-0.330
	(-1.56)	(-1.53)	(-1.54)	(-1.58)	(-1.57)	(-1.56)	(-1.56)	(-1.53)	(-1.58)	(-1.53)
Married	-0.270	-0.281	-0.288	-0.290	-0.292	-0.285	-0.282	-0.285	-0.292	-0.280
	(-1.28)	(-1.33)	(-1.37)	(-1.38)	(-1.39)	(-1.35)	(-1.33)	(-1.35)	(-1.38)	(-1.33)

Children under 18	0.0898	0.0888	0.0893	0.0851	0.0814	0.0816	0.0764	0.0782	0.0912	0.0797
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.38)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.40)	(0.35)
Interviewer ethnicity	0.128	0.130	0.126	0.139	0.150	0.140	0.142	0.141	0.127	0.157
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.48)	(0.53)	(0.57)	(0.53)	(0.54)	(0.54)	(0.48)	(0.59)
Cutpoint 1	-1.716**	-1.842**	-1.883**	-2.084***	-2.152***	-2.023***	-2.041***	-2.013***	-1.969***	-2.052***
	(-2.67)	(-2.93)	(-3.14)	(-3.51)	(-3.65)	(-3.49)	(-3.53)	(-3.53)	(-3.44)	(-3.59)
Cutpoint 2	-0.825	-0.952	-0.994+	-1.195*	-1.263*	-1.135*	-1.152*	-1.125*	-1.080+	-1.163*
	(-1.30)	(-1.53)	(-1.67)	(-2.04)	(-2.17)	(-1.98)	(-2.02)	(-2.00)	(-1.91)	(-2.06)
Cutpoint 3	0.459	0.331	0.290	0.0923	0.0268	0.151	0.134	0.161	0.204	0.124
	(0.72)	(0.53)	(0.49)	(0.16)	(0.05)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.29)	(0.36)	(0.22)
N	421	421	421	421	421	421	421	421	421	421

NOTES

[1] We compared our data with the same years of the American Community Survey. The base sample of the Houston Area Survey (before our oversamples of African Americans and Hispanics) over-represents whites and under-represents Hispanics. When we correct for this difference, other sociodemographic factors—age, education, income—do not differ between the Houston Area Survey and the American Community Survey.

[2] Predicted probabilities were created using Monte Carlo simulations and the CLARIFY software (Tomz, Wittenberg, and King 2003; King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000).