

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND**

CARMEN THOMPSON, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF
HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT,
et al.,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. MJG-95-309

TESTIMONY OF DR. CAMILLE ZUBRINSKY CHARLES

Peter Buscemi
E. Andrew Southerling
Edward S. Keefe
David M. Kerr
Harvey Bartle, IV
Jason G. Benion
Jennifer A. Bowen
MORGAN, LEWIS & BOCKIUS LLP
1111 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20004
202-739-3000

Theodore M. Shaw, Director-Counsel
Robert H. Stroup
Melissa S. Woods
Matthew Colangelo
Melanca D. Clark
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE &
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
99 Hudson St., 16th Floor
New York, NY 10013
212-965-2200

Barbara Samuels, Bar No. 08681
ACLU FOUNDATION OF MARYLAND
3600 Clipper Mill Road, Suite 350
Baltimore, MD 21211
410-889-8555

Andrew D. Freeman, Bar No. 03867
BROWN, GOLDSTEIN & LEVY, LLP
120 E. Baltimore Street, Suite 1700
Baltimore, MD 21202
410-962-1030

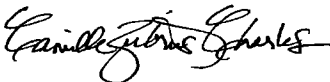
Attorneys for Plaintiffs

REBUTTAL EXPERT REPORT OF CAMILLE ZUBRINSKY CHARLES

Thompson et al. v. HUD et al.
Civil Action No. MJG 95-309 (D.MD)

Camille Zubrinsky Charles
University of Pennsylvania

5 January 2006

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Camille Zubrinsky Charles". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Camille" being the most prominent.

Camille Zubrinsky Charles

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I, Camille Zubrinsky Charles, Ph.D., proffer the following testimony to the court.

Background

1. I am Assistant Professor of Sociology and Faculty Associate Director of the Center for Africana Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. I am also a Research Associate in the Population Studies Center at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition, I am a member of the Poverty & Race Research Action Council's (PRRAC) Social Science Advisory Board and part of the National Advisory Group for the Three-City Study of Moving to Opportunity, based at Harvard University and the Urban Institute.
2. My educational background is as follows: after graduating with honors with degrees in Sociology and Communication Studies from California State University, Sacramento, I attended the University of California, Los Angeles, earning both an MA (1992) and a Ph.D. (1996) in Sociology.
3. Professionally, I have held three academic positions. During my last full year of graduate school (1994-95), I held a dissertation year fellowship at Grinnell College, in Grinnell, Iowa. Beginning in the fall of 1995 and for the next three years, I was assistant professor of Sociology at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. Since leaving Ohio State in 1998, I have been a member of the standing faculty at the University of Pennsylvania. Prior to these positions (while in graduate school), I was employed as Project Coordinator for the 1992-1994 *Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality*, a large-scale, multi-faceted research project designed to test cross-cutting hypotheses for persisting racial inequality in the labor and housing markets.¹ I am currently co-Principal Investigator (with Douglas S. Massey at Princeton University) of the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen, a project intended to shed light on persisting racial differences in collegiate academic achievement. In addition to my regular teaching and research activities, I teach in a summer institute for entering freshmen sponsored by the Center for Africana Studies at UPENN.
4. The overarching concern in my teaching, research and scholarship is the study of racial inequality in the contemporary United States. To date, the overwhelming majority of this work is in the area of racial residential segregation. Specifically,

¹ By cross-cutting, I am referring to both the interdisciplinary interests of the investigators (e.g., sociologists, geographers, and economists), as well as our interest in testing competing explanations for inequality that often require different kinds of data that are often unavailable from a single source. For example, the best tests of economic explanations for residential segregation come from analyses of Census data, because it is a large sample with good economic information on both individuals and neighborhoods. On the other hand, the best tests of the impact of racial attitudes on residential segregation tend not to have good economic information or to be of sufficient size. This project allows the rigorous, simultaneous investigation of both explanations. The same is true regarding labor market inequality. These data allow tests of the role of employer discrimination and/or various mismatches between workers and jobs (skills and location are the two most studied).

this work attempts to understand individual-level factors that influence aggregate housing patterns in multiracial contexts. To a great extent this line of research situates preferences for neighborhoods with particular racial/ethnic compositions within the broader context of US racial ideology and, most recently, ties these preferences to actual neighborhood-level outcomes. I have written numerous scholarly articles and book chapters on this topic, and recently reviewed more than 30 years worth of research on the dynamics of racial residential segregation for my discipline's most prestigious journal of reviews (the Annual Review of Sociology). This work, which began in graduate school and was sponsored by grants from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Ford Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation, will culminate with the publication of a book-length manuscript (Russell Sage, Fall 2006). A newer line of research focuses on racial inequality in higher education. This project also tests cross-cutting explanations for the depressed academic achievement of black and Hispanic students relative to whites and Asians, after controlling for differences in socioeconomic status. I have lectured on both of these topics in many arenas outside of the classroom, including professional conferences, invited lectures, and presentations including the National Fair Housing and Fair Lending Research and Policy Forum, the College Board, and the University of Pennsylvania's Board of Trustees.

5. All of my published research on racial residential segregation is relevant to understanding neighborhood racial composition preferences – both the nature of said preferences as well as the factors that are most influential in explaining preferences. In 1996, I co-authored two articles with Lawrence D. Bobo documenting preferences for racial residential integration among white, black, Hispanic, and Asian residents of Los Angeles County (two separate data sources and different methodologies), and testing the applicability of the three competing hypotheses for explaining preferences (“Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Differences, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice?” Social Forces, 74(3): 883-909; “Prismatic Metropolis: Race and Residential Segregation in the City of the Angels, Social Science Research, 25:335-374). In 2000, I published a sole-authored article, “Neighborhood Racial Composition Preferences: Evidence from a Multiethnic Metropolis” (Social Problems, 47(3):379-407) and a book chapter, “Racial Residential Segregation in Los Angeles” (Pgs. 167-219 in Prismatic Metropolis: Inequality in Los Angeles, edited by Lawrence D. Bobo, Melvin L. Oliver, James H. Johnson, Jr., and Abel Valenzuela, Jr. Russell Sage Press); in 2001, I extended my work on Los Angeles to include the three other sites involved in the Multi-City Study (Atlanta, Detroit, and Boston) in the sole-authored chapter, “Processes of Residential Segregation” (Pgs. 217-271 in Urban Inequality: Evidence from Four Cities, edited by Alice O'Connor, Chris Tilly, and Lawrence Bobo, Russell Sage Press). In another book chapter (“Socioeconomic Status and Segregation: African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians in Los Angeles,” pgs. 271-289 in Problem of the Century: Racial Stratification in the

United States at Century's End, edited by Elijah Anderson and Douglas S. Massey, Russell Sage Foundation), I stepped away from racial attitudes research, using data from the 1990 Census to show that objective differences in socioeconomic status and household composition cannot account for the severe degree of black-white residential segregation. In 2003, I reviewed roughly 30 years of research on racial residential segregation ("The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation," Annual Review of Sociology 29:167-207), which examines research on both trends in racial residential segregation as well as the state of knowledge regarding explanations for persisting segregation—particularly the extreme degree of black residential segregation from whites. More recently (2005), in "Can We All Get Along? Racial Preferences and Neighborhood Outcomes" (Pgs. 45-80 in The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America, edited by Xavier de Souza Briggs, Brookings Institution Press), I more thoroughly situate neighborhood racial composition preferences within the broader context of racial attitudes in contemporary American society. All of this work lays the groundwork for my forthcoming book, Won't You Be My Neighbor? Class, Race, and Residence in a Prismatic Metropolis (Russell Sage). Unlike my prior research, this project not only tackles both class- and race-based explanations for racial residential segregation, but also details the influence of multiple dimensions of prejudice on neighborhood racial composition preferences. The final stage of this piece is an empirical test of the assertion that racial attitudes—and specifically neighborhood racial composition preferences—do in fact influence aggregate-level housing patterns. Two of my education-related publications, The Source of the River: The Social Origins of Freshmen at America's Selective Colleges and Universities (2003, co-authored with Douglas S. Massey, Garvey Lundy, and Mary J. Fischer, Princeton University Press), and "The Continuing Consequences of Segregation: Family Stress and Collegiate Academic Performance" (co-authored with Gniesha Y. Dinwiddie and Douglas S. Massey, Social Science Quarterly, 85(5):1353-1373) both illustrate deleterious consequences of racial residential segregation. My curriculum vita contains a complete accounting of my publications and other scholarly activities, and is attached to this Report as Appendix B.

