

Shared Satisfaction among Residents Living in Multiracial Neighborhoods

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Abstract. Multiracial neighborhood integration has become more common in US metropolitan areas over the past three decades. This article takes up the question: are residents satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods? Traditional theories of racial change predict low levels of satisfaction in these neighborhoods while newer studies question that prediction. The article uses data representing all residents of multiracial neighborhoods in the Washington, DC area to study neighborhood satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods. The analysis finds evidence of *shared satisfaction* among residents regardless of race: large and *equal* shares of each racial group were satisfied. White residents were less satisfied than white residents of neighborhoods elsewhere in the metropolitan region, but were unlikely to perceive neighborhood decline. The shared satisfaction among residents of all races and the lack of racial antipathy to change among white residents suggests that multiracial neighborhoods offer sites to promote racial equity.

Keywords. racial integration, neighborhood satisfaction, neighborhood change, Washington, DC, multiracial neighborhood

Multiracial neighborhoods—those neighborhoods shared among Asian, Black, Latino, and white neighbors—have become more common in metropolitan areas since 1980. Made possible by immigration reform and fair housing legislation that passed in the 1960s, the number of multiracial neighborhoods has grown since the 1980s (Bader and Warkentien 2016; Holloway, Wright, and Ellis 2012; Logan and Zhang 2010). In addition to traditional ports of entry like New York City and Los Angeles, multiracial neighborhoods have become more common in “new immigrant” destinations and metropolitan areas with large shares of immigrants (Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell 2008; Zhang and Logan 2016).

Nearly all theories of urban change would not have predicted the emergence of multiracial neighborhoods, let alone their increasing prevalence. Theories of urban change tend to build on the human ecological model of inter-group competition for resources (Burgess 1984; McKenzie 1984; Park 1936). Racial identity is thought to represent such a chasm between groups that racial integration undermines neighborhood cohesion and causes residents to become dissatisfied (Duncan and Duncan 1957; Putnam 2007). The few integrated neighborhoods that existed were held up as notable exceptions to the general rule of dissatisfaction and change (Taub, Taylor, and Dunham 1984).

Recent ethnographic research contradicts these traditional theories and finds that residents of different races are satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods (e.g., Lumley-Sapanski and Fowler 2017; Spitz 2015). These studies find that racial diversity becomes a collective identity that residents work to protect, findings that call into question the general rule that integration begets neighborhood dissatisfaction. Due to their methods, however, it is difficult to determine whether these neighborhoods represent exceptions or are instead part of a larger trend of shared interracial satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods.

This article uses data that represent residents living in all multiracial neighborhoods across an entire metropolitan area. The data favor the conclusion that multiracial neighborhoods engender a shared satisfaction among residents of all races. About 70 percent of residents are satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods and the level of satisfaction did not vary by the race of residents. While white residents of multiracial neighborhoods report lower satisfaction than white counterparts elsewhere in the region, fewer than one in eight report that their neighborhoods have gotten worse. Based on these representative data, I conclude that qualitative research on the topic has not simply found anomalous cases of shared satisfaction. The evidence shows the deficiency of traditional urban theo-

ries to explain *multiracial* integration and the possibility that multiracial neighborhoods be a structure that levels opportunity in US metropolitan areas.

RACIAL INTEGRATION AS A DISINTEGRATING SOCIAL FORCE

Dominant theories of neighborhood change predict lower satisfaction in racially integrated neighborhoods than in other types of neighborhoods. These theories rest on the foundational notion that racial group identity organizes society to such a strong degree that racial differences undermine social cohesion among neighbors (Blumer 1958; Bursik and Webb 1982; Park and Burgess [1925] 1984). The origins of these theories go back to the Chicago School, who developed the theory of invasion-succession to explain why neighborhoods change (Park and Burgess [1925] 1984). Neighborhoods evolved to conform to the needs of one ethnic group. Competition over the use of space and other resources occurs after the entry, or “invasion,” by another group and the exit, or “succession” of the incumbent group (Duncan and Duncan 1957; McKenzie 1984; Park 1936).¹

Social Disorganization

Social disorganization theories built on this foundation to argue that racial integration destabilizes neighborhoods. Interested in explaining crime and deviance, social disorganization theorists developed the hypothesis that structural conditions undermining social cohesion present opportunities for deviance (Perkins et al. 1990; Sampson and Groves 1989). Race, being such a strong social force in American society, undermined cohesion between racial groups, leading to increased deviance and lower satisfaction (Hipp 2009; Putnam 2007).

Decades of studies found evidence that diversity leads to lower levels of neighborhood satisfaction. Research on patterns of change from the 1950s to the 1980s showed that that the entry of Black residents into white neighborhoods led white residents to flee and the neighborhood to turnover rapidly (Bader and Warkentien 2016; Duncan and Duncan 1957; Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). The erosion of social cohesion exacerbated interracial differences and contributed to white flight (Taub et al. 1984). Recent evidence also supports the hypothesis that racial diversity undermines social cohesion, lowers neighborhood satisfaction, and increases violence (Green, Strolovitch, and Wong 1998; Hipp

¹It bears mentioning that the original Chicago School sociologists did not have such a developed theory for *racial* differences. Burgess(1984) reinforced the distinction between racial and ethnic change through the construction of the “Black Belt” that graphically highlighted it as an exception to the general theory of the concentric ring model.

2009; Legewie and Schaeffer 2016).

Robert Putnam (2007) offered a new context for the theory that racial and ethnic differences undermine social capital. He argued that cultural differences between groups reduce interpersonal bonds among neighbors. As a result, local residents constrict their interactions with one another that reduces social capital. His “constrict hypothesis” supposed that the United States was following a trend found throughout Western countries and that constriction of interaction occurs across racial and ethnic groups.

Uniqueness of White Aversions to Integration

Some evidence contradicts the prediction that racial integration decreases cohesion across racial and ethnic groups. In a review of the literature van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) found that the association only existed in the US, and even then the sentiment was limited to whites. Notably, Abascal and Baldassarri (2015) argued that the apparent lack of trust in multiracial neighborhoods represents a statistical artifact caused by underlying differences in baseline trust. When examining race-by-composition interactions, they concluded that “it is not ethnoracial diversity per se that makes whites apparently ‘hunker down’ but rather the presence of nonwhites, particularly blacks and Hispanics” (Abascal and Baldassarri 2015:755). White antipathy rather than racial integration served as the mechanism that undermined trust.

Evidence that white people react differently to racial integration than other racial groups receives support from two other literatures. The first literature comes from the defended neighborhood hypothesis (Suttles 1972). The hypothesis derives from the idea that community members band together to defend their neighborhoods against outside threats. In the context of race relations throughout most of American history the defense included guarding against non-white residents moving into neighborhoods (Lukas 1985; Sugrue 1996). Racialized perceptions of places led whites to perceive neighborhoods with fewer white residents as less desirable and less safe than those with more white residents (Quillian and Pager 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush 2004; Swaroop and Krysan 2011). If the defenses failed, the most well-to-do white residents left. This “limited liability” view of neighborhoods (Janowitz 1967) meant the most disgruntled white residents remained, frustrated by both their dissatisfaction with integration and indignation that wealthier white residents were able to leave (Sugrue 1996). The lower regard in which other white residents hold of their neighborhoods, and the resulting lower home values, may further

frustrate incumbent white residents (Harris 1999; Howell and Korver-Glenn 2020).

Evidence for the uniqueness of white dissatisfaction also comes from research on racial residential preferences. This body of work shows a correlation between the white share of residents in neighborhoods and the percentage of whites who express a preference for those neighborhoods (Charles 2003; Krysan and Crowder 2017). The strong influence of racial composition has been consistent using a variety of methods including experimental designs, stated preferences for specific neighborhoods, and drawing ideal neighborhood compositions (Charles 2000; Krysan et al. 2009; Lewis, Emerson, and Klineberg 2011). That whites also reveal these same preferences when moving further confirms the influence of race on white preferences and satisfaction (Crowder 2000; Crowder, Pais, and South 2012; Quillian 2002). People of color, in contrast, prefer neighborhoods with more diverse racial compositions (Bader and Krysan 2015; Charles 2000; Krysan and Crowder 2017). While they show some preference for own-race neighbors, the preferences are small compared to those expressed by whites (Charles 2000). And, among some subgroups, people of color show a greater preference and more satisfaction as the share of white neighbors increases (Bader and Krysan 2015; Greif 2015).

SHARED SATISFACTION WITH MULTIRACIAL INTEGRATION

A small but growing body of research finds that multiracial neighborhoods develop cohesion around the notion of diversity. The studies examine multiracial neighborhoods as a distinct type of racial integration distinct from the dual-group model of the invasion/succession model. Lumley-Sapanski and Fowler(2017) showed residents of all races were satisfied living in a “hyperdiverse” neighborhood in Seattle. Groups compromised with one another, getting some, but not all, of what they desired in order to maintain neighborhood diversity. Similarly, Spitz(2015) finds that neighborhood residents value diversity in a multiracial neighborhood in Milwaukee. In both cases, residents were willing to trade off their optimal neighborhood conditions to sustain racial diversity. This was true even if residents lacked strong interpersonal bonds that bridged racial groups, and cooperation sometimes occurred by businesses and neighborhood organizations spanning racial divides (Matsumoto 2020). These recent qualitative studies echo Maly’s(2005) argument that collective identities develop around racial diversity that help groups feel satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods (see also, Nyden et al. 1998). Collectively these studies present a compelling argument for a “shared satisfaction” among residents of multiracial

neighborhoods.

The persistence of multiracial integration among neighborhoods provides demographic evidence that supports the shared satisfaction perspective. Logan and Zhang (2010; 2011) identified neighborhoods based on a presence of Asian, Black, Latino, and white residents commensurate with their metropolitan composition that they termed “global neighborhoods.” They estimated that 38 percent of neighborhoods in 2010 were global neighborhoods (Logan and Zhang 2011). Ellen and colleagues (2012) found that almost two thirds of multiracially integrated neighborhoods in 2000 remained integrated in 2010. Another study used a model-based approach and found that between eight and twenty percent of tracts in the metropolitan areas of the four largest metropolitan areas followed a trajectory of sustained multiracial integration (Bader and Warkentien 2016).

Recent studies of racial preferences also show a growing appreciation for diverse neighborhoods among whites. In interviews of white parents in two different cities, Darrah-Okike and colleagues(2020) found that parents valued diversity of their neighborhoods when searching for housing. Similarly, using survey data, Krysan and colleagues(2017) showed that multiracial neighborhoods were the most desired type of neighborhood across racial groups.

In contrast to these studies, however, Wright and colleagues(2020) found that almost half of highly diverse neighborhoods in both 1990 and 2000 became less integrated over the subsequent decade. Similarly, Kye and Halpern-Manners (2019) found that white residents were generally leaving multiracial neighborhoods, even if a sufficient number remained present to classify the neighborhood as diverse. In addition, even as the white participants in Krysan’s study with her colleagues(2017) expressed a desire for multiracial neighborhoods, those same participants expressed an aversion to living in neighborhoods integrated only with black or Latino residents (Bader and Krysan 2015). These studies call into question whether a sense of shared satisfaction may generalize to multiracial neighborhoods if one group, namely white residents, are leaving.

ARE PEOPLE SATISFIED LIVING IN MULTIRACIAL NEIGHBORHOODS?

Multiracial neighborhoods warrant more research because of their novelty (having overwhelmingly emerged since the 1980s), their growing number, and because of their questionable fit with traditional urban theories of neighborhood change. The newness of multiracial integration raises the empirical question whether residents are satisfied living in

multiracial neighborhoods that have come about since the 1980s. Much of the data supporting integration as a disorganizing force come from periods when multiracial neighborhoods were only starting to emerge. For example, Hipp's(2009) study, the most comprehensive study of neighborhood satisfaction in the US, used data as far back as 1987 to draw the conclusion that integration leads to dissatisfaction. The number of multiracial neighborhoods would have been exceedingly small and the neighborhoods were most likely unique.

The ethnographic studies cited above, which have been conducted relatively recently, provide more recent but less representative data. They show that residents of all races are satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods. Whether those studies undermine general theories of racial change, however, depends on whether the studies represent anomalous cases or examples of a consistent pattern among residents living in a variety of multiracial neighborhoods. These ethnographic studies come from specific neighborhoods that explicitly developed diversity as part of their collective identity. Researchers entered the field after neighborhoods integrated. As a result, researchers might have missed residents who left because they were dissatisfied (or worried that they might become dissatisfied) and might also be observing people uniquely motivated to move into racially diverse neighborhoods. The white residents that the researchers observe might be atypical since research finds that white movers typically restrict searches to whiter neighborhoods at each stage of their housing searches (Havekes, Bader, and Krysan 2016).

Dimensions of Satisfaction

This article addresses these empirical and theoretical limitations by studying a representative sample of residents living in a major metropolitan region. I studied three dimensions of satisfaction guided by contrasting perspectives of multiracial integration on satisfaction given by the shared satisfaction perspective on the one hand and the traditional urban theories of change on the other. Table 1 presents the hypotheses derived from each perspective for each of the three dimensions. *Internal satisfaction*, the first and clearest dimension, represents the answer to the question: are equal shares of residents of each race satisfied living in their multiracial neighborhoods? The shared satisfaction perspective clearly predicts the answer is “yes,” while traditional urban theories predict the answer is “no.”

[Insert Table 1 about here]

While internal satisfaction represents the principal direction from which satisfaction should be viewed, theoretical differences exist along two other dimensions. *Comparative satisfaction* asks whether residents in multiracial neighborhoods are similarly satisfied as same-race counterparts elsewhere in their region. Equal shares of groups could be satisfied in multiracial neighborhoods, but the shares could be equally low compared to other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area. On this dimension, traditional theories diverge. One view, represented by Putnam's (2007) constrict theory posits residents of multiracial neighborhoods find less satisfaction in their neighborhoods than same-race counterparts elsewhere. The other view, represented by Abascal and Baldassarri -Abascal and Baldassarri (2015), predicts that only whites will be less satisfied. The strongest version of the shared satisfaction perspective predicts equal satisfaction between residents of multiracial neighborhoods and same-race counterparts elsewhere in the region (e.g., Maly 2005). The lack of comparative data, however, leaves substantial uncertainty around this prediction.

