

# **Hispanic Segregation in Metropolitan America: Exploring the Multiple Forms of Spatial Assimilation\***

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## Abstract

This paper investigates patterns of spatial assimilation of Hispanics in U.S. metropolitan areas. Using restricted-use data from the 2000 Census, we calculate levels of residential segregation, using the dissimilarity index, of Hispanics by race and nativity and then estimate multivariate models to examine the effect of group characteristics on these patterns. We use alternative reference groups in the segregation calculations—Anglos, African Americans, and Hispanics not of the same race—to obtain a more nuanced view of spatial assimilation. We find that Hispanic race groups often experience multiple and concurrent forms of spatial assimilation: native-born White, Black, and other-race Hispanics are all less segregated from both Anglos *and* African Americans than the foreign-born of the respective groups. Hispanic race groups also show particularly low levels of segregation from Hispanics not of their own race, indicating the importance of pan-Hispanic identity. The one exception to this intra-Hispanic pattern occurs among native-born Black Hispanics, who are no less segregated from other Hispanic groups than their foreign-born counterparts. The implication of these findings is that assimilation is reducing the significance of various color lines in metropolitan America, except for the modest distancing observed between Black and certain other Hispanic groups.

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Hispanics surpassed African Americans as the largest U.S. minority group sometime around the year 2000. This growth has engendered uncertainty as to the future of Hispanic social and economic incorporation in the United States. In the residential sphere, Hispanic segregation from Anglos—while lower than African American segregation—is moderately high, and shows no sign of decreasing (Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz 2002; Lewis Mumford Center 2001).<sup>1</sup> Immigration may in fact be contributing to the continued moderately high levels of segregation, as immigration often reinforces ethnic enclaves, at least in the short run (Alba and Nee 2003; Fischer and Tienda 2006).

Looking at the levels of segregation for all Hispanics from others, however, masks the heterogeneity of the Hispanic population. In the current study, we are particularly interested in the roles that race and nativity play in shaping the residential patterns of Hispanics. Data from the 2000 census indicate that 48 percent of Hispanics reported themselves as “White,” 42 percent as “some other race,” 2 percent as “Black,” and the rest as some other combination of race categories on the census form (Grieco and Cassidy 2001). Black Hispanics are economically disadvantaged and more segregated from Anglos than White or other-race Hispanics (Denton and Massey 1989; Logan 2003).

A closer examination of the residential segregation patterns of Hispanics can provide insight into the power, and limitations, of spatial assimilation theory. According to this perspective, we should see a narrowing of group differences over generations (Alba and Nee, 2003). A complete examination of assimilation should consider the extent to which different groups of Hispanics might be exhibiting varying or multiple forms of assimilation with other

groups. Thus, our study is guided by the following questions: To what extent do residential patterns of Hispanics vary by race and nativity? Among which groups are spatial differences attenuating? How do other group characteristics affect these patterns? To answer these questions, we analyze restricted-use 2000 census data to calculate the levels of residential segregation, as represented by the dissimilarity index, of Hispanics by race and nativity and then estimate multivariate models to examine the role of other group characteristics.

From a methodological perspective, our study builds on existing research on this topic by taking advantage of restricted-use decennial census files that allow us to look at the segregation of Hispanics simultaneously by race, nativity, and in some cases country-of-origin, and to estimate models that control for group characteristics. Such calculations are simply not possible with public-use census data, but are important for isolating the role of race and nativity from other attributes that shape residential patterns. In essence, these data provide us the flexibility to test theoretical propositions on spatial assimilation in a methodologically rigorous way.

Another unique contribution of our study is the examination of segregation between not only Hispanics and Anglos, but also between Hispanics and other U.S.-born groups. This allows us to obtain a more nuanced picture of the different forms of spatial assimilation experienced by various Hispanic groups. In the conclusion we discuss how the patterns we observe shed light on the changing nature of racial and ethnic residential divisions and the possible trajectory of the color line in the coming years.

## **Background**

Residential segregation generally refers to the differential distribution of groups across space, and is usually thought of in terms of the degree to which various groups reside in different

neighborhoods (White 1987). In the U.S., racial and ethnic residential segregation is thought to affect the range of opportunities available to minority group members (Massey and Denton 1993). As Fischer and Tienda (2006: 101) note, “Residential location is a powerful indicator of social position because many economic opportunities and social resources, such as affordable housing, quality schools, public safety, transportation, and recreational and social amenities are unequally distributed across space.”