6. This is my first time serving as an expert witness. In the present case, I was retained by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in December 2005 as a rebuttal witness. I was asked specifically to review and respond to the written testimony of W.A.V Clark as it relates to neighborhood racial composition preferences, and that of Peter H. Schuck as it relates to what he terms "classism" or, "discrimination on the basis of wealth, income, social class, or perceived ability to pay" (p. 8, paragraph 18 of rebuttal report). My rate of compensation for this report is \$250 per hour.
7. The remainder of this report is divided into 5 parts. First, I briefly summarize the data, methods, and resources used in the preparation of this report. This is

followed by a brief discussion of what extant research tells us about the structure of neighborhood racial composition preferences. The third section of the report presents a detailed analysis of how best to understand the factors that drive neighborhood racial composition preferences. This section of the report responds directly to Clark's assertions regarding ethnocentrism and Schuck's assertions regarding classism. Before concluding, the fourth section briefly addresses objective racial group differences in social class status. The final section offers some concluding thoughts.

Data, Methods, and Resources

8. In the preparation of this report, I have relied on all of the materials cited above, which includes both my own scholarly work and that of other highly-respected social science researchers. I draw most heavily on my own published and forthcoming research, which has directly considered explanations of neighborhood racial composition preferences and of racial residential segregation as a function of 1) objective and/or perceived differences in socioeconomic status, 2) neutrally expressed ethnocentric preferences, and/or 3) prejudice and discrimination. All of this work has been subject to the highest level of peer review, evaluated by other specialists in the field, and experienced substantial revision prior to publication. Statistical analyses range from basic presentation of summary information (frequencies, crosstabs, means) to multivariate regression (ordinary least-squares, logistic, and 3-stage least-squares), and include tests of statistical significance to assess the ability to make inferences to the populations from which sample data are drawn.
9. The research presented within these pages is the result of carefully designed survey research projects that employ random probability sampling methods. The survey data have high response rates, and measures of preferences were extensively pretested to address limitations to previous measures, including those used by W.A.V. Clark, as well as concerns about comparability, ease of interpretation, and response bias associated with concerns about social desirability.
10. The measures of racial attitudes, perceived social class disadvantage, and in-group attachment were also carefully constructed to provide rigorous tests of the three competing explanations of preferences. As they have all been included in both published and forthcoming research, these too have been scrutinized as part of the peer-review process. Measures of real and perceived differences in socioeconomic status are particularly useful for evaluating Peter Schuck's assertions related to "classism."
11. Statistical analyses are appropriate for the data, both in terms of sample design and appropriate methods for hypothesis testing. When necessary and/or

appropriate, adjustments are made to account for sample design, ensuring accurate and reliable results. All tables are located in Appendix A of this Report.

12. Although my own published research on preferences is focused on Los Angeles, the results are consistent with studies of preferences in other large metropolitan areas (e.g., Detroit, Atlanta, and Boston). Moreover, the measure of preferences that I rely on was used in the 2000 General Social Survey, a nationally-representative survey of US adults that has been in existence since 1972. These data are highly reliable and are the basis for much of what we know about American's attitudes about a wide variety of subjects. Here too, results are comparable to those I report.² Finally, my own research deals not only with whites and blacks, but with Hispanics and Asians as well. For the purposes of this report, however, I will limit my discussion to whites and blacks, since these are the two groups under consideration in this case.
13. As a final note regarding the nature of peer review for the work I draw on, it should be noted that, because my work examines both demographic trends in residential segregation and racial attitudes – and is more broadly concerned with racial inequality – it also tends to be reviewed by specialists knowledgeable in each of these areas, and includes not only sociologists, but demographers and economists as well.

Neighborhood Racial Composition Preferences: A Summary³

14. Over the last two and a half decades, there has been meaningful change in the neighborhood racial composition preferences of whites, shifting toward increased tolerance for sharing neighborhoods with more than token numbers of blacks and other minorities. At the same time, a clear majority of blacks remain willing to live in areas where their group is in the minority, and show a clear preference for 50/50 neighborhoods.
15. A well-established literature details black-white differences in preferences for integration. In their 1978 classic article, "Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs" Reynolds Farley and colleagues introduced an innovative and highly regarded method for measuring views on residential segregation. In the experiment, white respondents are asked about their comfort with and willingness to enter neighborhoods with varying degrees of integration with blacks; black respondents receive a similar experiment, rating neighborhoods of various racial compositions from most to least attractive, and indicating their willingness to enter each of the areas. In both cases, scenarios represent realistic assumptions regarding the

² Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. 2003. "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation." Annual Review of Sociology, 29:167-207 (see specifically Table 2, pg. 186).

³ This section is adapted from "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation."

residential experiences and options of both groups.⁴ Results revealed substantial resistance to even minimal levels of integration: 25% said the presence of a single black neighbor would make them uncomfortable, 40% said they would try to leave an area that was one-third black, and nearly twice as many would leave the majority black neighborhood. Blacks, on the other hand, showed a clear preference for integration. Eighty-five percent chose the 50-50 neighborhood as their first or second choice; when asked to explain their selection, two-thirds stressed the importance of racial harmony.⁵ Virtually all blacks were willing to enter all three integrated neighborhoods, and 38% of Detroit-area blacks said they would move into an otherwise all-white neighborhood.

16. As part of the 1992-94 *Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality* (MCSUI), the Farley-Schuman showcard methodology was replicated in Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, and Los Angeles. Analyses of neighborhood racial composition preferences based on the MCSUI data highlight the influence of both respondent- and target-group race on attitudes toward residential integration⁶. Compared to the 1970s, whites express greater comfort with higher levels of integration and fewer said they would be unwilling to enter racially mixed areas. While a sizeable majority of whites express comfort with a one-third-out-group neighborhood, a rank-ordering of out-groups is evident: whites feel most comfortable with Asians and least so

⁴ Farley, R., H. Schuman, S. Bianchi, D. Colassanto, and S. Hatchett. 1978. "Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs: Will the Trend Toward Racially Separate Communities Continue?" *Social Science Research* 7:319-344. This study, based on results from The 1976 Detroit Area Study (DAS) introduced an innovative way of measuring views on racial residential segregation. The DAS research has influenced important general assessments of the status of African Americans, such as is found in the National Academy of Sciences report, *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (by Gerald Jaynes and Robin Williams 1990:141-44) and former Harvard University President and legal scholar Derrick Bok's, *The State of the Nation: Government and the Quest for a Better Society* (1996:182). Two important treatises on processes of racial residential segregation (*American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, by Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton (Harvard University Press 1993) and *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Market Discrimination*, by John Yinger (Russell Sage Press 1995)) single out the DAS research for special emphasis, as does the scholarly literature in this area more generally, given its wide discussion in basic race and ethnic relations texts (e.g., George Simpson and J. Milton Yinger (1985:165-66), *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination* (5th edition); J.E. Farley (1988:230-35), *Majority-Minority Relations* (2nd edition); and Martin N. Marger (1996:259-66), *Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspectives* (4th edition)), and in other disciplines such as political science (e.g., "Cracks in American Apartheid: The Political Impact of Prejudice Among Desegregated Whites." Donald Kinder and Tali Mendelberg (1995 *Journal of Politics* 57:402-424) and Jennifer Hochschild's *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class and the Soul of the Nation* (1995, Princeton University Press)).