Finally, I investigated *internal perspectives of neighborhood change* within neighborhoods. Traditional urban theories predict that the whites remaining in integrated neighborhoods negatively perceive neighborhood changes associated with integration. Whites' perceptions could come from the racial animosity they feel toward non-white neighbors or their perceptions could come from the fear that outsiders would develop a dimmer view of their neighborhoods. The shared satisfaction perspective, in contrast, predicts that residents find ways of being happy and letting each other find satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods. As a result, racial identity would not predict strong differences in the perceptions of change. Qualitative researchers, however, generally enter the field *after* neighborhoods integrate, and might miss those residents who might have been satisfied but worried about the direction of neighborhood change. Comparing sentiments across a representative sample of multiracial neighborhoods would capture neighborhoods that have remained integrated over time as well as those that recently experienced multiracial integration, yet is a near-impossible task using ethnographic methods.

The research raises practical as well as theoretical concerns. Long-term multiracial integration offers a concrete opportunity on which to build a pluralist orientation in American life. If residents find satisfaction living in multiracial neighborhoods, then those neighborhoods may help to dismantle segregation, the "linchpin" of racial inequality (Pettigrew 1979). Yet the opportunity exists only insofar as residents are satisfied. Worse, dis-

satisfaction could breed resentment and set back the effort of dismantling segregation. I discuss both the theoretical and practical concerns after presenting the results of the analyses that, on balance, support the shared satisfaction perspective.

DATA & METHODS

Collectively the dimensions above provide a basis to assess whether residents of all races are satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods. To investigate these three dimensions, I use what is, to my knowledge, the first survey that represents residents living in multiracial neighborhoods across a metropolitan region. From these data and a companion survey representing the larger metropolitan region, I investigate the empirical and theoretical questions raised above. With these two sources of data, I can make inferences that generalize to residents of multiracial neighborhoods that have been impossible to date.

Study Region

Data to test the hypotheses come from two samples of Washington, DC-area residents drawn in 2016 and 2018. Washington, DC has historically been a Black/white segregated metropolitan area. Asians and Latinos each made up only 3 percent of the DC-area population in 1980. Almost all Black residents lived in the eastern part of the city and nearly all white residents in the western part. This east-west pattern spilled beyond the District boundary into the Maryland suburbs with the eastern suburbs in Prince George's County containing large shares of black residents compared to its western neighbor, Montgomery County, that had (and continues to have) a whiter population. A few Black residents lived across the Potomac River in Northern Virginia, though they were highly clustered in a small number of neighborhoods (see also, Pinto-Coelho and Zuberi 2015).

The region's economy grew and became less based on the federal government in the 1980s and 1990s. The expansion of finance, insurance, and real estate services sector mirrored the sector's prominence in redeveloping metropolitan areas in the U.S. and abroad. Real estate developers capitalized on the expanding population by developing large swaths of land in middle-ring suburbs encircling the District. Having been built after the Fair Housing Act passed, the housing was not subject to the history of redlining and restrictive covenants.

During the same period, the region emerged as an immigrant destination: by 2015 a quarter of residents were born outside of the United States, with the largest shares of foreign-born residents having come from El Salvador, India, and Korea. Latino and Asian

residents now comprise 16 and 11 percent of DC-area residents respectively, while Black residents make up 29 percent and white residents 41 percent of the population. As the nation's capital and a major center for international relations, the region's foreign-born residents are more socioeconomically diverse than average. Among foreign-born residents ages 25 and older in the DC area, 21 percent had a bachelor's degree and 22 percent had a graduate degree, compared to 17 percent and 12 percent nationally.

Residents of all races were attracted to new suburban homes since 1980, especially in Montgomery and Fairfax Counties that boasted of nationally renowned school systems. Additionally, Montgomery County has, since 1974, mandated that all housing developments larger than 20 units include a set percentage of units that qualify as affordable housing (Urban Institute 2012).² Figure 1 shows that multiracial neighborhoods in the DC area do not cluster in the city. Neighborhoods expand out not only to the inner-ring suburbs, but even middle- and outer-ring suburbs in the DC area, and were especially likely to emerge along the hub-and-spoke system of the region's commuter rail lines in these counties (see also, Holloway et al. 2012). These patterns mirror increases in Latino and Asian shares of neighborhoods documented by Pinto-Coelho and Zuberi (2015). Figure 1 reveals the value of studying a representative sample of residents living in multiracial neighborhoods given the under-representation of suburban neighborhoods in research on multiracial neighborhoods.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

The number of multiracial neighborhoods in the Washington, DC area grew substantially during this period of demographic change. Wright and colleagues (2020) found only four "highly diverse" neighborhoods in the Washington, DC area in 1990; by 2010 there were 81, surpassed in number only by the New York and San Francisco metropolitan areas. The number of highly diverse neighborhoods in the DC area increased by 62 percent during the 2000s while the numbers declined in nearly all other metropolitan areas that had large numbers of highly diverse neighborhoods.

Survey Samples

Both surveys represented residents in the Washington, DC area, which was defined as Washington, DC and the surrounding jurisdictions of Montgomery and Prince George's

²Fairfax County passed an inclusionary zoning ordinance in 1971, but it was struck down by the Virginia Supreme Court. Fairfax County implemented a different mandatory inclusionary zoning policy in 1990 (Silverstein et al. 2017).

Counties in Maryland, Arlington and Fairfax Counties Virginia (including the cities of Falls Church and Fairfax in Fairfax County), and the independent city of Alexandria, Virginia, an area that comprises 4,096,851 residents. The 2016 DC Area Survey represents residents of two types of neighborhoods: multiracial and disproportionately Latino. Analyses for this study only include responses from residents sampled in the multiracial neighborhoods.

Multiracial neighborhoods included in the 2016 DCAS sampling frame met two criteria.³ First, Asian, Black, Latino, and white residents each made up at least 10 percent of the neighborhood. The ten-percent cutoff was used to ensure that each of the four racial groups represented a distinguishable subset of a neighborhood's residents. A ten-percent cutoff has been used in previous research (Ellen 2000; e.g., Walton and Hardebeck 2016/ed) and, given the racial diversity of the DC area, would not require the disproportionate clustering of any racial group to meet the criteria. Second, none of those four groups could represent a majority of residents. This criterion was included to identify places that would most likely be perceived as multiracial. Since racial composition influences perceptions of place (Krysan and Bader 2007, 2009; Krysan and Crowder 2017), the second requirement sought to avoid neighborhoods that may still be perceived to be single-race neighborhoods and has also been used as a requirement in previous research (e.g., Farrell and Lee 2018; Holloway et al. 2012).⁴

These criteria resulted in a sample frame of 114 neighborhoods that represented just under 585,000 people.⁵ The majority of neighborhoods were in Montgomery County, Maryland, followed by Fairfax County, Virginia, then Prince George's County, Maryland. The neighborhoods included in the sampling frame are shown in Figure 1. An address-based sample of households was drawn from these eligible neighborhoods. The sample design included over-samples of households with Asian and Hispanic surnames and households located in from disproportionately Black tracts among those that still satisfied the criteria to be included as multiracial neighborhoods.

Table 2 contains a comparison of multiracial neighborhoods to all neighborhoods in

³Disproportionately Latino neighborhoods were those in which Latino residents made up at least a quarter of the residents and were not already classified as a multiracial neighborhood.

⁴Wright and colleagues (2020) demonstrate the proliferation of definitions of multiracial neighborhoods. They show that while specific magnitudes vary by definition, broad conclusions about the growth and stability of multiracial neighborhoods agree across definitions.

⁵Eighteen neighborhoods met the first inclusion criterion but not the second. Of those eighteen, fifteen were neighborhoods that had a white majority: six were located in Fairfax County, Virginia (including one in Fairfax city), five in Montgomery County, Maryland, and two each in DC and Arlington County, Virginia. Two neighborhoods had a Black majority, one each in Montgomery County and Prince George's County. Only one neighborhood, in Montgomery County, had a Latino majority.

the DC area. White residents make up about a third of multiracial neighborhoods, on average, Latino residents make up about a quarter, Black residents make up 22 percent, and Asian residents make up 18 percent of residents. Immigration represented the largest deviation of multiracial neighborhoods from DC-area neighborhoods overall. Immigrants make up two of every five residents in multiracial neighborhoods, compared to just under one of every four residents in neighborhoods overall. Residents of multiracial neighborhoods had slightly lower educational attainment than neighborhoods overall, yet 46.6 percent had at least a bachelors degree (compared to an average of 52.3 percent of metro-wide neighborhoods), and one in five residents attained a professional degree. Married households and those with children comprised a larger share of households in multiracial neighborhoods compared to DC-area neighborhoods overall.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

The 2018 DC Area Survey drew a sample representative of the *entire* DC area. The sample was stratified by jurisdiction to guarantee representation of all jurisdictions in the data.⁶ The 2018 DCAS included over-samples of tracts with disproportionately large Black and Latino populations.

Both surveys were administered using similar procedures. Respondents were mailed a packet with an introductory letter from the principal investigator, a 12-page questionnaire, postage-paid return envelope, and a \$2 bill as an incentive. All materials were branded with the DCAS logo. The materials were written in English, however the introductory letter had a Spanish translation on the reverse side with instructions to request a translated questionnaire. A single reminder was sent approximately halfway through each six-week field period. In addition to asking about neighborhoods, the surveys both asked about respondents' health, perceptions of crime, interaction with police, and political attitudes. Although the two surveys differed, the dependent variables in the analysis all came from the first page of the respective surveys, and the first pages of the two surveys were very similar across the two surveys. The response rates were 12.8 percent and 12.2 percent for the DCAS 2016 and DCAS 2018 surveys (RR4, American Association of Public Opinion Researchers 2008).

⁶Arlington County and the City of Alexandria were combined into a single stratum.

Dependent Variable

The analyses used a dichotomous measure of neighborhood satisfaction. Both surveys asked respondents, “How satisfied are you with your neighborhood as a place to live?,” a question that has been used in previous research (see, e.g., Greif 2015; Woldoff 2002). Respondents who indicated that they were “extremely” or “very” satisfied living in their neighborhood were coded as being satisfied. Those who indicated that they were “somewhat” or “not at all” satisfied were coded as being unsatisfied.

Independent Variable

Respondents’ self-identified race and ethnicity was the independent variable in all analyses. I classified racial groups into four mutually exclusive categories based on the respondents’ answers to questions about Hispanic ethnicity and race (respondents were allowed to choose multiple racial groups). I classified those respondents who indicated Hispanic ethnicity as *Latino*, regardless of their race. Among the remaining non-Latino respondents, I classified as *white* those who selected white as their only race; as *Black* those identified as Black, either alone or in combination with any other race; and as *Asian* those who identified as Asian or Pacific Islander, either alone or in combination with any race other than Black. Respondents missing on either the race question or the ethnicity question and respondents who did not satisfy the criteria above were not included in the analysis. This left a final analytic dataset of 641 respondents in the 2016 data and 989 respondents in the 2018 data.

Control Variables

I included variables to control for other demographic characteristics of residents. I calculated *age* based on respondents’ birth year and *gender* based on respondents’ gender identity, for which they were given the choices “male,” “female,” and “other.” Female was set as the reference. Only two respondents chose “other” and were coded as missing on this question. I included an indicator for *being partnered* based on those respondents who indicated that they were “now married or in a marriage-style arrangement,” with those not currently partnered as the reference.

I included whether the respondent had *children in the household* because the presence of children could affect the outlook residents have of their neighborhoods. The question did not limit the response to respondents’ own children. I also included an indicator

to measure whether respondents were *foreign born* since immigrant status would likely correlate with residential perceptions and race simultaneously.

I represented socioeconomic status with a measure of *educational attainment*. I created a measure with five categories based on the highest level of education respondents reported: less than high school, high school (including GED), some college (including associates degrees), bachelors degree, and graduate degree. I chose to use educational attainment to measure socioeconomic status because it is a more stable measure than income, and space did not permit the DCAS to ascertain income longitudinally. Income also had more missing data in both 2016 (N=59) and 2018 (N=79) compared to educational attainment (N=15 in 2016 and N=25 in 2018). Among those respondents who answered both questions, however, education and income were highly correlated.

I also included measures of neighborhood experience that account for neighborhood lifecourse characteristics. First, I included the *years respondents lived in their neighborhoods* since the lifecourse model presumes that people will become accustomed to the norms and will become more satisfied as they live in the neighborhood over a longer period. Second, I included a measure of *neighborhood size*. This measure was self-reported by respondents and including it in models accounts for how subjective perceptions of neighborhood boundaries affect satisfaction and perceived change. Statistics describing the multiracial neighborhood sample of the 2016 DCAS data are reported in Table 3, and statistics describing the sample of the complete DC-area population from the 2018 DCAS data are reported in Table 4.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

[Insert Table 4 about here]

Analytical Approach

I used logistic regression analysis to test the hypotheses above. The general model is expressed in the equation:

$$\eta = \alpha + \beta^T \mathbf{X} + \gamma^T \mathbf{Z} + \delta_j \quad (1)$$

where η is the vector of outcomes for respondents transformed using a logistic link function. In the model, α measures the intercept, and β is a vector of point estimates for racial groups (with whites omitted). White respondents were selected as the reference group

since the hypotheses ask whether white perceptions differ from the perceptions of other racial groups. The vector γ contains point estimates of demographic and neighborhood experience controls, \mathbf{Z} .

Analyses based exclusively on the 2016 data of residents living in multiracial neighborhoods included a fixed effect, δ_j , for the neighborhood of residence. Neighborhoods were defined as residents' census tracts. Including neighborhood fixed effects makes the estimates, β , reflect the differences between white outcomes and those of Asian, Black, and Latino residents *living in the same neighborhood*.