In the middle decades of the twentieth century, research on residential segregation in the U.S. focused primarily on the Black-White residential divide. Since then, however, researchers have increasingly examined the segregation of other racial and ethnic groups, primarily Asians and Hispanics. Research has generally found that African Americans are more residentially segregated from Anglos than Hispanics, and Hispanics are in turn more segregated from Anglos than Asians (Iceland et al. 2002).

There are two common and competing theoretical approaches to residential segregation: spatial assimilation and place stratification (Massey 1985; Charles 2003). In the immigrant incorporation literature, there is a third approach: segmented assimilation. Below we begin by describing these three theoretical perspectives and then discuss how they apply to Hispanic residential patterns in particular.

Classic spatial assimilation theory posits that minority groups experience a process towards integration with a society’s majority group through the adoption of mainstream attitudes, culture, and human capital attributes (Alba and Nee 2003). Early in this process groups may be segregated from the majority group for a number of reasons. The low socioeconomic status (SES) of many minority and immigrant groups may mean that such individuals may simply not be able to afford to live in the same neighborhoods as more affluent whites (Alba and Logan

1991; Clark 1986, 1988; Pascal 1967). People with low levels of human capital may also be particularly dependent on their ethnic communities (Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Social networks—both kin and community—are key factors shaping where internal migrants and immigrants live (Castles and Miller 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). However, minority group members are more likely move into other residential areas if and as they become more socio-economically similar to the majority group. Contemporary assimilation theorists emphasize that assimilation need not be a one way street, where minority members become more like majority group members. Rather, assimilation involves a general convergence of social, economic, cultural, and—the focus here—residential patterns (Alba and Nee 2003).

In contrast, the place stratification perspective emphasizes the role of prejudice and discrimination in shaping residential patterns (Massey 1985; Charles 2003). Proponents of place stratification theory assert that in-group preference among majority group members become institutionalized such that minority group members have more limited opportunities to reside and work among the majority group. Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996: 884) label residential segregation as the “‘structural linchpin’ of American race relations” because of systematic differences between predominantly Anglo neighborhoods and predominantly non-Anglo neighborhoods.

Discriminatory practices in the housing market against African Americans in particular, as well as Hispanics and Asians, have been documented (Massey and Denton 1993; Ross and Turner 2005; Turner and Ross 2003; Turner et al. 2002). Over the years these practices have included the steering of racial groups by real estate agents to certain neighborhoods and away from others, unequal access to mortgage credit, exclusionary zoning (where groups are restricted to particular neighborhoods), and neighbors’ hostility (Goering and Wienk 1996; Massey and Denton 1993; Meyer 2000; Yinger 1995). Research has indicated a decline in (though not the

disappearance of) discrimination against African Americans in the housing market in recent years, perhaps due to changing attitudes in society, the rising economic status of minority customers, and the continuing effect of the 1968 Fair Housing Act and its enforcement on the real estate industry (Ross and Turner 2005). From 1989 to 2000 Hispanics experienced mixed patterns of change in discrimination in the housing market: increases in the rental market but declines in the sales market (Turner et al. 2002).

The segmented assimilation perspective focuses on divergent patterns of incorporation among contemporary immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1999). The host society offers uneven possibilities to different immigrant groups, and segmented assimilation theory posits that recent immigrants are being absorbed by different segments of American society, ranging from affluent middle-class suburbs to impoverished inner-city ghettos, and that becoming American may not always be an advantage for the immigrants themselves or for their children. The segmented assimilation perspective also highlights the differential treatment of the immigrants by race, reflecting general prejudices of the population (South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005b). This issue may of course be particularly pertinent to the residential experiences of Hispanics in the U.S.—the topic to which we now turn.

### *Hispanic residential segregation patterns*

While many empirical studies have found that Hispanic-Anglo residential segregation is lower than African American-Anglo segregation (Fischer and Tienda 2006; Iceland et al. 2002; Lewis Mumford Center 2001; Massey and Denton 1987), comparisons of Hispanic racial subgroups have been relatively rare. This stems in part from the ambiguous nature of racial and ethnic identity among Hispanics. Collecting race information from Hispanics has historically

been problematic given the diversity of origins among Hispanics living in the U.S. and confusion over the distinction between Hispanic ethnicity and phenotypical race classification in the U.S. context (Landale and Oropesa 2002; Rumbaut 2006). While the U.S. has a history of dichotomizing race into White and Black, exemplified by the “one drop rule”—where people having any African heritage were considered Black—in Latin America race is a multi-category continuum (Denton and Massey 1989). In addition, many Latin Americans consider themselves to be a mix of Spanish and Indian ancestry—a category unto its own.