⁵ Farley et al. 1978, p. 328.

⁶ Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. 2001. "Processes of Residential Segregation." Pgs. 217-271 in *Urban Inequality: Evidence from Four Cities*, edited by Alice O'Connor, Chris Tilly, and Lawrence Bobo. NY: Russell Sage; Clark, William A.V. 2002. "Ethnic Preferences and Ethnic Perceptions in Multi-Ethnic Settings." *Urban Geography* 23(3):237-256; Farley et al. 1978; Farley, R., C. Steeh, T. Jackson, M. Krysan, K. Reeves. 1993. "Continued Racial Residential Segregation in Detroit: Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs revisited." *Journal of Housing Research* 4(1):1-38; Farley, R., C. Steeh, M. Krysan, T. Jackson, K. Reeves. 1994. "Stereotypes and Segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit Area." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(3):750-780; Zubrinsky, Camille L., and Lawrence D. Bobo. 1996. "Prismatic Metropolis: Race and Residential Segregation in the City of the Angels." *Social Science Research* 25:335-374..

with blacks (Hispanics fall in between), and comfort declines as the number of out-group members increases.

17. The pattern of responses regarding whites' willingness to enter racially mixed neighborhoods is similar, although the decline in willingness to enter begins earlier and is never as high as comfort with neighborhood transition; thus, nearly half of whites are willing to move into a neighborhood that is one-third black, while 60% of whites are comfortable with an existing neighborhood that has become one-third black.⁷ Overall, results suggest meaningful shifts in whites' attitudes regarding racial residential integration.
18. Alternatively, blacks seem to want *both* meaningful integration with whites and a substantial co-ethnic presence. The overwhelming majority of blacks selected one of the two most integrated alternatives irrespective of out-group race, though the one with 10 black and 5 out-group households is slightly more attractive than the one that best approximates a 50-50 neighborhood. Patterns of willingness to enter neighborhoods mirror those for attractiveness. For blacks, these patterns suggest a slight shift away from a preference for 50-50 neighborhoods and in their willingness to be the only black family in an otherwise all-white area since 1976.⁸ Other studies of preferences that use different data and measures of preferences yield similar results for both whites and blacks.⁹
19. As part of the 1992-1994 *Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality*, I developed a major innovation on the Farley-Schuman experiment by using a single item in which all respondents are asked to draw their ideal multiethnic neighborhood.¹⁰ The pattern of preferences that emerges from this measure is similar to that detailed above. Both whites and blacks express preferences for both meaningful integration and a substantial presence of same-race neighbors, though preferences for same-race neighbors are not uniform across groups: whites exhibit the strongest preference for same-race neighbors and blacks the weakest. Table 1 of this report summarizes the neighborhood racial composition preferences of whites and blacks from the Los Angeles subset of the MCSUI, showing whites'

⁷ This distinction is important. Research suggests that present-day racial residential segregation is not a consequence of "white flight" as much as it is a result of the destination decisions of whites. That is, whites seem to leave neighborhoods for non-racial reasons—changing family needs, proximity to work, etc.—but when deciding where they will relocate, neighborhood racial composition preferences are influential.

⁸ Charles, 2001; Farley et al. 1993; Farley, R., E.L. Fielding, and M. Krysan. 1997. "The Residential Preferences of Whites and Blacks: A Four-Metropolis Analysis." *Housing Policy Debate* 8(4):763-800.

⁹ Bobo, Lawrence D. and Camille L. Zubrinsky. 1996. "Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Differences, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice." *Social Forces* 74(3):883-909. Clark, William A.V. 2002.

¹⁰ The original Farley-Schuman methodology asks a different series of questions depending upon the race of the respondent. Whites are asked about 1) their comfort with and 2) willingness to enter neighborhoods with varying degrees of integration with blacks. Black respondents are asked 1) to rate neighborhoods of various racial compositions from most to least attractive and 2) to indicate their willingness to enter each of the areas. In both cases, scenarios represent realistic assumptions regarding the residential experiences and options of both groups (For details, see Farley et al. 1978, 1993).

preferences for black and same-race neighbors, and blacks' preferences for white and same-race neighbors. Note that whites show substantially stronger preference for same-race neighbors compared to blacks. On average, whites prefer a neighborhood that is about 53% same-race, for blacks the preference is for a 42.4% black community. Similarly, about one-fifth of whites completely exclude blacks from their ideal multiethnic neighborhood, compared to only about 9% of blacks who exclude whites altogether. Finally, Whites are over four times more likely to prefer an entirely same-race neighborhood. These results are quite similar to those from the 2000 General Social Survey, presented in Table 2 of this report. Recall that the GSS is nationally-representative sample of whites and blacks in the US.

20. Finally, at this descriptive level of analysis, one cannot say with any certainty what factors best explain the nature of neighborhood racial composition preferences for either blacks or whites. This requires multivariate analysis.

What Drives Preferences – Classism, Ethnocentrism, or Prejudice?¹¹

21. The emergence of racially separate neighborhoods in the United States resulted from a combination of individual- and institutional-level actions. Scholars generally agree that all levels of government, as well as the real estate, lending, and construction industries played critical roles in creating and maintaining a dual housing market that constrained the mobility options of blacks.¹² It was assumed by many, however, that passage of the 1968 Fair Housing Act marked the beginning of the end of segregation. This, however, has not been the case.
22. For understanding patterns of racial residential preferences, three hypotheses are typically considered and have garnered the most empirical attention – concerns about 1) social class disadvantage, 2) ethnocentrism, and 3) present-day racial prejudice.
23. Despite general agreement regarding the role of prejudice and discrimination in the *emergence* of racially segregated neighborhoods, the extent to which these factors are implicated in its persistence remains contested. Alternative explanations downplay the continuing salience of prejudice and/or discrimination in favor of other race-related attitudes and perceptions. The *in-group preference hypothesis* (ethnocentrism) argues that all groups have “strong desires” for neighborhoods with substantial numbers of co-ethnics that reflect a simple, natural ethnocentrism rather than out-group hostility or an effort to preserve relative status advantages.¹³ A stronger version of this hypothesis contends

¹¹ This section is adapted from Charles, Camille Zubrinsky (forthcoming), Won't You Be My Neighbor? Class, Race, and Residence in a Prismatic Metropolis (Russell Sage).

¹² Massey and Denton (1993); Yinger (1995). See also, Meyer, S.G. 2000. As Long as They Don't Live Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods. NY: Rowman and Littlefield.

¹³ Clark, W.A.V. 1992. “Residential Preferences and Residential Choices in a Multiethnic Context.” Demography 29(3):237-256. See also Clark, William A.V. 2002.

blacks' own preference for self-segregation explains current levels of black-white segregation.¹⁴ The more general assertion that preferences are primarily a function of ethnocentrism or in-group preference is made by W.A.V. Clark in his reports for this case and in his other published work.