The median neighborhood included five respondents and the maximum reached twenty residents. Nine neighborhoods had only a single respondent. The nine respondents from these neighborhoods were dropped from analyses that included fixed effects. Eight of 103 neighborhoods contained only one race of respondent; three contained only Asian respondents (N=8 respondents) and five contained only white respondents (N=16 respondents). Twenty-six neighborhoods had at least one respondent from all four groups.

All analyses were conducted in R (version 3.6.3), and they all accounted for missing data and the complex survey design. I used the *Amelia* package (Honaker, King, and Blackwell 2011) to impute missing values in five datasets. I conducted all analyses using these five datasets weighting outcomes to account for the complex sample design using the *survey* library (Lumley 2004). I combined all results using Rubin's (2004) rules. A replication package that includes all data and code used for the models is available at [redacted].

RESULTS

Internal Satisfaction

The first analysis examined satisfaction among residents living in multiracial neighborhoods in the DC Area. Consistent with the the shared satisfaction perspective, I found that little variation exists within multiracial neighborhoods. Table 5 reports the percentage of residents who expressed satisfaction living in multiracial neighborhoods by racial group as well as differences among groups. The first column shows that a large majority of all residents, 71.3 percent, were satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods. It further shows few differences by race. Latino residents had the largest deviation from the overall mean, but that deviation was only 3.7 percentage points. Furthermore, the largest difference between any two groups, Black and Latino residents, was only 6.2 percentage points.

[Insert Table 5 about here]

Regression analyses further confirmed the lack of interracial variation in neighborhood satisfaction. Table 6 reports the results estimating three models. All three models included a fixed effect for the neighborhood (tract) of residence that allows the estimates to be interpreted as racial differences among residents living in the same neighborhood.

[Insert Table 6 about here]

The first model included only race and the neighborhood fixed effects. The parameter estimates confirm minimal differences by race. Average marginal effects and 95 percent confidence intervals of this model are shown in light grey on Figure 2. The average marginal effect represents the difference between the probability of satisfaction among residents of each race compared to white residents. Compared to white residents, 0.8 percent fewer Asian residents were satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods while only 5.3 percent more Black residents and 3.1 percent more Latino residents were satisfied.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

Adjusting for other characteristics led to only very small increases to the interracial variation. The estimated average marginal effects measuring the difference in predicted percent of residents being satisfied compared to white residents in the full model increased to 0.6 percent among Asian residents, 6.0 percent among Black residents, and 6.7 percent among Latino residents (plotted in dark grey in Figure 2). The adjusted coefficients confirm that race does little to predict variation in neighborhood satisfaction.

The final row of Table 6 provides further evidence against interracial differences in neighborhood satisfaction among residents of multiracial neighborhoods. The row reports the Akaike information criterion (AIC), a measure that balances a model's parsimony with its goodness of fit to the data (Akaike 1974). Lower values indicate better fit, and the results show that the data fit a model without race (reported in the third column) better than a model including race (reported in the second column). Wald-F statistics across all imputed datasets confirm that the data fit the model that excluded race better than the model that included race.

These findings provide evidence that residents of all races are equally satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods. White residents, among whom the racial stratification theories would predict to be dissatisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods, were just as sat-

isfied as their neighbors of color. What is more, a large majority of all four racial groups, ranging from 68.3 to 75.1 percent, reported being satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods. The widespread level of satisfaction among all four racial groups supports the shared satisfaction model of multiracial integration.

Due to the cross-sectional source of data, the selection of diversity-seeking residents into multiracial neighborhoods and dissatisfied residents out of multiracial neighborhoods may undermine the conclusion of shared satisfaction, especially among white residents. I conducted robustness analyses to look for evidence of selection.⁷ I first examined whether longer-term white residents were less satisfied than those who recently moved into neighborhoods. I did not find evidence that longer-term white residents were less satisfied, a finding that we would have expected if long-term white residents were stuck in place without options to move out. I then examined whether losing larger shares of whites affected interracial levels of satisfaction. The multiracial neighborhoods I sampled may have been neighborhoods in transition, changing from one composition to another. If so, then whites leaving would undermine the basis for concluding that a sense of shared satisfaction existed. I did not, however, find any interracial differences in satisfaction among neighborhoods that had lost larger shares of whites over the previous 15 years. Although only longitudinal data from respondents can decisively answer the question, these robustness analyses provide evidence consistent with the conclusion that selection does not exert a strong influence on shared satisfaction.

Comparative Satisfaction

I compared the difference between neighborhood satisfaction among residents of multiracial neighborhoods to neighborhood satisfaction among residents in general. In particular, I focused on comparisons between same-race residents. The traditional theories of neighborhood change predict lower satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods. Recall, however, that two separate hypotheses predict different patterns: Putnam's(2007) constrict theory predicts lower satisfaction among all racial groups while Abascal and Baldassarri's(2015) white exceptionalism predicts lower satisfaction only among whites. In contrast to both, the strongest form of the shared satisfaction perspective predicts that residents of multiracial neighborhoods will be as satisfied as residents elsewhere in the region.

⁷A full description of these analyses and the results may be viewed on pages S1–S11 of the supplement.

To examine these hypotheses, I first compared the percentage of satisfied residents in multiracial neighborhoods, calculated from the 2016 DCAS, to the percentage of satisfied residents in all DC-area neighborhoods from the 2018 DCAS. Table 7 reports these values. Among residents of the entire DC area, 78.3 percent were satisfied in their neighborhoods, 7.6 percentage points higher than satisfaction felt among residents of multiracial neighborhoods ($p < 0.05$ from a two-sample t-test). But Table 7 also shows that the lower satisfaction levels can be largely attributed to white residents. White residents of multiracial neighborhoods were 16.2 percent less likely to be satisfied with their neighborhoods than white residents in the DC area ($p < 0.001$). Asian residents of multiracial neighborhoods were also less likely to be satisfied than DC-area Asian residents, but the difference was insufficiently large to be confident that it did not arise from sampling variation ($p = 0.200$). Black multiracial neighborhood residents were 2.1 percentage points less likely to be satisfied than Black DC-area residents generally, while Latinos were about equally likely to be satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods as elsewhere in the DC area.

[Insert Table 7 about here]

To further examine differences across multiracial and all DC-area neighborhoods by race, I combined the DCAS 2016 data with the DCAS 2018 data. I estimated a model that included an interaction between being part of the 2016 multiracial neighborhood sample. Figure 3 reports the average marginal effect of living in a multiracial neighborhood compared to the DC area as a whole.⁸ The plot confirms the lack of difference among Latinx and Black residents living in multiracial neighborhoods compared to DC-area neighborhoods generally. Black residents of multiracial neighborhoods were only one percentage point more satisfied than the average Black residents of the DC-area and Latinx residents of multiracial neighborhoods were only two percentage points less satisfied than Latinx residents of the DC area. In contrast, both white and Asian residents of multiracial neighborhoods were 16 percentage points less satisfied than the respective residents of the DC area. The effect was unlikely due to sampling error among white residents while the results were borderline statistically insignificant among Asian residents.⁹

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

⁸The point estimates in Figure 3 represent the mean average marginal effect across the five imputed datasets. The confidence intervals represent the largest absolute value across the five imputed datasets. Table S5 in the supplement reports all parameter estimates for the model.

⁹The p -values for the difference between white residents of multiracial neighborhoods and all DC-area white residents had a range of 0.003 to 0.005 between the five imputations, while the range of p -values for differences among Asian residents was 0.052 to 0.063.

The results cast doubt on the universality of the Putnam's(2007) constrict theory. Black and Latino residents of multiracial neighborhoods were equally or more satisfied than their counterparts elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Living in a multiracial neighborhood predicts lower levels of satisfaction among white and Asian residents. The result mostly affirms Abascal and Baldassarri's(2015) prediction of white exceptionalism, \revision{with the caveat that Asian residents appeared similar to white residents. In addition to providing evidence against the constrict theory, the results also cast doubt on the strongest view of the shared satisfaction perspective that white residents find as much satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods as other neighborhoods.¹⁰

Internal Perceptions of Neighborhood Change

Lower satisfaction among white residents living in multiracial neighborhoods creates a particularly disconcerting situation if they were concerned that the changes caused neighborhood quality to decline. The final analysis, of internal perceptions of change, addresses this concern. Traditional urban theories predict that a large share, if not a majority, of white residents will perceive their neighborhood as declining after it integrates. The shared satisfaction perspective, predicts the opposite.

The 2016 DCAS asked for responses to the prompt, "Looking back over the past five years or so, would you say that your neighborhood has..." and allowed respondents to choose from five responses: become a much better (worse) place to live, become a somewhat better (worse) place to live, or stayed about the same. I recoded responses into three categories representing whether respondents reported their neighborhoods were getting better, getting worse, or staying the same. Because this was one of the first questions asked on the survey, and because it came before any questions about the respondent's own race or racial attitudes, respondents were not primed to think about neighborhood changes in the context of racial change.

Overall, 34.5 percent of all residents living in multiracial neighborhoods thought that their neighborhoods improved over the previous five years. In contrast, only 11.5 percent of residents thought that their neighborhoods got worse. Just over half, 54.0 percent thought that the neighborhood stayed the same. Figure 4 plots, by race, the unadjusted percentage of residents living in multiracial neighborhoods that think that their neighborhoods have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed the same. Black and Latino

¹⁰I also analyzed the association between entropy and satisfaction among groups using only the DC area-wide data from the DCAS 2018. The results were consistent with the findings presented in Figure 3.

residents were as likely as white residents to report that multiracial neighborhoods have gotten worse, contrary to the theoretical expectation that white residents would perceive neighborhood declines. In all three cases, the percentage of respondents who perceived declining neighborhood conditions was small.

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

White residents were, however, less likely to think that their neighborhoods improved: 26.9 percent reported that their neighborhoods improved while 60.4 percent believed that the neighborhood stayed the same. In comparison, 37.8 percent of Asian residents, 36.9 percent of Black residents, and 39.5 percent of Latino residents reported that their neighborhoods improved. Controls in a regression model did not account for white residents' lower propensity to perceive neighborhood improvement in multiracial neighborhoods. Table 8 reports estimates of two models predicting perceptions of neighborhood change, a race-only model and a model that includes the complement of controls, including neighborhood fixed effects. Racial differences diminished only slightly in the models that included controls. The average marginal effects of race on neighborhood improvement compared to white residents were 13.8 percent for Black residents ($p=0.006$), 14.4 percent for Latino residents ($p=0.010$), and 10.5 percent for Asian residents ($p=0.033$) based on the full model. The data fit the model that includes race better than the model that does not.¹¹

[Insert Table 8 about here]

That a smaller share of white residents perceive improvement than their neighborhoods of color deserves context in light of theories of urban development. Although a smaller share of white residents see neighborhood improvements compared to residents of color, a *majority* of white residents perceive no change. Furthermore, a quarter of white residents perceive improvement. These results provide a strong counterclaim against traditional urban theories that predict white disgruntlement with integration. While the results do not fully support the shared satisfaction model of integration, where whites view changes as positively as neighbors of color, the balance of the results fall closer to shared satisfaction than white antipathy.

¹¹A multinomial model supported the absence of racial variation in negative evaluations of neighborhood change. The results did not show a statistically significant effect of racial identity (at conventional levels) in evaluating the neighborhood as having improved, either. The multinomial models, however, have very large standard errors because the models included neighborhood fixed-effects for 112 neighborhoods in each of two outcomes. The results of the multinomial models are included in the supplement.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

Shared Satisfaction Among Residents of Multiracial Neighborhoods

Multiracial neighborhoods have become a feature of many US metropolitan areas, and this study asked whether residents find satisfaction living in them. I examined this topic with, to my knowledge, the first representative sample of residents living in multiracial neighborhoods in a metropolitan area. Among residents from over 100 multiracial neighborhoods across an entire metropolitan region, I found that 71 percent of residents were satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods and that satisfaction *did not vary* by race. This evidence supports the shared satisfaction perspective of multiracial integration, and it undermines the premise of traditional urban theories that predict distrust and social disorganization.

The analysis of comparative satisfaction, however, tempers the strongest interpretation of shared satisfaction. The strongest interpretation posits that satisfaction rates would equal those of other neighborhoods, an interpretation that holds among Black and Latino residents. The interpretation, however, does not hold among white and Asian residents. My evidence concurs with past research that whites experience lower levels of satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods (c.f., Abascal and Baldassarri 2015; van der Meer and Tolsma 2014), but adds that Asian residents appear more like white residents than Black or Latino residents. Yet evidence of white antipathy predicted by traditional theories also was also missing since more than three-fifths of white residents in multiracial neighborhoods perceive no change in neighborhood quality and 26 percent view changes positively. Cumulatively, these findings support the shared satisfaction perspective while revealing topics for future research that I describe more below.

Multiracial Neighborhoods as Leveling Structures

Multiracial neighborhoods might offer a structure that levels satisfaction rates across the metropolitan population. Given the racist development of metropolitan neighborhoods, it might be no surprise that white satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods is lower than that of white residents in the DC area at large. Opportunity hoarding among whites, especially middle-class whites, means that predominantly white neighborhoods tend to have a surfeit of economic, cultural, and political resources.¹² Like elsewhere in the country,

¹²A few examples of opportunity hoarding in the past five years include opposing school district boundary changes for fear of property value declines in one district and shouting down researchers at an event planning for *potential* redistricting plans in another one (Peetz 2019; Woolsey 2019), opposing homeless shelter locations in wealthy and disproportionately white wards of the city on the basis that if “homeless lives mat-

whiter neighborhoods in the DC area have higher property values, schools with better reputations, and more access to amenities. White residents in the area-wide comparison group acquire disproportionate access to these resources and, possibly as a result, end up more satisfied. White residents of multiracial neighborhoods, in contrast, may end up confronting the lower levels of access that people of color typically experience.