This confusion is reflected in the responses to the race and Hispanic origin questions in U.S. government surveys. In the response to the question on race in the 2000 Census, for example, 42 percent of Hispanic respondents reported their race as “Other,” as compared with just 0.2% of the non-Hispanic population (Grieco and Cassidy 2001; Rumbaut 2006). Rumbaut (2006: 38) explains that “four centuries of *mestizaje* (racial mixing) and miscegenation in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as differing conceptions of ‘race’” contribute to the complexity of addressing the role of race in the Hispanic experience.” Only 1.8 percent (roughly 633,000) of Hispanics reported black as their only race in the 2000 Census, and only 6.4 percent reported two or more race categories (which includes many who reported “White” as one of their races).

Denton and Massey (1989) examined the interplay of race and ethnicity in shaping the residential segregation patterns of Caribbean Hispanics in their analysis of 1970 and 1980 Census data. Their findings indicated that Black Hispanics were indeed significantly more segregated from U.S.-born Whites than White Hispanics and led Denton and Massey to conclude that race was more important than ethnicity in explaining Hispanic patterns of residential segregation. They documented that Black Hispanics from the Caribbean were also fairly highly



segregated from African Americans, suggesting an adoption of a distinct identity among these Black Hispanics. In another analysis of 1980 data, White (1987) similarly found that Blacks of “Spanish” origin were very highly segregated from non blacks of Spanish origin.

Between 1980 and 2000 (the years since the data analyzed by Denton and Massey and White were collected), there were rapid increases in the native- and foreign-born Hispanic populations, and unprecedented movement of Hispanics to new growth areas in the U.S., primarily in the South and Midwest (Suro and Singer 2002; Singer 2004). This shift in the composition of the U.S. urban population raises important questions about recent patterns of integration of Hispanics. Logan (2003) analyzed Census 2000 data and found that non-white Hispanics continued to be more highly segregated from Whites than White Hispanics, thus providing evidence that non-white Hispanics may be more similar to African Americans than White Hispanics in their experience of social and economic disadvantage. South, Crowder, and Chavez (2005a) find that Puerto Ricans and Cubans with darker skin color are less likely to move into neighborhoods with Anglos, though skin color appeared to have little effect on Mexican mobility patterns. White and Sassler (2000) report that Latino immigrant groups with greater African heritage, mainly Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, were less likely to live in higher-socioeconomic status neighborhoods in 1980 than other Latino groups, suggesting the continuing salience of race in shaping residential patterns. Other research has shown that Black immigrants often develop a shared racial group identity with native-born Blacks over time, even if the meaning they attach to being Black is not always quite the same (Benson 2006).

Momentarily leaving the issue of race aside, empirical work on the association between nativity, SES, and residential segregation generally supports spatial assimilation theory. Segregation is lower for the native-born of ethnic groups than the foreign-born (Denton and

Massey 1988; Iceland and Scopilliti 2006), though sometimes the effect of nativity is overshadowed by other factors, such as ethnicity (White and Sassler 2000; White, Biddlecom, and Guo 1993). High-SES members of an ethnic group are also less segregated from Whites than low-SES members (e.g., Denton and Massey 1988; Iceland, Sharpe, and Steinmetz 2005; Iceland and Wilkes 2006; White, Biddlecom, and Guo 1993). Higher SES Hispanics and those with greater English language use are also more likely to move into neighborhoods with more Anglos than low-SES Hispanics with less English language use (South et al. 2005b).

Looking at the role of socioeconomic status is particularly important for examining the association between race and Hispanic-Anglo segregation because in much of Latin America and the Caribbean, people who are socio-economically successful may be less likely to identify as Black (Denton and Massey 1989; Waters 1994). That is, race may refer to both class attainment and skin color in some circumstances (Williams 1955; Waters 1994). Thus, our study distinguishes between the role of race and class by including indicators of socioeconomic attainment.

A final issue relevant for this study is the role of country of origin in shaping residential patterns. As noted above, many immigrants depend on the preexisting community-based networks—i.e., networks rooted in their country of origin—when they move to the host country. This is particularly true among less educated migrants, who rely on kin and friends (rather than job recruiting agents, for example) who can provide shelter and other kinds of help (Alba and Nee 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

A majority of Hispanics in the U.S. in 2000 reported being Mexican (58.5 percent), with the next largest groups being Puerto Rican (9.6 percent) and Cuban (3.5 percent) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). Cubans are the most likely of the three to self-identify as White (84.4 percent in

2000). Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are fairly evenly split between identifying as White and “Other race” (in the 42 to 47 percent range). Puerto Ricans are more likely to self identify as Black (5.8 percent identify as such) than Cubans (3.6 percent) or Mexicans (0.7 percent) (Rumbaut 2006).