24. According to the *racial proxy* and the *race-based neighborhood stereotyping hypotheses* (classism), it is the collection of undesirable social class characteristics associated with blacks or the neighborhoods where they are concentrated – joblessness, welfare dependence, proclivity to criminal behavior – not race *per se*, that motivates aversion to black neighbors, not only among out-groups, but among blacks themselves. Thus, it is a preference to avoid residential contact with poor people that drives neighborhood racial preferences, and blacks are simply more likely to be poor.¹⁵ This is, essentially, the “classism” argument made by Peter H. Schuck in his report for this case.
25. The patterns of neighborhood racial composition preferences presented in Tables 1 and 2, and those discussed by Clark are not evidence of either ethnocentrism or racial prejudice in and of themselves.¹⁶ To understand what drives neighborhood racial composition preferences requires systematic testing of the various hypotheses, preferably the simultaneous examination of said explanations. For the purposes of this report, I present in detail results from my most recent research. Again, my research considers whites and blacks in Los Angeles¹⁷; however, the pattern of findings is entirely consistent with research on preferences in other large metropolitan areas, and with data from the General Social Survey.
26. Tables 3 and 4 presents results from a detailed, multivariate analysis of the extent to which classism, ethnocentrism, and/or racial prejudice explain neighborhood racial composition preferences. The perception of an out-group's social class position relative to a respondent's own group is measured with the Perceived Social Class Disadvantage score, which ranges from -6 to +6; negative scores indicate more favorable ratings of out-groups relative to one's own group, positive scores indicate unfavorable ratings of out-groups relative to one's own group, and a score of zero suggests that a respondent does not perceive any difference in socioeconomic status between the two groups. This measure provides a direct test

¹⁴ See for instance, Patterson, Orlando. 1997. *The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's Racial Crisis* (Washington, DC: Civitas) and Thernstrom, Stephen and Abigail Thernstrom. 1997. *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible* (NY: Simon and Schuster).

¹⁵ Examples of these arguments include: Clark, W.A.V. 1986. “Residential Segregation in American Cities: A Review and Interpretation.” *Population Research and Policy Review*, 5:95-127; Clark, W.A.V. 1988. “Understanding Residential Segregation in American Cities: Interpreting the Evidence, a Reply to Galster.” *Population Research and Policy Review*, 8:193-197; Harris, David R. 1999. “Property Values Drop When Blacks Move In, Because...” *Racial and Socioeconomic Determinants of Neighborhood Desirability.* *American Sociological Review* 64:461-479; Harris, David R. 2001. “Why are Whites and Blacks Averse to Black Neighbors?” *Social Science Research* 30(1):100-116; Ellen, Ingrid Gould. 2000. *Sharing America's Neighborhoods: The Prospects for Stable Racial Integration.* Harvard University Press.

¹⁶ Clark (1992, 2002).

¹⁷ Here too I have excluded the comparable analysis of Hispanics and Asians.

of Schuck's "classism" hypothesis. The hypothesized associations are that individuals who perceive an out-group as economically disadvantaged will 1) prefer less residential contact with that out-group (a negative association) and 2) more same-race neighbors (a positive association).

27. In-group attachment is measured with the common fate identity item. This is a scaled measure of the extent to which respondents believe that what happens to their group happens to them. This is an important aspect of in-group attachment that has been shown to significantly influence behavior toward in-group favoritism. Scores range from 0 (no sense of common fate identity) to 3 (a strong sense of common fate identity). This measure is suggestive of the degree to which preferences are primarily the result of neutral ethnocentrism, as suggested by Clark. The hypothesized associations are that increasing ethnocentrism will 1) decrease preferences for integration (a negative association) and 2) increase preferences for same-race neighbors (a positive association).
28. Three dimensions of prejudice are also considered. 1) Racial stereotyping is an important aspect of the traditional prejudice hypothesis. This measure of racial stereotyping is a four-trait measure – intelligence, welfare dependence, English language ability and involvement in drugs and gangs – tapping traditional racial stereotypes and prejudice as simple out-group antipathy. 2) Perceptions of out-groups as "difficult to get along with" taps perceptions of social distance, another dimension of prejudice. Both of these measures are difference scores (on a -6 to +6 scale, with positive values reflecting unfavorable attitudes toward out-groups). By tapping attitudes and perceptions of out-groups relative to one's own group, these measures also capture elements of the group-position variant of prejudice, which emphasizes a commitment to a specific group status or relative group position rather than simple out-group hostility – what matters most is the magnitude or degree of difference that in-group members have socially learned to expect and maintain relative to particular out-groups. Finally, 3) beliefs about racial group competition offer another lens through which to examine feelings of racial hostility, and are also considered here; the racial-group threat item ranges from 0 (no threat) to 8 (substantial threat). In all cases, higher values represent prejudiced attitudes that should 1) decrease preferences for integration (negative associations) and 2) increase preferences for same-race neighbors (positive associations).
29. A final aspect of racial attitudes taken up here relates to minority-group members' beliefs about the prevalence of racial discrimination, and captures a general perception of Whites as "tending to discriminate" against minority groups. This is an absolute measure, ranging from 1 (Whites tend to treat members of other groups equally) to 7 (Whites tend to discriminate against members of other groups). It may be that blacks shy away from predominantly white neighborhoods because they are concerned about hostile treatment from white residents. This is another alternative to Clark's ethnocentrism hypothesis that is

blacks' response to white prejudice. Here too, it is expected that the more that blacks perceive whites as discriminators (high values), 1) the lower their preference for white neighbors will be (a negative association) and 2) the higher their preferences for same-race neighbors will be (a positive association).

30. All analyses control for various individual-level factors that might also influence neighborhood preferences. My discussion and presentation of results focuses on the variables related to understanding the attitudes behind neighborhood racial composition preferences.¹⁸
31. Table 3 summarizes multivariate models of whites' preferences for black and same-race neighbors, testing the relative importance of classism (perceived social class disadvantage), ethnocentrism (in-group attachment), and the three measures of racial hostility. Results illustrate two main points particularly clearly. First, classism and ethnocentrism play no meaningful role in understanding the neighborhood racial composition preferences of whites. This is true irrespective of the race of the target-group (I include results for whites' preferences for Hispanic and Asian neighbors simply to show that the process is the same) – out-group or same-race. Second, negative racial attitudes exert consistently significant effects on preferences, and in the anticipated direction – reducing preferences for residential integration (negative coefficients) and increasing preferences for residential isolation (positive coefficients).¹⁹ To the extent that whites perceive blacks (or any other group) as economically disadvantaged, this perception has no meaningful effect on their neighborhood racial preferences. Similarly, the degree of ethnocentrism that whites experience does not significantly impact preferences for out-group or same-race neighbors. It should also be noted that almost none of the social background characteristics exert any consistent impact on preferences. Simply put, whites' preferences for neighborhood racial integration are best understood in terms of racial prejudice, not classism or ethnocentrism.
32. Table 4 presents results from comparable models of blacks' neighborhood racial composition preferences. Here too, results offer no support for the influence of perceived social class disadvantage. Class attitudes are very marginally significant regarding blacks' preference for white neighbors, and more strongly associated with preference for same-race neighbors. In each case however, the impact of "classism" contradicts the hypothesized relationship: rather than reducing preferences for white neighbors, viewing whites as economically disadvantaged relative to their own group increases preferences for residential contact with this group. Similarly, the perception of out-groups as economically disadvantaged decreases their preference for same-race neighbors. The combined

¹⁸ Controls are included but not shown here. For full results, see Charles (forthcoming, Appendix tables 5.2 and 5.3).

¹⁹ To interpret, the slope values (B), one would multiply the coefficient by a score on the independent variable. The result represents the change in preferences (measured as a percentage) for every one-unit change in the measure of prejudice. The unstandardized coefficients (Beta) allow a comparison of the relative importance of each variable, since they are measured in similar units across explanatory variables that are measured in different units.

marginal statistical significance and low relative importance (based on the beta values) leads to the conclusion that beliefs about out-group social class status are not particularly important for understanding blacks' neighborhood racial composition preferences.