Preferences for integration might also explain why larger shares of Asian, Black, and Latino residents perceive neighborhood improvement compared to whites. Past research shows that all three groups profess stronger preferences for integration than whites (Bader and Krysan 2015; Charles 2000). Until recently, whites overwhelmingly rejected integration (Charles 2006; Krysan et al. 2017). That neighborhood integration precipitated neutral feelings rather than negative feelings in this study reflects a marked contrast to traditional theories of racial integration.

In summary, multiracial neighborhoods may level access to resources and, as a result, level perceptions of satisfaction. The comparative aspect deserves future research, especially since the dispersion of respondents across neighborhoods in the DC-area-wide data limited my ability to assess the impact on residents experiencing the same neighborhood changes. Changes to racial attitudes since the 1980s suggest that updating Hipp's (2009) analysis would be a fruitful endeavor, as would collecting and analyzing data on satisfaction with respondents clustered at the neighborhood level (e.g., Greif 2015).

Research investigating contemporary spatial inequality should help to refine estimates of neighborhood satisfaction across neighborhoods with different racial compositions, especially given the implications for redistributive policies. Although whites may be less satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods than in other neighborhoods, they end up with a similar level of satisfaction felt by other racial groups in the metropolitan area. Changes that occurred in multiracial neighborhoods improve the neighborhoods in the eyes of people of color while not diminishing neighborhoods in 87 percent of whites. That integration led most whites to have neutral or positive sentiments about changes in their neighborhoods indicates that integration does not impose a substantial cost on their enjoyment of neighborhoods.

The belief that whites end up dissatisfied when living in integrated neighborhoods has stymied progress toward policies promoting integration. The results of this study com-

ter[,] the lives of community homeowners matter too" (Alpert 2016), and fiercely opposing zoning changes in single-family neighborhoods (Koma 2020).

bined with the previous literature should alleviate concerns of white dissatisfaction. Policymakers may wish to start by affirmatively marketing multiracial neighborhoods. Knowledge about neighborhoods tends to differ by race (Krysan and Bader 2009; Krysan and Crowder 2017), and lower familiarity with specific multiracial neighborhoods might prevent movers from searching in them. Affirmative marketing campaigns can market the shared sense of satisfaction when they feature multiracial neighborhoods.

At the same time, multiracial neighborhoods do not constitute a panacea. Racial integration requires trading off benefits and costs (Bell 2005). There are good reasons to support further racial integration, but integration itself does not represent an unalloyed good. People of color, and Black people in particular, are already aware of the trade-offs and have been negotiating these trade-offs for decades (Lacy 2007; Lewis 2003; Lewis-McCoy 2014). Integration promotes a sense of the “real world,” but also exposes them to the daily incivilities and danger of racism (Lacy 2007; Spitz 2015). “Habits of whiteness” (Walton 2021) can become the default normative behavior that can marginalize residents of color. Policies that promote racial integration should also attend to the inclusion and access of residents living in those spaces. That shared satisfaction exists in multiracial neighborhoods does not, however, preclude the possibility that bi-racial integration leads to declining satisfaction and animosity. Future research should investigate satisfaction in different types of integrated neighborhoods. Relatedly, as Greif’s (2015) work has demonstrated, intraracial dynamics of neighborhood change on satisfaction should be incorporated into future work (see also Lacy 2007; Woldoff 2011).

Improving Theories of Urban Change Based on Shared Satisfaction

The evidence in this article shows that, on balance, future research should investigate why multiracial neighborhoods sustain equal rates of satisfaction among residents across racial groups. While racial groups all find satisfaction, they might do so for different reasons. Knowing which amenities appeal to different groups will be important to understand the prospects for stable multiracial integration and must be part of policies that support multiracial integration.

Research should also further investigate perceptions among whites. As I note above, racial antipathy appears unlikely in multiracial neighborhoods. Yet, lower satisfaction than whites in the metropolitan region and the less positive views of change than their neighbors reveals a lower level of enthusiasm. Whites might tire of negotiating racial dif-

ferences in their communities. The work required could exhaust or frustrate white residents (even though whites have expected people of color to perform in white neighborhoods). The results in this study do not provide an answer; the results suggest that a perspective premised on interracial shared satisfaction might find greater success than one that presumes social disorganization.

DC differs from other metropolitan areas in ways that might increase the chance of satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods. The DC area includes the first jurisdictions to experiment with inclusive zoning policies that contribute to racial integration. In addition, the DC area ranks at the top or among the top metropolitan areas for educational attainment among Black and Latino residents, while drawing immigrants from across the economic spectrum. All of these factors may help residents of multiracial neighborhoods build bonds across race more easily.¹³ Simultaneously, knowledge-based and high-end service sectors of the economy have grown. These factors may be why the DC region ranks among those with the most multiracial neighborhoods. But they are similar to other metropolitan areas that have seen similar increases in multiracial neighborhoods including Sacramento, Seattle, and Dallas (Wright et al. 2020). As the number of multiracial neighborhoods has increased, the need for comparative analyses of internal dynamics of multiracial neighborhoods across metropolitan areas has gone unmet.

Finally, the DC area suggests that studies of *suburban* integration should also be a priority. The suburbs contain almost all of the multiracial neighborhoods in the DC area. Although a larger share of multiracial neighborhoods might exist in the DC area compared to other metropolitan areas, several recent studies document the suburban expansion of multiracial neighborhoods (Holloway et al. 2012). These neighborhoods are rarely known as multiracial neighborhoods, if they are known at all, and might provide unique insight into contemporary racial dynamics.

This article finds that a large share of residents are satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods and, more importantly, that Asian, Black, Latino, and white residents express satisfaction in equal proportions. This study contributes to a growing literature that shows that residents across races share similar levels of satisfaction in multiracial neighborhoods. It does so using a study representative of residents in multiracial neighborhoods that allows the claim to be more general than past studies allowed. Multiracial neighborhoods,

¹³While these factors might limit the generalizability of findings from the DC area, they also helped isolate racial effects in the data since race does not correlate as strongly with educational attainment and immigration in the DC area as it does in other metropolitan areas.

especially those in the suburbs, should be studied more frequently to explain the contemporary relationship between race and place. In doing so, studies will likely break with traditional theories of racial change in ways that may promote racial equity.

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TABLES

Table 1. Description of dimensions of neighborhood satisfaction living in multiracial neighborhoods based on traditional urban theories and those based on multiracial integration

Dimension	Research Question	Traditional	Multiracial
Internal satisfaction	Among residents of multiracial neighborhoods, are some groups less satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods than others?	Whites will be less satisfied than others	Equal satisfaction among racial groups
Comparative satisfaction	Is neighborhood satisfaction lower among residents of multiracial neighborhoods than among same-race counterparts in the metropolitan area?	A) Yes, among all groups B) Yes, but only among whites	No, satisfaction is comparable for all groups
Internal Perceptions of Change	Among residents of multiracial neighborhoods, do some groups perceive neighborhood decline?	Whites will be likely to perceive decline	No racial groups will perceive decline

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of tract-level variables in multiracial neighborhoods in the DC Area

Variable	Multiethnic neighborhoods		All neighborhoods	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
<i>Racial composition</i>				
Percent Asian	18.3	7.5	10.2	9.4
Percent Hispanic	24.3	9.8	14.6	13.6
Percent non-Hispanic black	22.2	9.5	30.9	31.3
Percent non-Hispanic white	31.5	9.7	41.1	27.2
<i>Educational attainment</i>				
Percent less than high school	12.8	6.5	9.9	9.3
Percent high school	18.0	5.6	17.2	11.1
Percent some college	22.6	5.3	20.6	8.6
Percent bachelor's degree	25.4	5.8	25.5	9.8
Percent professional degree	21.2	6.6	26.8	15.9
<i>Other demographic characteristics</i>				
Percent foreign-born	39.7	9.1	23.9	14.7
Percent of households with children present	37.5	9.9	32.7	12.2
Percent married (not separated)	48.4	8.0	44.9	15.8

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of independent and control variables, DCAS2016 multiracial neighborhood sample

Variable	Total sample		Asians		Blacks		Latinxs		Whites	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
<i>Race</i>										
White	0.32									
Asian	0.21									
Black	0.22									
Latinx	0.25									
<i>Demographics</i>										
Age	47.15	0.85	45.08	1.57	46.88	1.79	47.06	1.91	48.81	1.49
Foreign born	0.46		0.79		0.37		0.67		0.14	
Man	0.49		0.52		0.43		0.52		0.48	
Children present	0.40		0.37		0.45		0.45		0.35	
Married	0.65		0.7		0.61		0.55		0.72	
<i>Education</i>										
Less than H.S.	0.04		0.07		0		0.09		0	
H.S. or G.E.D.	0.09		0.08		0.14		0.08		0.07	
Some college	0.21		0.13		0.21		0.3		0.2	
Bachelor's degree	0.31		0.42		0.3		0.24		0.3	
Professional degree	0.34		0.3		0.34		0.28		0.42	
<i>Neighborhood experience</i>										
Years in neighborhood	11.87	0.52	10.45	0.92	10.24	1.03	12.55	1.12	13.46	0.96
1-9 blocks	0.60		0.66		0.58		0.52		0.65	
10-50 blocks	0.33		0.26		0.38		0.35		0.32	
>50 blocks	0.07		0.08		0.05		0.14		0.03	

Sample respondents (N): Total=641, White=266, Asian=186, Black=105, Latino=84

Table 4. Means and standard deviations of independent and control variables, DCAS2018 sample (N= 989)

Variable	Total sample		Asians		Blacks		Latinxs		Whites	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
<i>Race</i>										
White	0.42									
Asian	0.13									
Black	0.30									
Latinx	0.15									
<i>Demographics</i>										
Age	48.51	0.88	46.01	1.98	53.77	1.68	43.03	2.6	47.48	1.23
Foreign born	0.33		0.89		0.23		0.59		0.13	
Man	0.47		0.56		0.38		0.57		0.48	
Children present	0.35		0.37		0.35		0.51		0.29	
Married	0.54		0.77		0.38		0.59		0.56	
<i>Education</i>										
Less than H.S.	0.09		0.11		0.13		0.27		0	
H.S. or G.E.D.	0.17		0.12		0.29		0.16		0.11	
Some college	0.21		0.13		0.32		0.29		0.13	
Bachelor's degree	0.21		0.17		0.09		0.15		0.32	
Professional degree	0.32		0.47		0.17		0.13		0.44	
<i>Neighborhood experience</i>										
Years in neighborhood	11.90	0.6	8.53	0.97	14.71	1.29	9.17	1.27	11.91	0.9
1-9 blocks	0.62		0.63		0.63		0.68		0.58	
10-50 blocks	0.34		0.31		0.33		0.31		0.36	
>50 blocks	0.04		0.06		0.04		0.02		0.05	

Sample respondents (N): Total=989, White=513, Asian=93, Black=308, Latino=75

Table 5. Unconditional mean level of satisfaction and differences by race among residents of multiracial neighborhoods

	All	Asian	Black	Latino	White
Percent satisfied	71.3	71.7	68.8	75.0	70.0
Difference					
Asian	0.4		-3.0	3.2	-1.8
Black	-2.5			6.2	1.2
Latino	3.7				-5.0
White	-1.3				

Table 6. Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors predicted from models estimating neighborhood satisfaction among residents of multiracial neighborhoods

	(1)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	0.533 (1.051)	0.512 (1.089)	0.838 (1.144)
<i>Race</i>			
Asian	-0.050 (0.384)	0.041 (0.487)	
Black	0.364 (0.400)	0.450 (0.450)	
Latinx	0.207 (0.424)	0.507 (0.539)	
<i>Demographics</i>			
Age		0.003 (0.012)	0.003 (0.012)
Foreign Born		-0.106 (0.446)	-0.057 (0.348)
Male		0.219 (0.297)	0.190 (0.298)
Children Present		-0.659 (0.376)	-0.568 (0.370)
Married		0.415 (0.315)	0.326 (0.308)
<i>Socioeconomic</i>			
<H.S.		-1.824 * (0.863)	-1.802 * (0.881)
Some college, no B.A.		-1.031 (0.635)	-1.030 (0.632)
B.A.		-0.976 (0.608)	-1.050 (0.603)
M.A.+		-1.362 * (0.587)	-1.434 * (0.578)
<i>Neighborhood perceptions</i>			
Home owner		0.734 (0.396)	0.719 (0.398)
Years in neighborhood		-0.019 (0.017)	-0.020 (0.017)
10-50 blocks		1.030 ** (0.377)	1.070 ** (0.358)
>50 blocks		0.320 (0.603)	0.457 (0.580)
Tract fixed effects	X	X	X
N	632	632	632
AIC	663.145	647.778	642.032

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table 7. Unconditional mean level of satisfaction among residents of multiracial neighborhoods compared to residents in entire DC area, by race

	Multiracial Neighborhood Residents		DC-Area Residents		Difference	SE
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE		
All residents	71.3	(2.5)	78.3	(2.2)	-7.0*	(3.3)
Asian	71.7	(5.0)	81.1	(5.4)	-9.4	(7.3)
Black	68.8	(5.8)	68.9	(4.6)	-0.1	(7.4)
Latino	75.0	(5.7)	75.4	(7.4)	-0.4	(9.4)
White	70.0	(3.9)	85.1	(2.3)	-15.1**	(4.6)

Table 8. Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors predicted for models estimating neighborhood improvement among residents of multiracial neighborhoods

	(1)	(3)
(Intercept)	1.167 (1.047)	1.669 (1.220)
<i>Race</i>		
Asian	1.344 ** (0.426)	0.936 (0.511)
Black	1.436 ** (0.456)	1.205 * (0.498)
Latinx	1.650 *** (0.466)	1.253 * (0.538)
<i>Demographics</i>		
Age		0.030 * (0.013)
Foreign Born		0.546 (0.416)
Male		0.222 (0.319)
Children Present		0.022 (0.345)
Married		-0.129 (0.338)
<i>Socioeconomic</i>		
<H.S.		0.685 (1.018)
Some college, no B.A.		-0.606 (0.513)
B.A.		-1.093 * (0.536)
M.A.+		-1.082 * (0.476)
<i>Neighborhood perceptions</i>		
Home owner		0.643 (0.414)
Years in neighborhood		-0.107 *** (0.021)
10-50 blocks		0.728 * (0.363)
>50 blocks		0.599 (0.662)
Tract fixed effects	X	X
N	632	632
AIC	651.992	615.867