Previous research indicated that Puerto Ricans are more segregated from Whites than Mexicans and are more likely to live in poorer, inner-city neighborhoods (Massey and Denton 1987; Santiago 1992). Puerto Ricans are also less likely than Mexicans or Cubans to move into neighborhoods with relatively more Anglos and more likely to move into neighborhoods with more African Americans (South et al. 2005a). The higher segregation from Anglos among Puerto Ricans than Mexicans may reflect that the former are more likely to have some African ancestry (Massey and Bitterman 1985). However, Logan (2002) found that by the year 2000, the Puerto Rican-Anglo dissimilarity score of 56.5 was actually only slightly above the Mexican (53.1) and Cuban (49.5) dissimilarity scores, showing considerable convergence in segregation from Anglos over the past two decades. That study did not investigate the factors that might explain various patterns.

Our analysis contributes to the above literature on the residential segregation of Hispanics in a couple of ways. Methodologically, one advantage of this investigation is that while previous studies have calculated the segregation of Hispanics by race (e.g., Logan 2003; Denton and Massey 1989) or by country of origin (e.g., Logan 2002), none have been able to calculate them by both due to the lack of such public-use data at the neighborhood level. Indeed, Denton and Massey (1989: 790) noted this type of data constraint in their study: “By focusing on “Hispanics,” [as a whole], we do not underestimate the social, economic, and cultural differences

between Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish origin groups. Rather, our analysis is limited by the availability of data.”

Perhaps even more importantly, we also calculate our indexes by nativity—a crucial indicator when examining the spatial assimilation process. We are particularly concerned with whether residential differences are smaller among the U.S.-born than the foreign-born which would be consistent with a trend of spatial assimilation across generations of immigrant families living in metropolitan America. A second methodological advantage is that using the restricted files also allows us to look at the association between race, nativity, and residential segregation controlling for a number of covariates—including average group income and English language ability—which are posited to be quite important in the residential sorting process.

Substantively, our analysis focuses on alternative trajectories of spatial assimilation. That is, we examine Hispanic segregation by race using alternative reference groups in the segregation calculations: U.S.-born Anglos, U.S.-born African Americans, and U.S.-born Hispanics of a different race than the group in question. While some researchers have looked at segregation using alternative or multiple reference groups (e.g., Denton and Massey 1989; Fischer and Tienda 2006; White, Kim, and Glick 2005), they have not, due to data limitations in public-use files mentioned above, examined the role of nativity in explaining these patterns. Why is this important? While it is informative to know, for example, that Black Hispanics are less segregated from African Americans than White Hispanics (as documented in the studies above), these analyses do not shed light on whether we see a reduction in segregation among the native-born as compared with the foreign-born. This is really the crux of assimilation theory: assimilation is the attenuation of group differences, usually across generations (Alba and Nee 2003).

Moreover, an issue we also examine that has received little attention in the residential segregation literature is the possibility that Hispanic groups might experience multiple and concurrent forms of assimilation. Again, adopting a definition of assimilation that denotes a reduction of group differences, it is possible, for example, that White Hispanics may be assimilating with either Anglos, African Americans, or U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race—suggesting a growth in pan Hispanic identity less dependent on race—or even with all three at the same time. Studies have found that children of immigrants from Latin America are less likely to report their race as “White” or “Black” than their parents, and instead are more likely to choose some larger “Hispanic, Latino” designation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut 2006). White, Kim, and Glick (2005) also argue that, in very diverse societies, it has become increasingly important to recognize that individuals can be integrated with any number of ethnic groups.

As described in the review of the empirical literature above, we expect assimilation to be strongest between White Hispanics and Anglos and between Black Hispanics and African Americans. We may see patterns that fall in between these racially paired groups among other-race Hispanics, whose racial identification tends to be more fluid and whose socioeconomic status also falls between that of White and Black Hispanics (Logan 2003; National Research Council 2006). Hispanics who report being neither Black nor White may also particularly less segregated from various other Hispanic groups, given that choosing such a racial designation is perhaps indicative of a stronger general pan-ethnic Hispanic identity and certainly a weaker identification with traditional White or Black racial markers (Rumbaut 2006).

Indeed, Rumbaut (2006) suggests that children who do not identify as Black or White might see themselves as in fact belonging to a racialized Hispanic category. The implication of

this argument is that, contrary to the predictions of spatial assimilation theory, native-born Hispanics who identify as neither White nor Black may display relatively high levels of segregation from Anglos (and/or African Americans), and may in fact be more segregated from these groups than Hispanic immigrants who have not yet internalized American racial categories.