33. The effect of ethnocentrism also runs counter to expectations. Those blacks with a moderate amount of ethnocentrism prefer significantly more white neighbors and significantly fewer same-race neighbors. This association between ethnocentrism and preferences is consistent with what has been called an "assimilationist" orientation. That is, "making it" in America is associated with moving "up and out" of segregated communities and into the predominantly white suburbs. Although a high degree of ethnocentrism is associated with slightly higher preferences for same-race neighbors, this effect is, again, only marginally significant. Overall, results suggest that, if anything, ethnocentrism enhances blacks' preference for white neighbors and dampens preferences for same-race neighbors.
34. Like whites, out-group directed racial attitudes stand out as more powerful and significant predictors of blacks' neighborhood racial preferences. When potential neighbors are white, each of the prejudice-based measures – stereotyping, social distance, and the perception of whites as discriminatory – all negatively impact preferences (as scores on these items increase, suggesting more negative attitudes, preferences for whites decline – a negative coefficient). Negative stereotypes and the perception of social distance also significantly increase preferences for same-race neighbors. The belief that whites are discriminators does not significantly impact same-race preferences, however.
35. Thus, once again, blacks' neighborhood racial composition preferences are best understood in terms of racial prejudice – whether it is negative racial stereotypes, the perception of whites as socially distant, or the perception of whites as tending to discriminate against them – not concerns about avoiding poverty or ethnocentric interests. Indeed, not only is it blacks' attitudes about the characteristics of whites (and other out-groups) that matters, but also the degree to which blacks believe that whites are likely to act in a manner that is discriminatory toward them (and, therefore, living around whites would increase the chances of experiencing white hostility).²⁰
36. This is not to say, however, that blacks prefer to avoid neighborhood contact with whites. To the contrary, recall that on average blacks prefer integrated neighborhoods. This is to say that irrespective of race, neighborhood racial composition preferences are primarily a function of out-group directed racial attitudes – the more negative those attitudes are, the less interested individuals are in sharing residential space with one or more out-groups. In addition, however,

²⁰ For more on this, see Maria Krysan and Reynolds Farley (2002) "The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?" *Social Forces* 80:937-980.

blacks are concerned about falling victim to white hostility in their own communities.

37. In summary, for both whites and blacks, neighborhood racial composition preferences are primarily a function of racial prejudice; for blacks, there is the added concern about prejudice directed toward them. Assertions that preferences are driven primarily by either "classism" or ethnocentrism are not supported by the evidence.
38. These results are entirely consistent with several previous multivariate analyses detailing whether and how race matters at the individual level.²¹ Moreover, the current analysis improves upon prior studies, with the inclusion of multiple indicators of prejudice that capture several dimensions of out-group hostility as well as minority-group concerns about white hostility toward them. Along with measures of ethnocentrism and beliefs about social class differences, this is the most thorough analysis of the factors that motivate neighborhood racial composition preferences to date.

A Brief Comment Regarding Black Economic Inequality and Housing Mobility

39. Despite finding that whites' perceptions of black social class disadvantage are not meaningful for understanding whites' neighborhood racial composition preferences, racial group differences in educational attainment, occupational prestige, income, and wealth are real. These differences likely impede blacks' residential mobility and contribute to persisting racial residential segregation; this is particularly true as it relates to blacks' lower rates of homeownership and the concentration of public housing in inner city, high poverty communities.²²
40. Nonetheless, it has also been shown that blacks and whites do not reap the same "residential rewards" for their individual human capital characteristics. For example, college-educated blacks with incomes of \$50,000 per year or more will live in lower socioeconomic status neighborhoods with fewer whites compared to similar whites. My research suggests that this is also the case regarding assets. On average, whites with over \$10,000 in net financial assets reside in whiter, higher income neighborhoods; blacks with comparable wealth, however, see no significant improvement in their residential circumstances.²³

²¹ Farley et al (1994). "Stereotypes and Segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit Area." Timberlake, Jeffrey M. (2000). "Still Life in Black and White: Effects of Racial and Class Attitudes on Prospects for Residential Integration in Atlanta." *Sociological Inquiry* 70(4):420-445. Bobo, Lawrence D. and Camille L. Zubrinsky (1996). "Attitudes on Residential Inegration." Charles, Camille Zubrinsky (2000). "Neighborhood Racial Composition Preferences." Charles, Camille Zubrinsky (2003). "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation."

²² Massey and Denton (1993). *American Apartheid*; Oliver, Melvin L. and Thomas M. (1995). *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. NY: Routledge; Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. (forthcoming). *Won't You Be My Neighbor?*

²³ See Camille Zubrinsky Charles, *Won't You Be My Neighbor?* (forthcoming, Tables 3.5 and 3.6).

41. Blacks are also the only group for whom homeownership significantly decreases neighborhood proximity to whites. For whites and other groups the reverse is true (that is, homeownership is associated with increasing neighborhood proximity to whites). Similarly, white homeowners reside in higher income neighborhoods than comparable blacks do.
42. This is not to say that increasing educational attainment, income, and homeownership do not benefit blacks at all – they do improve the neighborhoods that blacks live in. However, blacks' gains are not nearly the same as those of comparable whites. In fact, when middle class blacks are able to increase their residential closeness to whites, it is often done by moving into neighborhoods where white residents are of lower socioeconomic status than they themselves have.²⁴

Concluding Remarks

43. On the whole, research on neighborhood racial composition preferences that moves beyond simple descriptive analyses to understand the underlying forces reveal conclusive evidence that "classist" and "ethnocentric" attitudes are not significant predictors of neighborhood racial composition preferences in a manner that would impede efforts at desegregating public housing or even efforts aimed at reducing racial residential segregation more broadly. On the other hand, evidence that negative racial attitudes and concerns about white hostility (for blacks) are meaningful, indeed powerful, predictors of preferences.
44. Moreover, racial-group differences in the residential returns to social class characteristics also suggest persisting prejudice and discrimination.
45. Although the change is slow, there has been a meaningful shift toward greater racial tolerance among whites, and only a slight decline in blacks' preference for half-white neighborhoods. Together, these trends suggest that whites will tolerate far more racial residential integration than they currently experience (again, bear in mind that sizable numbers of blacks are still willing to enter neighborhoods where they are in the minority).
46. All Americans want the opportunity to improve their lot in life; to achieve the American Dream. This may be an even greater concern for individuals concentrated in high-poverty communities with few opportunities and little safety. Results of research on the Gautreaux program are perhaps the best evidence of this: very few participants opted out of the program, and even fewer cited concerns about racial isolation as the reason for deciding to stay where they were. The majority of participants made moves to improve the material futures of

²⁴ For a complete review of this literature, see Charles, Camille Zubrinsky (2003) "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation."

their families; a substantial number of these individuals likely made their moves in spite of concerns about white hostility and racial isolation.²⁵

47. To suggest that poor blacks *choose* to remain in deteriorating ghetto communities not only runs counter to a large and growing body of empirical evidence, it runs counter to human nature—the drive to provide food, clothing, and shelter (and safety) for oneself and one’s children. Suggesting that poor families in public housing want any different is simply not supported by the evidence.
48. Programs like Gautreaux address both the problems associated with residence in high-poverty communities (e.g., crime and safety, a dearth of labor market opportunities, poor quality public schools, etc.) as well as the realities of racial economic inequality. Indeed, such programs, working in concert with efforts to increase minority homeownership (for both lower income and middle class group member), have the potential to move us closer to achieving the goals of civil rights legislation.
49. Finally, it should be pointed out that the greatest improvements in whites’ racial attitudes occurred AFTER the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 and the 1968 Fair Housing Act. This landmark legislation was passed despite the persistence of segregationist attitudes among average white citizens.²⁶ Over time, the attitudes of the rank-and-file white population followed suit.²⁷

²⁵ See Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum (2000), Crossing the Class and Color Lines: From Public Housing to White Suburbia (University of Chicago Press) for a study of the Gautreaux program. For a thorough discussion of blacks’ racial attitudes and concerns about white hostility, see Charles (forthcoming), Won’t You Be My Neighbor? (chapter 4), or Krysan and Farley (2002), “The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?” (Social Forces 80:937-980).