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of multiracial neighborhoods in the Washington, D.C. area

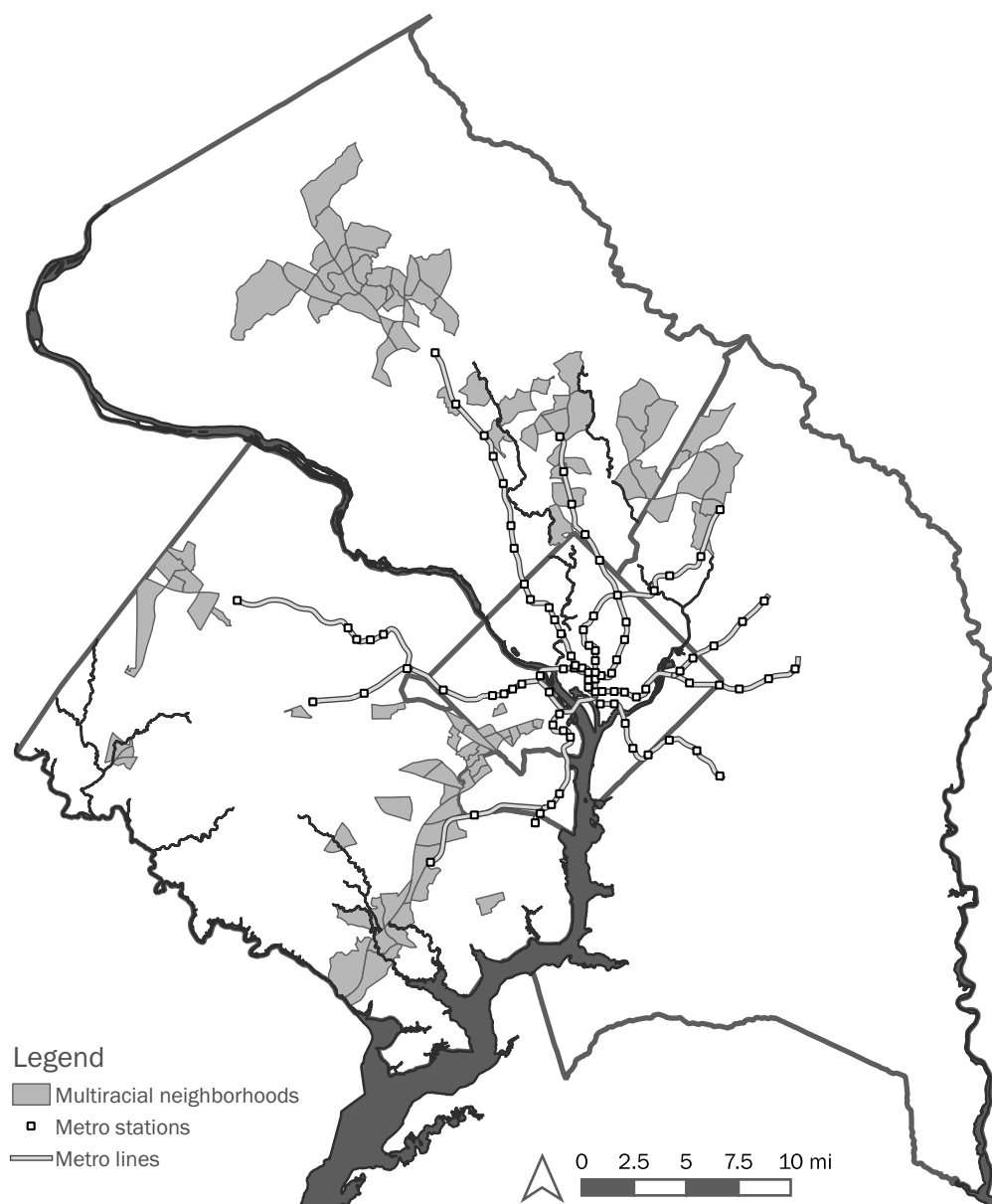


Figure 2. Marginal effects of race on being satisfied in multiracial neighborhoods compared to white residents of multiracial neighborhoods

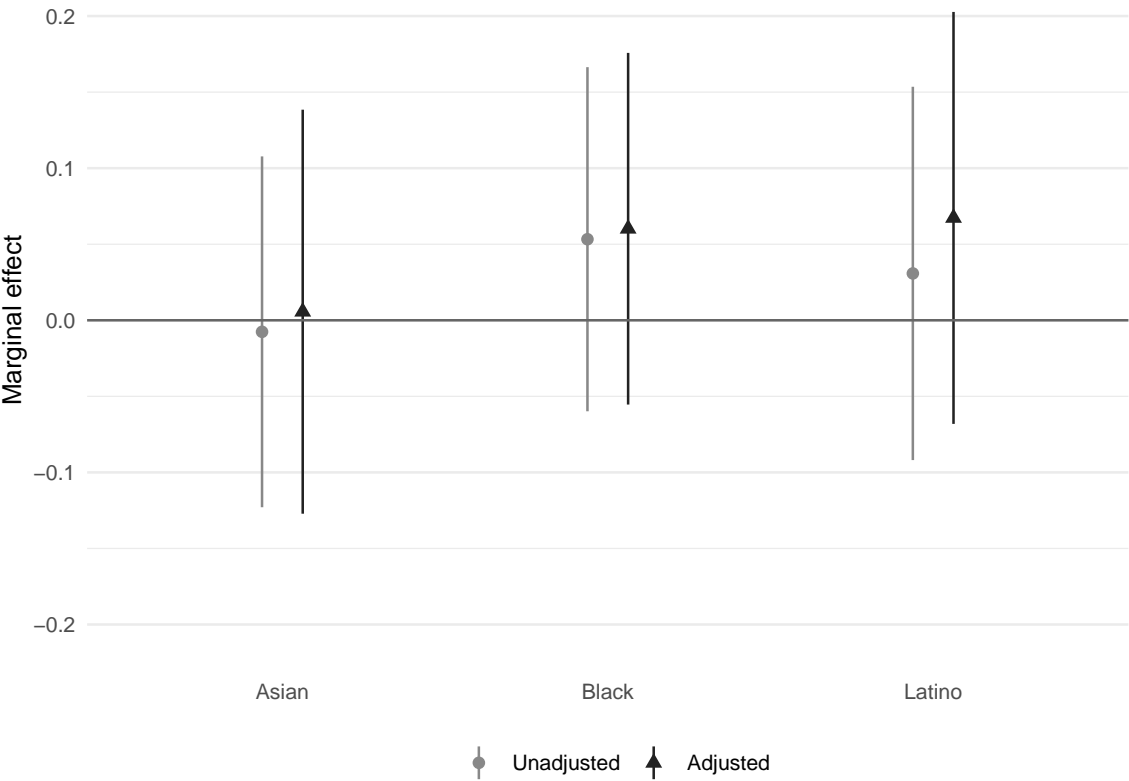


Figure 3. Average marginal effects on satisfaction of living in multiracial neighborhoods compared to all DC-area residents of the same race

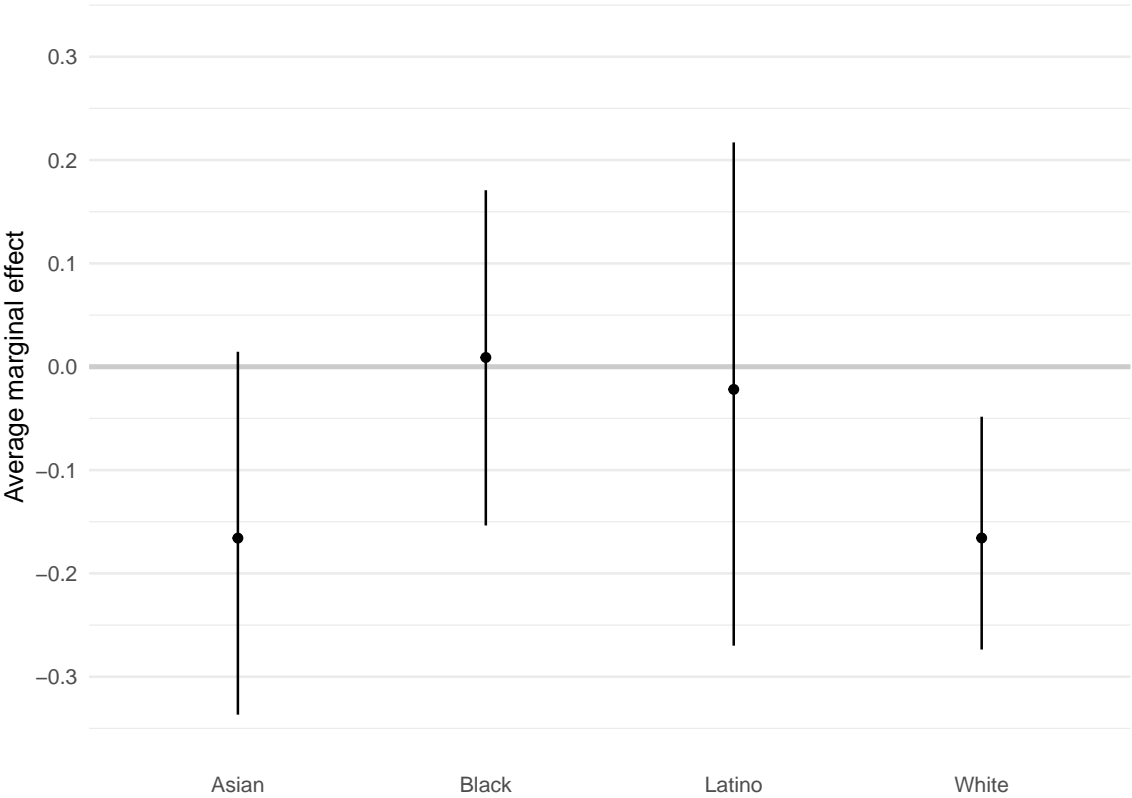
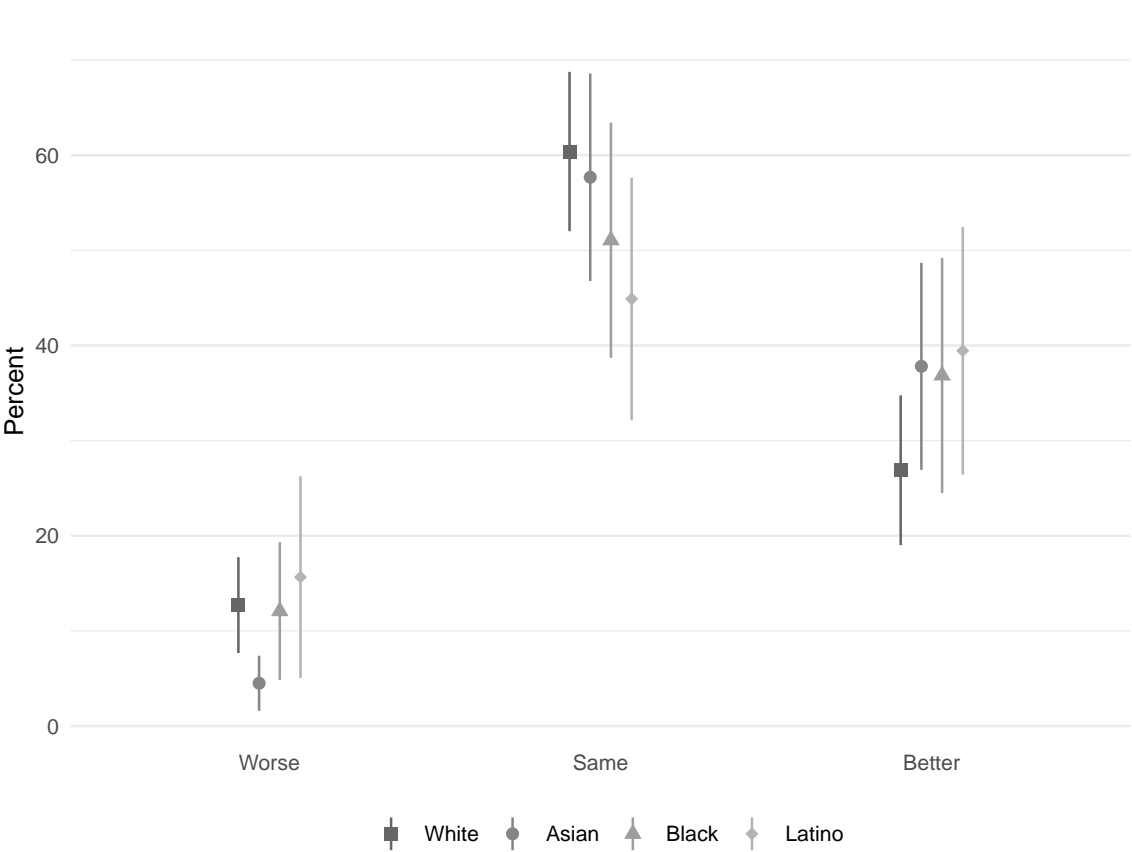


Figure 4. Percent of respondents who report how neighborhood has changed in past five years by race



SUPPLEMENT

Internal Satisfaction Robustness Analysis

The data from the DCAS 2016 raise the issue that I, by construction, only received responses from residents selected on two types of behaviors: residents who chose not to move out of multiracial neighborhoods and residents who selected to move into multiracial neighborhoods. Residents may have exhibited one or both of these behaviors. These residents might exhibit different levels of satisfaction that either those who left or chose not to move into multiracial neighborhoods. Given the importance of selection effects, and the importance of selection of whites in particular based on the predictions of existing theories, I conducted analyses to mitigate concerns about selection effects among whites. The first analyses examine levels of satisfaction among whites by duration of residence and the second examine interracial differences by the size of white population change in neighborhoods.

Influence of length of residence on satisfaction The first robustness analysis considers length of residence in neighborhoods by race. One element of selection would exist if whites were so disinterested in moving to multiracial neighborhoods that no new whites moved in. If this were true, then multiracial integration would be the exclusive result of incumbents remaining in integrated neighborhoods.

Figure S1 shows evidence against the dynamic of total white avoidance. Figure S1 plots the distribution of years lived in their current neighborhood by the race of the respondent. While it is true that whites exclusively account for residents who have lived in neighborhoods longer than 40 years, *about half of white respondents* moved into multiracial neighborhoods in the past 10 years. The mixture of long-term and short-term white residents does not suggest that neighborhoods have become anathema to whites as they have become more integrated. Of DCAS 2016 respondents who had moved into their neighborhoods in the previous 10 years, 29 percent were white (in fact, approximately equal shares of newcomers identified by each race: 23 percent were Asian, 26 percent were Black, and 22 percent were Latinx).

Previous theories and evidence suggest that the white residents who have stayed in multiracial neighborhoods will be some mixture of:

1. white residents who have been satisfied living in integrated neighborhoods and

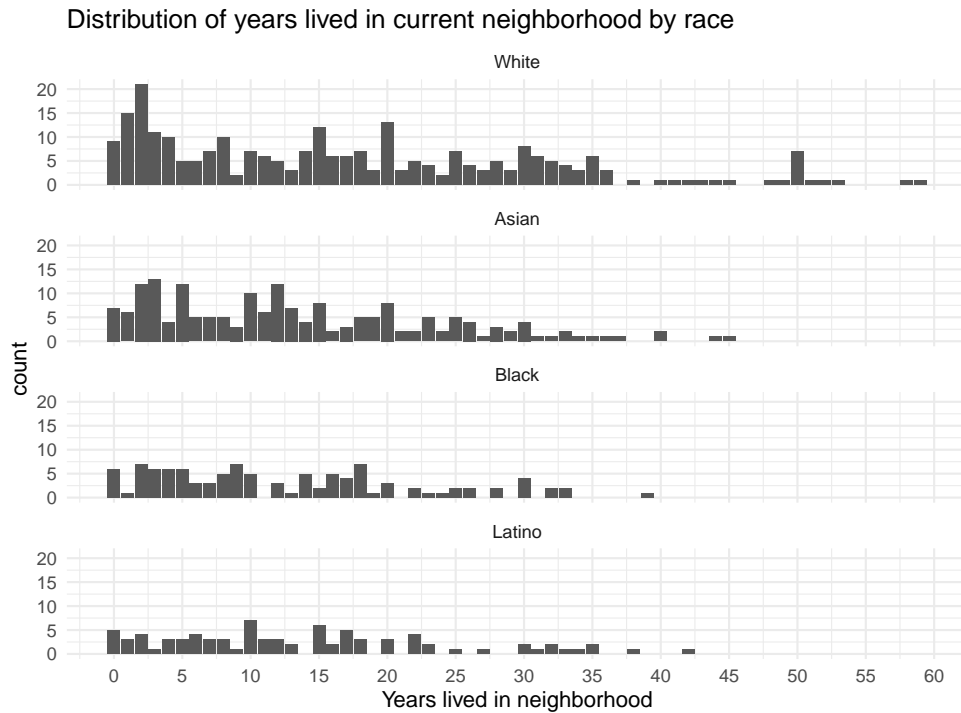


Figure S1. Distribution of years lived in current neighborhood by race

chose not to leave (satisfied stayers), and

2. white residents who have been stuck in the neighborhood without the means to move out of the neighborhood despite being dissatisfied (dissatisfied stayers).

The latter subgroup, the “dissatisfied stayers” would perceive neighborhoods similarly to those who were dissatisfied *and* able to leave. Meanwhile, previous theories and evidence do not provide a strong reason that the former subgroup, the “satisfied stayers,” would have higher levels of satisfaction than new white entrants who selected multiracial neighborhoods above other neighborhood types. Without a reason to suspect that stayers would, on average, be more satisfied than the average new entrant, and stayers comprise both those satisfied and those dissatisfied with integration, then evidence of lower satisfaction among longer-term residents would provide some evidence that selection by satisfaction level has been occurring.

Figure S2 shows the (unweighted) smoothed percent of white residents satisfied by length of residence in their neighborhoods. Given the importance of white residents to the theories, and the fact that the neighborhoods in the sample were almost all predominantly white neighborhoods that integrated over time, I focus on white respondents. Just under 70 percent of whites who lived in the neighborhood fewer than 40 years reported being

satisfied, with a possible modest increase among those who lived in the neighborhood from 10 to 20 years. A consistent downward trend existed among the five percent of white residents who lived in the neighborhood for at least 40 years (but even then, more of those residents were satisfied than dissatisfied).

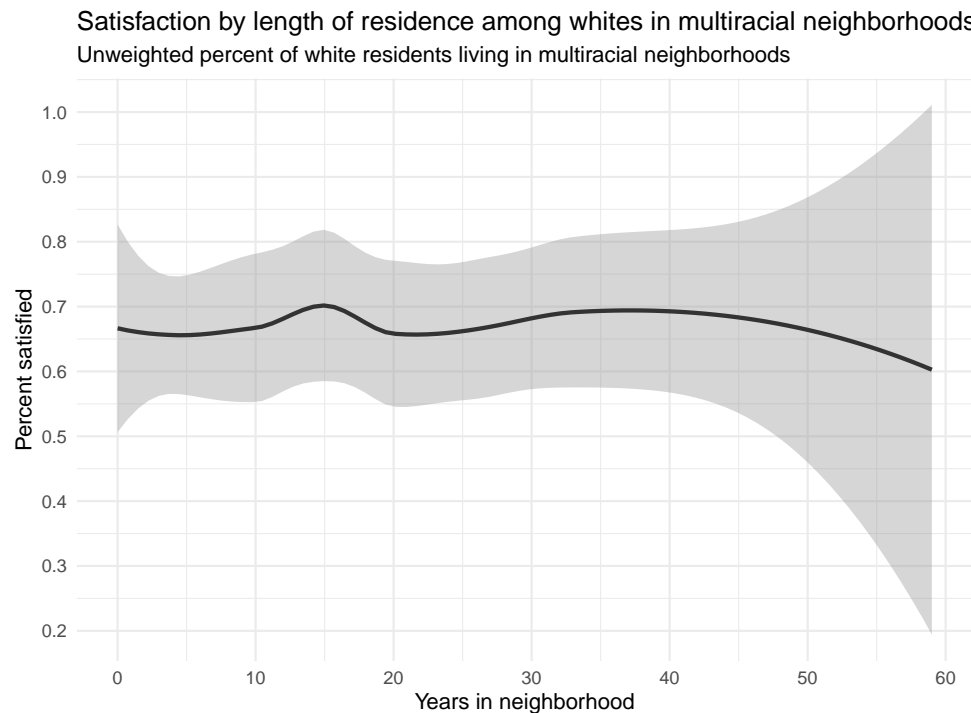


Figure S2. Satisfaction by length of residence among white residents in multiracial neighborhoods

The descriptive plot above does not, however, account for other factors that might correlate with satisfaction and length of residents, especially age, which mechanically correlates with length of residence. I created models that include a categorical variable for how long respondents have lived in multiracial neighborhoods and estimated parameters based only among white respondents.

Estimates of these models are reported in Table S1. The first two columns report estimates of models with neighborhood fixed effects, meaning the models statistically compare white residents living in the same neighborhood. The first column shows that length of residence *does not* predict satisfaction among whites. The coefficients for residents who lived longer in their neighborhoods were negative, but the standard errors were double the estimated point estimates for two of three cases and as large as the point estimate for the third. What is more, the data fit the model without length of residence better than

the model that included length of residence, evidence of which can be seen in the smaller AIC in the second column compared to the first.

Table S1. Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors predicted of models estimating neighborhood satisfaction among white residents of multiracial neighborhoods

	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
(Intercept)	-3.040 (1.794)	-2.970 (1.738)	0.959 * (0.422)	0.991 ** (0.360)
<i>Demographics</i>				
Age	0.001 (0.024)	-0.010 (0.020)	0.003 (0.014)	0.002 (0.013)
Foreign Born	3.243 ** (1.242)	3.225 ** (1.212)	0.502 (0.660)	0.528 (0.652)
Male	0.164 (0.708)	0.020 (0.597)	-0.103 (0.388)	-0.098 (0.382)
Children Present	-1.108 (0.779)	-0.896 (0.712)	0.113 (0.444)	0.187 (0.443)
Married	0.987 (0.725)	0.982 (0.674)	0.023 (0.473)	-0.034 (0.457)
<i>Education</i>				
<H.S.	0.396 (6.876)	-0.058 (5.976)	0.382 (2.115)	0.190 (1.916)
Some college, no B.A.	0.840 (1.036)	0.854 (1.095)	-0.030 (0.843)	-0.055 (0.865)
B.A.	0.243 (0.921)	0.468 (0.964)	-0.042 (0.830)	-0.083 (0.832)
M.A.+	-0.681 (1.003)	-0.429 (0.999)	-0.504 (0.842)	-0.573 (0.820)
<i>Neighborhood perceptions</i>				
Home owner	0.536 (0.627)	0.534 (0.652)	0.697 (0.462)	0.753 (0.441)
11-20 years in neighborhood	0.464 (0.821)		0.275 (0.500)	
21-30 years in neighborhood	-0.930 (0.917)		-0.343 (0.536)	
31-40 years in neighborhood	-0.771 (1.291)		-0.241 (0.762)	
>40 years in neighborhood	-0.394 (1.719)		0.367 (1.095)	
10-50 blocks	0.441 (0.631)	0.301 (0.596)	0.747 * (0.355)	0.701 (0.360)
>50 blocks	-7.770 * (3.892)	-8.037 * (3.689)	-1.397 (1.161)	-1.401 (1.286)
Neighborhood Fixed Effects	X	X		
N	263	263	263	263
AIC	320.360	310.724	308.395	300.433

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

The third and fourth columns report analogous models without fixed effects. Removing the fixed effects and not including any neighborhood covariates allowed me to

examine whether the duration of residence between any two white residents randomly drawn from any multiracial neighborhood in the DC Area differ from one another. Not accounting for different neighborhood conditions allowed any trends in satisfaction between newcomers and incumbents to be observed, even if those conditions were the result of neighborhood conditions. Accordingly, it provided a conservative estimate regarding the association between duration and neighborhoods and satisfaction. As with the first two models, none of the coefficients can be distinguished from a null association and the data fit the model without length of residence better than the model with length of residence. Given existing the existing theories regarding neighborhood selection, these results provide evidence that mitigate concerns that selection effects undermine the share of satisfied white residents living in multiracial neighborhoods.

Influence of white population change The second analysis examined whether white residents were systematically less likely than other racial groups to be satisfied in neighborhoods that tended to lose more whites. The loss of whites could signal dissatisfaction as whites “vote with their feet” and move out of the neighborhood. In addition, the loss of white neighbors could lead white residents who remain to feel less satisfied with their neighborhoods. Existing theories would predict that whites would be more sensitive to the loss of white residents than other racial groups, so we would expect to see larger inter-racial disparities in neighborhoods that lost more whites.

To address the possibility that white losses affect satisfaction differently for whites than other groups, I stratified the data by the white population change that occurred in the neighborhood from 2000 to 2015 (the latter being based on the 2011-2015 Five-year American Community Survey estimates). To account for different neighborhood sizes, I calculated the ratio of whites living in the neighborhood in 2015 to the number of whites who lived in the neighborhood in 2000; I then took the natural log of this value (i.e., $\ln(\text{POP}_{2015}/\text{POP}_{2000})$) to obtain a linear variable to include in models.

I calculated tertiles of change based on the distribution of white population change in neighborhoods.¹ The average neighborhood kept 80 out of every 100 of its white residents (median = 78 out of 100). The bands for the white population ratio in each tertile are reported in Table S2 and are depicted in orange in Figure S3.

¹ I based the tertiles on the unique neighborhoods in the data. The tertiles have different numbers of respondents based on the varying number of respondents in each neighborhood.

Table S2. Values of white population change ratio ranges by tertiles

Tertile	Range of change ratio
First	0.21-0.71
Second	0.71-0.88
Third	0.88-3.42

Table S2 and S3 show considerable variation in how much white population change occurred in multiracial neighborhoods. Some neighborhoods lost a large number of whites, but even in the tertile representing the largest white losses, the upper limit of neighborhoods kept 71 percent of white residents. This value is consistent with average annual mobility rates among whites, which in 2010 were 10.0 percent (US Census Bureau 2011). Although multiracial neighborhoods in the data lost whites, there were still 20 percent of neighborhoods that *gained* white residents over 15 years. The data used in the manuscript, therefore, reflect neighborhoods with a large distribution of white population losses and gains. These descriptive analyses show that the data used in the manuscript, therefore, reflect neighborhoods with a large distribution of white population losses and gains.

Table S3 reports the shares of residents of each race who report being satisfied by the tertile of white population change in their neighborhoods. Residents of all racial groups were less satisfied in neighborhoods that lost the largest share of whites than those that lost the fewest (or even gained white residents). The differences between the lowest and highest tertiles of white population change ranged from a 10 percentage point difference across white and Latinx residents to a 15.5 percentage point difference across Black residents (the difference among Asian residents was 13 percentage points).