²⁶ For a discussion of white attitudes and motivations for passing the 1968 Fair Housing Act, see Meyer (2000), As Long As They Don’t Live Next Door (Rowman & Littlefield).

²⁷ For a detailed analysis of trends in whites’ racial attitudes, see Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan (1997, Harvard University Press) Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations (2nd edition).

APPENDIX A

Table 1. Summary Statistics, Neighborhood Racial Composition Preferences by Respondent and Target-Group Race, Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality

Target Group Race	Respondent Race	
	Whites	Blacks
<i>White Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	----	21.52%
No Whites	----	8.71
<i>Black Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	14.91%	----
No Blacks	20.04	----
<i>Latino/a Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	15.82%	19.83%
No Latinos	18.46	9.36
<i>Asian Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	16.29%	16.25%
No Asians	17.78	16.78
<i>Same-Race Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	52.97%	42.39%
All Same-Race	12.35	3.02
N	705	1,038

Notes: $p < .001$.

Table 2. Summary Statistics, Neighborhood Racial Composition Preferences by Respondent and Target-Group Race, 2000 General Social Survey

Target Group Race	Respondent Race	
	Whites	Blacks
<i>White Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	----	30.40%
No Whites	----	9.21
<i>Black Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	16.80%	----
No Blacks	24.71	----
<i>Latino/a Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	12.82%	14.47%
No Latinos	32.17	27.63
<i>Asian Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	16.29%	13.11%
No Asians	17.78	32.24
<i>Same-Race Neighbors</i>		
Mean %	57.11%	42.01%
All Same-Race	20.28	6.58
N	858	152

Notes: $p < .001$.

Table 3. Selected OLS Regression Coefficients, Effects of Various Racial Attitudes on Whites' Preferences for Black, Latino/a, Asian, & Same-Race Neighbors, Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality

	Black Neighbors			Latino/a Neighbors			Asian Neighbors			Same-Race Neighbors		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Racial Attitudes												
Social Class Disadvantage	0.44	0.30	0.05	-0.14	0.28	-0.02	-0.42	0.47	-0.04	0.35	0.89	0.02
In-Group Attachment												
None/Low (ref)	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Medium	0.17	0.89	0.01	0.68	0.39	-0.03	-0.89	0.83	-0.04	0.66	2.00	0.01
High	0.30	0.85	0.01	-1.19	0.85	-0.05	-0.89	0.74	-0.04	1.66	1.61	0.03
Racial Stereotyping	-1.92***	0.46	-0.19	-1.36***	0.34	-0.15	-2.23**	0.71	-0.15	5.00***	1.11	0.18
Social Distance	-0.75**	0.27	-0.11	-0.69*	0.31	-0.10	-1.15**	0.36	-0.15	1.95**	0.68	0.11
Racial Group Threat	-0.56*	0.22	-0.10	-0.62**	0.18	-0.12	-0.61**	0.21	-0.11	1.83***	0.40	0.16
Constant	25.12***	2.87		18.53***	2.72		18.67***	2.56		28.63***	5.23	

R-Squared

0.28***

0.16***

0.16***

0.23***

N

705

Notes: Models control for sex, age, education, income, political ideology, home ownership status, public housing experience, household structure, and the presence of target-group members in actual neighborhoods. *** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

Table 4. Selected OLS Regression Coefficients, Effects of Various Racial Attitudes on Blacks' Preferences for White, Latino/a, Asian, & Same-Race Neighbors, Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality

	White Neighbors			Latino/a Neighbors			Asian Neighbors			Same-Race Neighbors		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Racial Attitudes												
Social Class Disadvantage	0.33 [†]	0.19	0.06	-0.09	0.35	-0.01	0.51 ^{**}	0.15	0.10	-1.11 ^{**}	0.33	-0.09
In-Group Attachment												
None/Low (ref)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Medium	1.82 ^{**}	0.60	0.08	-0.14	0.65	0.01	-0.00	0.56	-0.00	-1.97 [*]	0.97	-0.05
High	-1.20	0.76	-0.05	-0.60	0.88	-0.02	-0.50	0.82	-0.02	2.47 [†]	1.61	0.06
Racial Stereotyping	-0.72 [*]	0.35	-0.08	-1.06 [*]	0.46	-0.09	-0.53 [*]	0.26	-0.06	2.68 ^{***}	0.60	0.13
Social Distance	-0.73 ^{***}	0.19	-0.14	-0.32	0.20	-0.05	-0.54 ^{**}	0.14	-0.12	1.11 ^{**}	0.34	0.11
White Discrimination	-0.50 [*]	0.26	-0.07	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.26	0.34	0.02
Racial Group Threat	---	---	---	-0.16	0.13	-0.04	-0.28 [†]	0.15	-0.07	0.45 [†]	0.24	0.06
Constant	20.37 ^{***}	2.02		19.00 ^{***}	2.15		13.97 ^{***}	1.47		43.92 ^{***}	4.33	
R-Squared		0.12 ^{***}			0.06 ^{***}			0.09 ^{***}			0.13 ^{***}	
N												

1,038

Notes: Models control for sex, age, education, income, political ideology, home ownership status, public housing experience, household structure, and the presence of target-group members in actual neighborhoods. ^{*} $p < .05$. ^{**} $p < .01$. ^{***} $p < .001$. [†] $p < .10$.

APPENDIX B

Camille Zubrinsky Charles

Department of Sociology
University of Pennsylvania
3718 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6298
(215) 573-2357
(215) 898-2124 FAX
ccharles@pop.upenn.edu

EDUCATION

- 1996 Ph.D., Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles (12/19/95)
Dissertation Title: *"I have always wanted to have a neighbor just like you...": Race and Residential Segregation in the City of Angels.*
- 1992 M.A., Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1989 B.A., with Honors, Sociology, California State University, Sacramento
- 1989 B.A., with Honors, Communication Studies, California State University, Sacramento

EMPLOYMENT

- 2006- Faculty Associate Director, Center for Africana Studies, University of Pennsylvania
- 1998- Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania
- 1998- Research Associate, Population Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania
- 2003- Research Associate, Center for Africana Studies, University of Pennsylvania
- 1995-1998 Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University
- 1994-1995 CSMP Scholar In Residence, Department of Sociology, Grinnell College
- 1993-1994 Graduate Research Fellow, Co-Project Coordinator--Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI), Center for the Study of Urban Poverty, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1993 Teaching Assistant, Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research, Institute for Social Science Research, University of Michigan, Teaching Undergraduates to Use Quantitative Data in Social Science Classes (for faculty from Historically Black Colleges and Universities).
- 1992-1993 Research Assistant, Center for the Study of Urban Poverty, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1992-1993 Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles: The Social Organization of Black Communities, Walter R. Allen
- 1992-1993 Program Assistant, Student Scholars Program, Honors and Undergraduate Programs, University of California, Los Angeles

- 1991-1993 Counseling Assistant, College of Letters and Science, Honors and Undergraduate Programs, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1990-1991 Academic Tutor, College of Letters and Science, Department of Athletics, University of California, Los Angeles