The similarity across racial groups were confirmed by multivariable models. To examine whether interracial differences in satisfaction were consistent across this distribution of white neighborhood change, I stratified the DCAS 2016 by tertiles and re-estimated Models 2 and 3 from Table 6 of the manuscript. The parameter estimates, standard errors, and AIC values for the models are reported in Table S4. Model 2 in each of the tertiles includes race as a predictor of satisfaction. No effect exists that can be statistically distinguished from the null in any of the three models. In the two lowest tertiles, the data fit Model 3, which does not include race, than they fit Model 2. The data for the highest

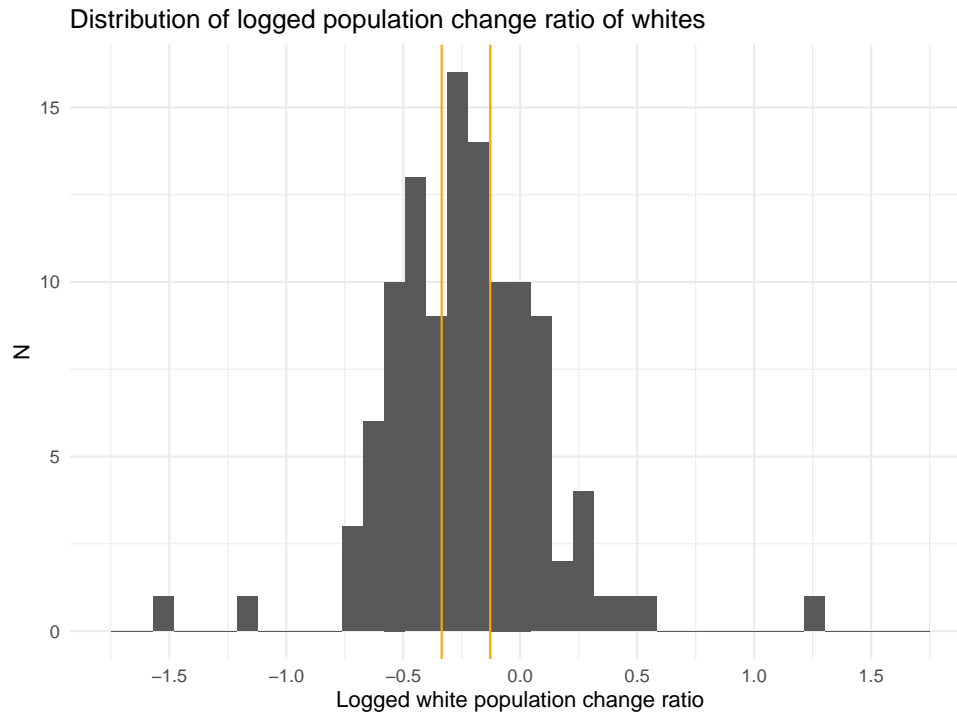


Figure S3. Distribution of neighborhood white population change

tertile fit the model that includes race better than the model that does not, but none of the race coefficients approach statistical significance.²

Another concern might be that an insufficient number of white respondents lived in neighborhoods that lost white residents from 2000 to 2015 to estimate parameters precisely. The lack of white respondents across the distribution of white change could, therefore, indicate a problem with selection out of multiracial neighborhoods. This was not the case. Even in the neighborhoods that lost the most whites (i.e., the first tertile), there were still 90 white respondents (out of 227, or 40 percent, respondents in the first tertile).

Figure @ref(fig:supp-chgsat) shows further evidence that white respondents lived in neighborhoods throughout the distribution of white population changes. The top panel shows the smoothed satisfaction among whites across neighborhoods with different changes to the white population. It confirms that white residents in neighborhoods that gained whites were more satisfied than those in neighborhoods that lost whites. The bottom panel of Figure @ref(fig:supp-chgsat) shows that whites were well-represented in all three

²Educational differences in satisfaction caused the substantial differences between the estimated intercept parameters across the three tertiles. Differences between groups defined by educational attainment spanned a 44.3 percent range, from a low of 52.4 percent among those with an M.A. degree or equivalent to 96.7 percent among those with less than a high school degree. The large intercept parameter estimate ended up being so high because high school graduates were on the high end of the distribution (85.6 percent were satisfied).

Table S3. Mean percent of residents satisfied by race in each tertile of white population change

Race	Tertile of White Change		
	1	2	3
Asian	68.9	73.3	72.9
Black	62.5	65.3	78
Latino	71.8	71.5	82.6
White	61.6	74.9	71.6

tertiles of white population change. As a result, the confidence intervals around estimates were much narrower in the middle of the distribution of white neighborhood population change than on the two extremes. The clustering of white residents in the middle of the distribution of white change further allays concerns that selection causes the finding of shared satisfaction (but does not alleviate them entirely).

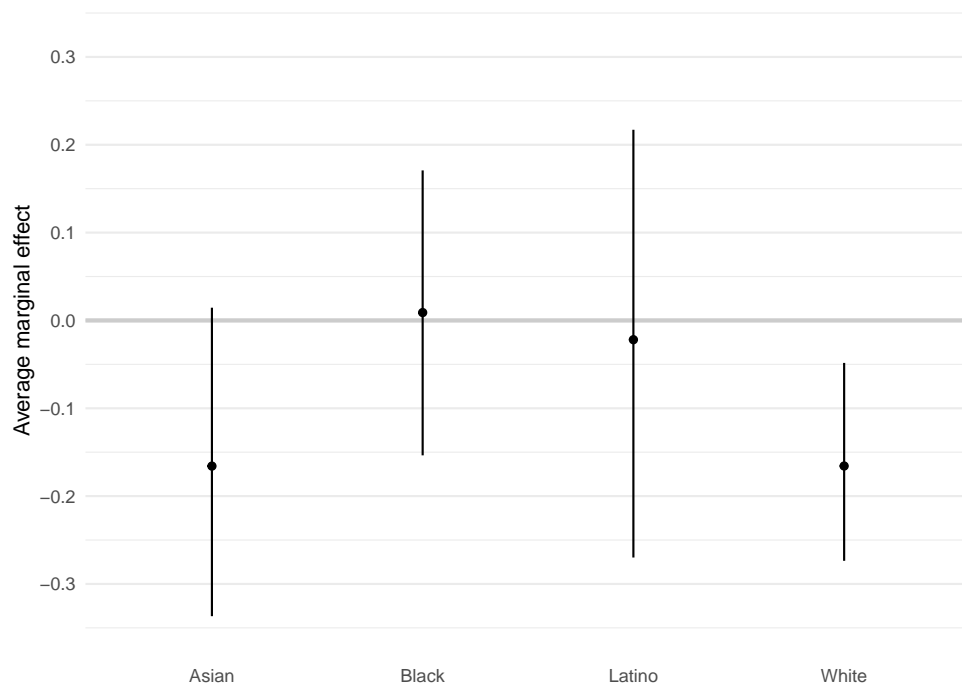


Figure S4. Satisfaction by change in white neighborhood population from 2000 to 2015 among whites living in multiracial neighborhoods

Table S4. Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors predicted from models estimating neighborhood satisfaction among residents of mulitracial neighborhoods by tertile of white population change

	First		Second		Third	
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	18.889 *** (0.959)	19.287 *** (0.745)	-3.104 (1.890)	-3.491 * (1.624)	1.921 (1.337)	2.505 * (1.241)
<i>Race</i>						
Asian	1.229 (0.827)		0.405 (1.005)		-0.449 (0.857)	
Black	0.756 (0.594)		-0.358 (0.800)		1.207 (0.919)	
Latinx	0.819 (0.825)		-0.562 (1.048)		0.465 (0.879)	
<i>Demographics</i>						
Age	-0.002 (0.020)	-0.006 (0.018)	0.022 (0.024)	0.021 (0.025)	0.000 (0.024)	-0.002 (0.024)
Foreign Born	-0.704 (0.852)	-0.151 (0.588)	0.403 (0.752)	0.358 (0.629)	0.165 (0.717)	0.132 (0.577)
Male	0.227 (0.495)	0.191 (0.488)	0.441 (0.565)	0.352 (0.557)	0.481 (0.584)	0.340 (0.546)
Children Present	-0.166 (0.686)	-0.160 (0.649)	-0.370 (0.618)	-0.405 (0.603)	-1.762 * (0.686)	-1.491 * (0.616)
Married	0.297 (0.535)	0.228 (0.506)	0.708 (0.676)	0.852 (0.636)	0.833 (0.581)	0.494 (0.607)
<i>Socioeconomic</i>						
<H.S.	-0.137 (1.878)	-0.284 (1.710)	-5.135 ** (1.952)	-4.388 ** (1.616)	-0.850 (1.669)	-0.553 (1.489)
Some college, no B.A.	-2.514 ** (0.868)	-2.451 ** (0.846)	-0.987 (1.390)	-0.730 (1.434)	1.453 (1.202)	1.422 (1.224)
B.A.	-1.881 * (0.927)	-1.825 * (0.867)	-1.000 (1.289)	-0.835 (1.201)	0.395 (1.083)	0.196 (0.957)
M.A.+	-3.035 *** (0.867)	-2.955 *** (0.818)	-1.459 (1.165)	-1.237 (1.098)	0.433 (1.035)	0.432 (0.909)
<i>Neighborhood perceptions</i>						
Home owner	0.349 (0.670)	0.357 (0.655)	-0.527 (0.817)	-0.361 (0.756)	1.147 (0.707)	0.968 (0.700)
Years in neighborhood	0.004 (0.029)	0.004 (0.028)	-0.047 (0.031)	-0.045 (0.031)	-0.026 (0.034)	-0.025 (0.034)
10-50 blocks	0.765 (0.653)	0.778 (0.602)	1.653 * (0.672)	1.505 * (0.641)	1.368 * (0.693)	1.403 * (0.611)
>50 blocks	1.365 (1.167)	1.493 (1.178)	0.168 (1.012)	-0.061 (1.065)	-1.376 (1.932)	-1.424 (1.903)
Tract fixed effects	X	X	X	X	X	X
N	227	227	194	194	211	211
AIC	243.238	239.493	204.225	200.868	225.520	227.064

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Summary of internal satisfaction robustness analyses

While the analyses above cannot definitively reject selection effects, they mitigate concerns that selection effects are responsible for finding shared satisfaction among residents

in multiracial neighborhoods. Among whites—the group that previous research suggests would be the most likely to be affected by integration—the inclusion of the variable measuring length of residence did not improve the fit of the model. About half of white residents moved into multiracial neighborhoods in the past 10 years. They were not more satisfied than whites who moved into multiracial neighborhoods 20, 30, or 40 years prior. Although the data cannot disprove the exit of dissatisfied white residents, the results provide evidence that the share of satisfied long-term white residents are similar to white newcomers. Evidence against selection effects was further bolstered by the fact that interracial differences in satisfaction were not systematically related to white losses in multiracial neighborhoods. Whites were not less likely than other groups to be satisfied in neighborhoods that lost more whites.

Together, these findings provide some assurance that selection effects are not solely responsible for shared satisfaction. These results provide evidence of shared satisfaction among *current* residents, regardless of how they ended up living in multiracial neighborhoods. Further data that measures satisfaction among people over time would, of course, provide more a definitive answer the question of selection effects.

Comparative Satisfaction Model Description and Results

I combined the data from the DCAS 2016 and DCAS 2018 into a single dataset. The two datasets were combined into a single file and re-weighted to be representative of the DC area population based on the 2014-2018 American Community Survey.

I used a similar model, shown in Equation S1 below, to that which led to the results reported in Figure 3. To the model shown in Equation 1, I added a term, ζ , that measured the association of being in each of the three samples—the DCAS 2016 multiracial neighborhood sample, the DCAS 2016 predominantly Latino sample, and the DCAS 2018 sample representative of the entire DC area—measured by a vector of indicators, \mathbf{W} . I also included a vector of interaction terms, θ , between respondent race and this sample variable.

$$\eta = \alpha + \beta^T \mathbf{X} + \zeta^T \mathbf{W} + \theta^T (\mathbf{X})(\mathbf{W}) + \gamma^T \mathbf{Z} \quad (\text{S1})$$

Table S5 reports the parameter estimates of the model that were used to estimate the average marginal effect in Figure 3.

Comparative Satisfaction Robustness Analysis

I also conducted two supplemental analyses to confirm the plausibility of the findings in the comparative analysis. The comparative analysis examined satisfaction levels, by race, between residents of multiracial neighborhoods and residents of DC-area neighborhoods generally. The findings reported in the article showed that a larger proportion of whites were satisfied living in the DC area neighborhoods relative to white and Asian residents of multiracial neighborhoods while satisfaction levels were similar for Black and Latino residents. I first analyzed whether neighborhood racial diversity predicted satisfaction among the DCAS 2018 sample and what effect a changing white population had on residents in both samples.

Satisfaction in DC area by neighborhood entropy. One way to approach the between-neighborhood analysis reported in Figure 3 of the manuscript is to analyze the influence of racial composition on the sample that represents all DC-area residents using the DCAS 2018 data. The DCAS 2018 data, which represented residents in the entire DC area, offered an opportunity to assess the influence of multiracial diversity on satisfaction across the DC area. The between neighborhood analysis showed:

1. satisfaction among white and Asian residents of multiracial neighborhoods are lower than satisfaction among white and Asian residents in general; and
2. satisfaction does not differ between residents of multiracial and other neighborhoods among Black and Latinx residents in the DC area.

I use entropy to measure racial integration. Entropy reaches its maximum when each group makes up an equal share of residents in a neighborhood. Entropy offers a useful measure of multiracial diversity, however it does not account for differences between racial compositions at the same level of entropy (an all-white and all-Black neighborhood would, for example, both have entropy scores of zero). An alternative would be to categorize neighborhoods by presence of racial groups. Unfortunately sample sizes within different categories of racial composition do not allow me to meaningfully compare neighborhoods by composition. In addition to approaching the comparative satisfaction differently, the analysis allowed me to ascertain the validity of the internal satisfaction associations found in the manuscript (i.e., Tables 5 & 6 and Figure 2 in the manuscript).

I centered the variable around the mean value of neighborhood entropy among DCAS

2016 respondents ($H=1.27$ out of a maximum of 1.39) and re-scaled the variable so that values equal standard deviations based on all DC-area neighborhoods. Centering around the mean neighborhood included in the DCAS 2016 value allowed the intercept of the model to equal the average exposure used to predict values in Figure 3. I estimated two models, one that included entropy as an independent variable and a second that included interactions between entropy and respondent race.