HONORS, GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2004-2007 Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. "The National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen." Principal Investigators, Douglas S. Massey and **Camille Z. Charles**. \$666,699
- 2003 Nominee, University of Louisville Grawemeyer Award in Education for *The Source of the River: The Social Origins of Freshmen at America's Selective Colleges and Universities*.
- 2003-2004 The Diversity Fund, Office of the Provost, University of Pennsylvania. "Race-ing for the Degree: Black Students Navigating Identity and Achievement at Selective Colleges and Universities." \$5,000.
- 2003-2004 University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation. "Race-ing for the Degree: Black Students Navigating Identity and Achievement at Selective Colleges and Universities." \$12,000.00
- 1999-2004 The Atlantic Philanthropies. "The National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen." Principal Investigators, Douglas S. Massey and **Camille Z. Charles**. \$1,500,000.00
- 1999-2004 Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. "The National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen." Principal Investigators, Douglas S. Massey and **Camille Zubrinsky Charles**. \$2,400,000.00
- 1999-2000 University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation. "Understanding Attitudes Toward Residential Integration in Multiracial Contexts." \$15,000.
- 1997-1998 The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. "A Planning Grant to Design a Survey of African Americans in Higher Education." Principal Investigators, Douglas S. Massey and **Camille Zubrinsky Charles**. \$200,000.
- 1996-1997 Small Grant Award, The Ohio State University College of Behavioral and Social Sciences. \$1,000.
- 1996-1997 Russell Sage Young Scholar Award, Project #99-96-05. "The Impact of Stereotypes and Immigrant Status on the Residential Preferences of Whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Los Angeles." \$17,124.
- 1994-1995 Dissertation Research Grant, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. 'I Have Always Wanted to Have a Neighbor Just Like You...': Race and Residential Segregation in Los Angeles. \$15,000.
- 1994-1995 Consortium for a Strong Minority Presence at Liberal Arts Colleges (CSMP) Scholar in Residence, Department of Sociology, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa.

- 1994-1995 Dissertation Year Fellowship, University of California, Los Angeles
 1990-1994 Dorothy Danforth Compton Graduate Fellowship

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- 2007 Charles, Camille Z., Douglas S. Massey, Mary J. Fischer, Brooke A. Cunningham, and Gniesha Y. Dinwiddie. *Pressure Cooker: The Minority Experience at Elite Colleges and Universities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (expected Winter 2007.)
- 2006 Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. *Won't You Be My Neighbor? Race, Class and Residence in a Prismatic Metropolis*. New York: Russell Sage (Fall 2006).
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- Reviewed, Contemporary Sociology, 33(3): 364-366
- Reviewed, The Du Bois Review, 1(2) (forthcoming)

Journal Articles, Book Chapters, and Other Publications

- 2005 Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. "Can We Live Together? Racial Preferences and Neighborhood Outcomes." Pp. 45-80 in *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*, edited by Xavier de Souza Briggs. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- 2004 Charles, Camille Z., Gniesha Y. Dinwiddie, and Douglas S. Massey. "The Continuing Consequences of Segregation: Family Stress and College Academic Performance." *Social Science Quarterly*, 85(5): 1353-1373.
- 2004 Torres, Kimberly C. and **Camille Z. Charles**. "Metastereotypes and the Black-White Divide: A Qualitative View of Race on an Elite College Campus." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 1(1): 115-149.
- 2003 Charles, Camille Z. "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29:167-207.
- 2001 Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. "Socioeconomic Status and Segregation: African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians in Los Angeles." Pgs. 271-289 in, *Problem of the Century: Racial Stratification in the United States at Century's End*, edited by Elijah Anderson and Douglas S. Massey. New York: Russell Sage.
- 2001 Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. "Processes of Residential Segregation." Chapter 4 (pp. 217-271) in, *Urban Inequality: Evidence From Four Cities*, edited by Alice O'Connor, Chris Tilly, and Lawrence Bobo. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
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- 2000 Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. "Residential Segregation in Los Angeles." Chapter 4 (pp. 167-219) in, *Prismatic Metropolis: Inequality in Los Angeles*, edited by Lawrence D. Bobo, Melvin L. Oliver, James H. Johnson, Jr., and Abel Valenzuela, Jr. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- 1999 Reskin, Barbara and **Camille Zubrinsky Charles**. "Now You See 'Em, Now You Don't: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Labor Market Research." Pp.380-407 in *Latinas*

and *African American Women in Labor Markets*, edited by Irene Brown. New York: Russell Sage.

- 1999 Upthegrove, Tayna R., Vincent J. Roscigno, and **Camille Zubrinsky Charles**. "Big Money Collegiate Sports: Racial Concentration, Contradictory Pressure, and Academic Performance." *Social Science Quarterly* 80(4): 718-737.
- 1996 Zubrinsky, Camille L. and Lawrence Bobo. "Prismatic Metropolis: Race and Residential Segregation in the City of the Angels." *Social Science Research* 25:335-374.
- 1996 Bobo, Lawrence and **Camille L. Zubrinsky**. "Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Differences, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice?" *Social Forces*, 74(3): 883-909.
- 1995 Bobo, Lawrence, **Camille L. Zubrinsky**, James H. Johnson, Jr., and Melvin L. Oliver. "Work Orientation, Job Discrimination, and Ethnicity: A Focus Group Perspective." Pp. 45-85 in *Research in the Sociology of Work*, volume 5, edited by Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- 1994 Bobo, Lawrence, **Camille L. Zubrinsky**, James H. Johnson, Jr., and Melvin L. Oliver. "Public Opinion Before and After a Spring of Discontent." Pp. 103-133 in *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future*, edited by Mark Baldassare. New York: Westview.
- 1993 Bobo, Lawrence, **Camille L. Zubrinsky**, James H. Johnson, Jr., and Melvin L. Oliver. "Work Orientation, Job Discrimination, and Ethnicity: A Focus Group Perspective." *Occasional Working Paper Series*, UCLA Center for the Study of Urban Poverty, volume 4, number 1.
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- 2005 Charles, Camille Z. and Kimberly C. Torres. "Social Psychology and Psychologists." *Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History: The Black Experience in the Americas*, edited by Colin Palmer. New York: Macmillan (Dec.).
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- 2004 Charles, Camille Z. and Kimberly C. Torres. "Ogbu Can't See the Forest or the Trees." A review of *Black American Students in an Affluent Suburb: A Study of Academic Disengagement*, by John Ogbu (2003, Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum). *PsycCRITIQUES*, 49(Suppl 14) (Formerly the APA Review of Books).

Media Appearances

- 2003 "Race and Collegiate Academic Achievement: The Source of the River." WHYY's *Radio-Times*. Philadelphia, PA, August 21.

- 2003 "Racial Integration in the United States." WHYY's *Radio-Times*. Philadelphia, PA, January 17th.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Books

Charles, Camille Z. *Race-ing Through College: Black Students at America's Selective Colleges and Universities* (Book-length manuscript; expected completion date 12/2005).

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Charles, Camille Z., Vincent J. Roscigno, and Kimberly C. Torres. "Racial Inequality and College Attendance: The Mediating Role of Parental Investments." (Conditional Accept, *Social Science Research*).

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- 2004 Torres, Kimberly C. and **Camille Z. Charles**. "Metastereotypes and the Black-White Divide: A Qualitative View of Race on an Elite College Campus." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 15-19, San Francisco.
- 2004 "The Source of the River: The Social Origins of Freshmen at America's Selective Colleges and Universities." Fifty Years of Brown v. Board of Education: How Far Have We Come?" East Stroudsburg University, East Stroudsburg, PA. March 31.
- 2004 "Can We Live Together? Racial Preferences and Neighborhood Outcomes." The National Fair Housing and Fair Lending Research and Policy Forum, Washington, DC. March 12.
- 2004 "The Continuing Consequences of Segregation: Family Stress and College Academic Performance." Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. January 15.
- 2003 "The Source of the River: The Social Origins of Freshmen at America's Selective Colleges and Universities." Du Bois Institute, Harvard University. October 15.
- 2003 "The Continuing Consequences of Segregation: Family Stress and College Academic Performance." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, GA. August 17.
- 2003 "The Source of the River: The Social Origins of Freshmen at America's Selective Colleges and Universities." Invited by the University of Pennsylvania Board of Trustees ad-hoc committee on diversity. June 19.

- 2003 "Comfort Zones: Immigration, Assimilation, and the Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences of Latinos and Asians." Annual Meetings of the American Association of Public Opinion Researchers, Nashville, TN. May 16.
- 2003 "The Source of the River: The Social Origins of Freshmen at America's Selective Colleges and Universities." Lecture sponsored by the Chicano/a-Latino/a Arts and Humanities Program, University of California, San Diego. April 28.
- 2003 "New Findings on Minority College Achievement: The Source of the River." The National Undergraduate Business School Symposium, University of Pennsylvania (Wharton), April 4.
- 2003 "All About the Benjamins? Racial Inequality, Parental Investments, and the Likelihood of Going to College." Department of African American Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago. March 3.
- 2003 "Money's Too Tight To Mention: The Impact of Family Socioeconomic Disadvantage, Financial Aid Stress, and Paid Employment on Collegiate Academic Performance." (Co-authored with Brooke Cunningham) Annual Meetings of the Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, PA. February 28.
- 2003 "Higher Learning: Examining Black Metastereotypes at an Ivy League University." (Co-authored with Kimberly Torres) Annual Meetings of the Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, PA. February 28.
- 2003 "Money's Too Tight To Mention: The Impact of Family Socioeconomic Disadvantage, Financial Aid Stress, and Paid Employment on Collegiate Academic Performance." Fall Colloquium Series, Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania. November 20.
- 2002 "Comfort Zones: Immigration, Assimilation, and the Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences of Latinos and Asians." The annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, IL. August 16.
- 2002 "The Source of the River: The Social Origins of Freshmen at America's Selective Colleges and Universities." Cecil and Ida Green Distinguished Lecture Series, University of Texas—Dallas. May 14.
- 2002 "Comfort Zones: Immigration, Assimilation, and the Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences of Latinos and Asians." The annual meetings of the Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, MA. March 9.
- 2001 "Sometimes 'Life' Gets in the Way: Racial Group Differences in the Day-to-Day Lives of College Students." Diversity in Higher Education (Mellon-sponsored conference), Boston University. December 1.
- 2000 "Where Do You Want To Live? How Race Affects Attitudes Toward Housing." Presented at the Integration WORKS conference. Philadelphia, PA. December 2.
- 2000 "Residential Segregation in Los Angeles." Prismatic Metropolis: A Research & Policy Conference Marking the Release of the Los Angeles Volume of the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality. UCLA. October 20.
- 1998 "Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences: Evidence from a Multiethnic Metropolis." Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. San Francisco, CA. August 21.
- 1996 "'You know what those people are like....': Stereotyping and Segregation in Los Angeles." Presented at University of Pennsylvania Department of Sociology and

the Annenberg School of Communications. October 16.

- 1996 ““You know what those people are like....”: Stereotyping and Segregation in Los Angeles.” Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association. New York, NY. August 16.
- 1996 “Prismatic Metropolis: Race and Residential Segregation in the City of the Angels.” Presented at the annual meetings of the Population Association of America, New Orleans, LA. May 9-11.
- 1996 “The Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality: Racial Attitudes and Residential Segregation in a Multiethnic Metropolis.” Presented at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research. January 15, 1996.
- 1995 ““I have always wanted to have a neighbor just like you...”: Race and Residence in the City of Angels.” Presented at the Dorothy Danforth Compton Graduate Fellowship National Conference, University of California, Los Angeles. April 29.
- 1994 “Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Difference, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice?” Presented at the Association of Black Sociologists Annual Conference, Los Angeles, California. August 2-6.
- 1993 “The Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality.” Presented at the UCLA-Drew Minority Oral Health Research Center Seminar Series. May 26.
- 1992 “The Mis-Education of the African-American Student-Athlete.” Presented at the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, California.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

External Service

- 2004- Member, Social Science Advisory Board, Poverty & Race Research Action Council (PRRAC)
- 2003- Member, American Sociological Association Committee on the Status of Racial and Ethnic Minorities
- 2003- National Advisory Group, Three-City Study of Moving to Opportunity (Harvard University/Urban Institute)
- 1997-2000 Member, National Academy of Sciences/National Research Council Forum on Adolescence
- 1995- Anonymous Reviewer: *American Sociological Review*, *Social Forces*, *Demography*, *Social Problems*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *Social Science Research*, *Urban Studies*, *the National Science Foundation*, *Russell Sage Foundation*, and *the Spencer Foundation*

University Service

- 2003- Makuu Advisory Committee, School of Arts and Sciences
- 2003-2005 Constituency Representative, Faculty Senate Executive Committee
- 2002- Faculty Mentor, Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program
- 2002-2004 Faculty, Center for Africana Studies Pre-Freshman Summer Institute
- 2000- Member, University Committee on Pluralism

1998-2001 Quantitative Data Analysis Requirement Committee, School of Arts and Sciences

Departmental Service

2006- Faculty Associate Director, Center for Africana Studies, University of Pennsylvania
 2003- Chair, Undergraduate Curriculum Committee, Center for Africana Studies, University of Pennsylvania
 2003-2004 Co-Coordinator, Sociology Colloquium Series, University of Pennsylvania
 2001-2003 Undergraduate Committee, University of Pennsylvania
 1999-2001 Executive Committee, University of Pennsylvania
 1999-2001 Graduate Admissions Committee, University of Pennsylvania
 1998-1999 Cluster Coordinator, Race & Ethnicity, University of Pennsylvania
 1996-1997 Faculty Recruitment Committee, The Ohio State University
 1995-1996 Computing Committee, The Ohio State University

STUDENT ADVISING, MENTORING, AND SUPERVISION

Doctoral Dissertations

2004 Brooks, Scott N. *Get Paid to Play: Networks of Responsibility and the Social Construction of Status and Identity in Basketball*. Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Committee member).
 2004 Torres, Kimberly. *Manufacturing Blackness: Skin Color Necessary But Not Sufficient: Race Relations and Racial Identity at an Ivy League University*. Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Committee member).
 2002 Kmec, Julie A. *Race in the Workplace and Labor Market Inequality*. Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Committee member).
 2001 Williams, Monique. *Three Examples of American Racial Stratification: Wage Discrimination, Homicide, and Health Outcomes*. Joint Program in Demography and Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Committee member).
 2001 Sharpe, Cicely. *The Interaction Between Place and Power: An Analysis of the Impact of Residential Segregation on African American Status Attainment*. Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University (Co-Chair).

Master's Theses

2005. Rose, Clayton. "Race in the Boardroom: Organizational Behavior and Access to the Top of the Corporation." Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Chair).
 2003 Benson, Janel. "Exploring the Racial Identities of Foreign-Born Blacks in the United States." Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Chair).
 2003. Crosley, Adair. "Explaining Variability in Employers' Use of Recruitment Methods in Urban Labor Markets." Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Chair).
 2001. Torres, Kimberly C. "Culture Shock: Black Students Account for Their Distinctiveness at an Elite College." Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (Chair).

Undergraduate Theses

- 2005 Isaac, Muriel. "Racial Identity and Women's Body Image." Center for Africana Studies, University of Pennsylvania.
- 2004 Welburn, Jessica. "Black Student Extracurricular Involvement and Academic Achievement at the University of Pennsylvania." Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.
- 2002 Martin, Emily Sama. "Volunteer Satisfaction and Tenure in the West Philadelphia Tutoring Project and the Kite and Key Society at the University of Pennsylvania." Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania (winner of the departmental thesis prize and a College-level thesis award).
- 2002 Hall, Kristal. "Race, Racism, and the Black Judge: A Critical Study of Racism in the Criminal Justice System from the Perspective of the Black Judge." Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

COURSES TAUGHT

Undergraduate

Introductory Sociology

Race and Ethnic Relations

Social Statistics

Freshman Seminar, The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation

Graduate

Theories of Racial and Ethnic Differentiation

The Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality

The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

American Sociological Association

Eastern Sociological Society

Population Association of America

Sociologists for Women in Society