The estimated values of both models can be found in Table S6. The model that includes the interaction between the race of resident with neighborhood entropy is consistent with the findings reported in Figure 3. At the mean level of entropy in multiracial neighborhoods, Model 2 predicts that 76 percent of white residents would be satisfied (95% confidence interval: [58, 88]), while 84 percent of white residents with the average white exposure in the DC area would be satisfied (95% confidence interval: [73, 91]). The respective corresponding values of white satisfaction reported in Table 7 were 70 and 85 percent. The association of entropy on satisfaction among whites did not have an association statistically distinguishable from the null, despite the point estimate being relatively large.

Entropy had almost no influence on the satisfaction expressed by Black and Latino respondents. A one standard deviation decrease in entropy only reduced the odds of satisfaction among Black residents 0.78 ($p \approx 0.07$) times and among Latinx residents 0.66 ($p \approx 0.16$) times. Asian residents appeared to be more satisfied in less diverse neighborhoods; the odds of an Asian resident being satisfied were 2.4 times higher for each standard deviation decrease in entropy and were marginally significant ($p \approx 0.93$).

Finally, Model 1 shows that white DC-area residents were more likely to be satisfied living in their neighborhoods than Asian, Black, and Latino residents. The coefficients for Asian, Black, and Latino respondents were negative in the model, though the difference from white residents was only statistically significant for Black residents despite relatively large coefficients for Asian and Latino residents. Controlling for the interaction of race by entropy almost eliminated differences between whites and both Black and Latinx residents when entropy equaled the mean level found in multiracial neighborhoods.

In summary, this supplemental analysis shows:

1. that whites are less satisfied in multiracial neighborhoods with some possibility that the difference reflects a statistical artifact (roughly consistent with Table 7), and

2. that satisfaction did not differ by level of neighborhood diversity among Black and Latino residents (consistent with Table 7), but lowered satisfaction among Asian residents with some uncertainty whether the difference was a statistical artifact (consistent with Table ??).

Differences in white population change between multiracial and other neighborhoods

A second analysis assessed the influence of changing white population on satisfaction among residents of the DC area. Using the same measure that I used above (the logged ratio of the white populations in 2015 to those in 2000), I examined the distribution of changes respondents in the DCAS 2016 experienced compared to those that the DCAS 2018 experienced. Figure S5 plots these two distributions.

One can see from Figure S5 that respondents to the DCAS 2018 live in neighborhoods that experienced a much larger distribution of change than the respondents to the DCAS 2016. Ignoring the one outlying neighborhood where the logged change ratio equaled almost seven, the standard deviation of logged white change among DCAS 2018 respondents was 0.82 while the standard deviation among DCAS 2016 residents was 0.35.³

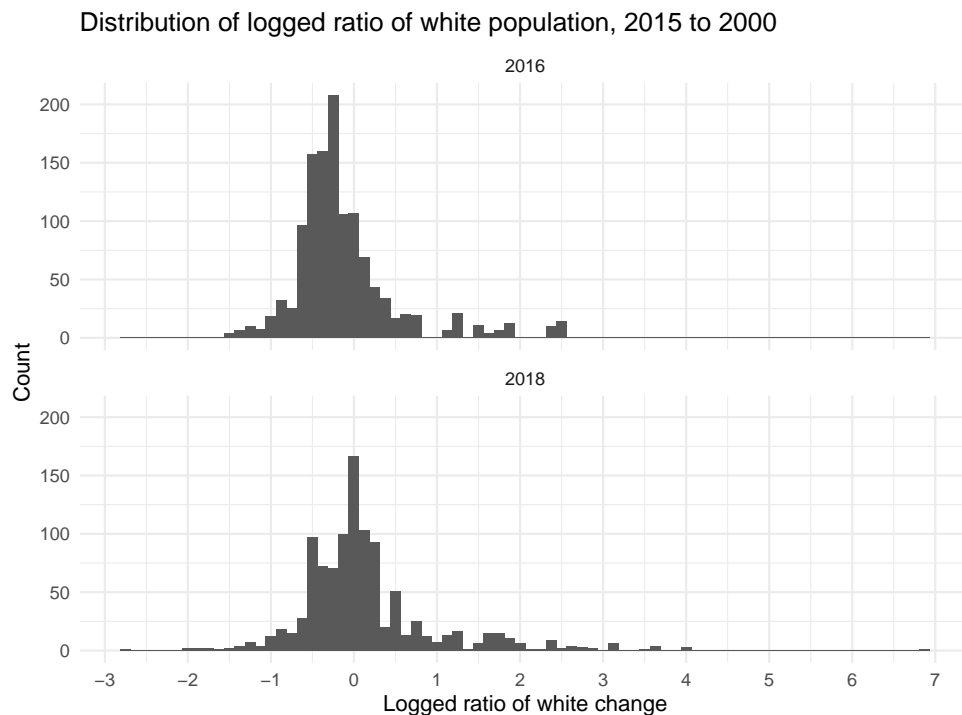


Figure S5. Distribution of logged ratio of white population, 2015 to 2000

³The census tract with the dramatic change was where a new subdivision was built where previously a single family lived on a family-owned farm.

I examined whether the white population change from 2000 to 2015 affected the results reported in Figure 3. I centered the variable in all models around the mean change experienced by DCAS 2016 respondents and scaled the variable by the standard deviation of the DCAS 2016 respondents. I estimated two models for each set of data, one each with and without interactions with race. The interactions would account for the different sensitivity white residents have to the loss of white neighbors. The parameter estimates and standard errors are reported in Table S7.

The first two columns of Table S7 report parameter estimates using data representing residents of multiracial neighborhoods. The results in the first column show that residents were more satisfied in neighborhoods that gained more whites—or, inversely, lost fewer whites. Consistent with the parameter estimates reported in Table 6 of the manuscript, the table shows that 69 percent of residents were predicted to be satisfied living in a multiracial neighborhood with the mean white change ($\exp(0.814) / [1 + \exp(0.814)]$). Among residents of multiracial neighborhoods that experienced white losses one standard deviation below the mean, a majority—61 percent—were predicted to be satisfied living in multiracial neighborhoods. Just as importantly, Model 2 shows that while satisfaction was lower in neighborhoods where more whites left, it was *equally low across all racial groups* (confirming, as well, the conclusions of Table S4 with a different modeling strategy).

The second two columns of Table S7 report parameter estimates using data representing all DC-area residents. The amount of what change that occurred in the neighborhood had little influence on satisfaction of residents, though in the case of residents from the entire DC-area the data fit the model with an interaction better. The fourth column shows that the influence of white population growth was higher for Asian and Latinx residents was higher than the influence on whites, though only the association for Latinx residents could be distinguished from the null.

Summary of comparative satisfaction robustness analysis The analyses of entropy among only DCAS 2018 respondents showed that satisfaction among White residents correlates with the racial diversity of neighborhoods. Satisfaction among other racial groups appeared to be insensitive or less sensitive than whites to the racial diversity of neighborhood residents. These results comport with the findings reported in Figure 3 that compared the results of the two surveys.

The influence of white population change were different in multiracial neighborhoods

than DC-area neighborhoods in general. Residents of multiracial neighborhoods, regardless of race, were more likely to be satisfied in neighborhoods where white populations had increased. This finding supports the notion of shared satisfaction across racial groups living in multiracial neighborhoods.

Among neighborhoods in the DC area generally, Asian and Latino were more likely satisfied than white and Black residents. The satisfaction of White and Black residents seemed unassociated with white population change. The differences between groups among neighborhoods in general do not contradict any of the conclusions of this paper, but do shed light on an area for further research.

Table S5. Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors predicted from models estimating neighborhood satisfaction among residents combining DCAS 2016 and DCAS 2018 data

	(1)	(2)	(3)
(Intercept)	1.998 *** (0.196)	1.964 *** (0.230)	1.950 *** (0.232)
<i>Race</i>			
Asian	-0.024 (0.389)	-0.138 (0.469)	-0.095 (0.475)
Black	-1.033 *** (0.283)	-0.897 ** (0.284)	-0.826 ** (0.288)
Latino	-0.975 (0.511)	-0.901 (0.536)	-0.857 (0.544)
Multiracial neighborhoods	-1.186 *** (0.306)	-1.093 ** (0.345)	-1.063 ** (0.338)
× Asian	0.092 (0.641)	0.109 (0.618)	0.041 (0.616)
× Black	1.320 * (0.531)	1.240 * (0.596)	1.113 * (0.546)
× Latino	1.066 (0.717)	0.990 (0.704)	0.948 (0.714)
Predom. Latinx neighborhoods	-1.516 ** (0.471)	-1.505 ** (0.460)	-1.426 *** (0.413)
× Asian	-0.216 (0.702)	-0.127 (0.708)	-0.288 (0.673)
× Black	1.394 * (0.613)	1.369 * (0.604)	1.268 * (0.562)
× Latino	1.200 (0.726)	1.144 (0.689)	1.063 (0.666)
<i>Demographics</i>			
Age		0.004 (0.006)	0.001 (0.007)
Foreign Born		0.162 (0.287)	0.189 (0.296)
Male		-0.243 (0.197)	-0.262 (0.198)
Children Present		-0.176 (0.224)	-0.193 (0.223)
Married		0.446 * (0.216)	0.364 (0.217)
<i>Socioeconomic</i>			
<H.S.		0.031 (0.379)	0.101 (0.381)
Some college, no B.A.		-0.104 (0.322)	-0.087 (0.324)
B.A.		0.125 (0.321)	0.140 (0.322)
M.A.+		0.130 (0.313)	0.109 (0.321)
<i>Neighborhood perceptions</i>			
Home owner			0.456 * (0.217)
Years in neighborhood			-0.001 (0.009)
10-50 blocks			0.300 (0.210)
>50 blocks			-0.580 (0.427)
N	2151	2151	2151
AIC	1984.405	1978.436	1959.919

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table S6. Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors predicted of models estimating neighborhood satisfaction among DC-area residents including entropy index

	(1)	(2)
(Intercept)	1.984 *** (0.275)	1.506 *** (0.340)
Asian	-0.588 (0.498)	-0.586 (0.644)
Black	-0.876 ** (0.302)	-0.095 (0.473)
Latinx	-0.761 (0.475)	-0.031 (0.608)
Age	0.003 (0.009)	0.004 (0.009)
Foreign Born	0.182 (0.375)	0.053 (0.387)
Male	-0.303 (0.254)	-0.291 (0.250)
Children Present	0.059 (0.310)	0.066 (0.306)
Married	0.586 * (0.291)	0.590 * (0.291)
<H.S.	0.732 (0.633)	0.752 (0.636)
Some college, no B.A.	-0.038 (0.408)	-0.047 (0.393)
B.A.	0.079 (0.418)	0.074 (0.390)
M.A.+	0.233 (0.394)	0.258 (0.393)
Home owner	0.481 (0.284)	0.375 (0.273)
Years in neighborhood	-0.002 (0.012)	-0.001 (0.012)
10-50 blocks	-0.076 (0.278)	-0.132 (0.278)
>50 blocks	-1.185 * (0.591)	-1.268 * (0.571)
Entropy	0.050 (0.133)	-0.488 (0.323)
Entropy x Asian		-0.348 (0.667)
Entropy x Black		0.725 * (0.364)
Entropy x Latinx		0.887 (0.535)
N	989	989
AIC	904.407	894.090

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table S7. Logistic regression coefficients and standard errors predicted of models estimating neighborhood satisfaction among residents of multiracial neighborhoods and the DC-area, including logged change ratio of white population

	Multiracial		DC area	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
(Intercept)	0.829 *** (0.227)	0.401 (0.576)	0.425 (0.355)	0.473 (0.372)
Asian	-0.014 (0.390)	0.061 (0.392)	-0.338 (0.526)	-0.489 (0.540)
Black	-0.100 (0.371)	0.099 (0.410)	0.127 (0.367)	0.099 (0.385)
Latinx	0.143 (0.403)	0.236 (0.403)	-0.223 (0.493)	-0.250 (0.500)
Age	0.002 (0.009)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.009)
Foreign Born	0.046 (0.335)	0.045 (0.337)	-0.065 (0.402)	-0.117 (0.393)
Male	0.006 (0.260)	0.037 (0.259)	-0.207 (0.270)	-0.102 (0.270)
Children Present	-0.338 (0.281)	-0.392 (0.287)	0.241 (0.343)	0.252 (0.345)
Married	0.158 (0.273)	0.158 (0.279)	0.553 (0.305)	0.542 (0.301)
<H.S.	-0.815 (0.686)	-0.870 (0.736)	0.957 (0.651)	1.049 (0.680)
Some college, no B.A.	-0.328 (0.518)	-0.321 (0.572)	-0.136 (0.427)	-0.210 (0.450)
B.A.	-0.174 (0.503)	-0.260 (0.573)	-0.161 (0.429)	-0.180 (0.435)
M.A.+	-0.721 (0.502)	-0.807 (0.562)	0.027 (0.429)	-0.068 (0.448)
Home owner	0.449 (0.325)	0.496 (0.334)	0.407 (0.292)	0.430 (0.299)
Years in neighborhood	-0.009 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.014)	0.005 (0.013)	0.008 (0.012)
10-50 blocks	0.983 *** (0.294)	1.021 *** (0.301)	-0.221 (0.292)	-0.205 (0.298)
>50 blocks	0.928 (0.556)	0.962 (0.565)	-1.613 ** (0.597)	-1.708 ** (0.611)
Percent white (2015)		0.011 (0.014)	0.032 *** (0.006)	0.032 *** (0.006)
Logged white change		0.417 (0.221)	-0.009 (0.054)	-0.019 (0.066)
Logged white change x Asian		-0.309 (0.272)		0.479 (0.503)
Logged white change x Black		-0.027 (0.368)		-0.060 (0.105)
Logged white change x Latinx		-0.169 (0.323)		0.315 (0.164)
N	632	632	978	978
AIC	673.559	671.342	834.610	828.047

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.