In short, the goal of our analysis is to critically examine these issues. By looking at the segregation of Hispanics by race and nativity we hope to gain a deeper understanding of what the residential assimilation process looks like for different groups of Hispanics in metropolitan America.

## **Data and Methods**

We use restricted-use data from the 2000 Census to examine the residential patterns of Hispanics in U.S. metropolitan areas. In essence, our analysis compares levels of residential segregation between several Hispanic subgroups and native-born Anglos, native-born African Americans, and native-born Hispanics of a different race from the group in question in all metropolitan areas where the groups are present in sufficient numbers. Specifically, dissimilarity indexes are computed for groups that have at least 100,000 members in the United States and at least 1,000 in a particular metropolitan area—as segregation indexes for small minority populations are less reliable than those with larger ones.<sup>2</sup> We present segregation estimates for all metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs), and for New England states, New England county metropolitan areas (NECMAs) together referred to hereafter as metropolitan areas (MAs) as defined by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) on June 30, 1999. Using this definition, there are 318 MAs in the U.S.

To examine the distribution of different groups across neighborhoods within metropolitan areas, we use census tracts. Census tracts typically have between 2,500 and 8,000 people, are defined with local input, are intended to represent neighborhoods, and typically do not change much from census to census, except to subdivide. In addition, census tracts are by far the unit most often selected by other researchers (e.g., Logan et al. 2004; Massey and Denton 1993).<sup>3</sup> We exclude counts of people in institutional group quarters (such as prisons).

Respondent race and Hispanic ethnicity are determined by 2 questions on the 2000 census. The first question asks: “Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?” There is an answer box for “no”, and then additional “yes” boxes where people also indicate if they are Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban. There is also a write-in box where respondents can identify other origins. The next question on the census form asks, “What is this person’s race?” There are answer boxes for White, Black, American Indian or Alaska Native, and a series of boxes for various Asian groups (e.g., Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, etc.). People can also mark “Some other race” and, unlike previous censuses, respondents are instructed that they can choose more than one race. About 6.8 million, or 2.4 percent of the population, reported more than one race in the 2000 census (Jones and Smith 2001).

This study focuses on the residential patterns of those who reported that they were Hispanic in the first question mentioned above. We look at differences in residential patterns of Hispanics also by whether they indicated their race to be White alone, Black alone, or some other race or any combination of races. People are classified as non-Hispanic White (Anglo) or non-Hispanic Black (African American) in our analysis if they marked only those boxes alone and also reported being not Hispanic.

In analyses when we look at the segregation of foreign-born Hispanics by country of origin, we use data directly from the question asking “Where was this person born?” There are two answer boxes, one box for “In the United States”, where people are asked to print the name of the state, and a second box for “Outside of the United States” where people are asked to print the name of the foreign country, or Puerto Rico, Guam, etc. As conventionally done in studies of the foreign-born, our foreign-born population includes people who reported that they were born outside of the United States, and are either not a citizen or a U.S. citizen by naturalization (this excludes U.S. citizens who were born abroad of American parents). Hispanic individuals born in Puerto Rico or other outlying territories of the U.S., although U.S. citizens at birth, are coded as “foreign-born” in this study based on the shared experiences as newcomers to mainland U.S. That is, according to the spatial assimilation model, it is reasonable to hypothesize that migrants from Puerto Rico would be more segregated from Whites than Puerto Ricans born within mainland states.

The measure of residential segregation we use is the dissimilarity index. The dissimilarity index (D) is the most commonly utilized measure of residential segregation, and is a measure of how even the distribution of two groups are within the smaller regions within a larger area (Denton and Massey 1989; Logan 2002; Iceland et al. 2002). The formula for the dissimilarity index is presented below, where ‘x’ and ‘y’ represent two population groups:

$$D = .5 * \sum_{i=1}^n |x_i / X - y_i / Y|$$

The dissimilarity index has values ranging from 0 to 1, and suggests the minimum proportion of a group that would have to move across regions within an area so that each region could have the same proportion of residents from that group as the total area. A dissimilarity



index of 1 indicates complete segregation between two groups such that 100 percent of a group would have to move in order to comprise the same proportion of the component communities as in the larger area. Conversely, a dissimilarity index of 0 represents complete integration. For example, if a metropolitan area has 12 census tracts and 25% of the MA population is Hispanic and 75% is Anglo, the proportion of the population in each tract would have to equal 25% for the dissimilarity index to be 0. Conversely, if all Hispanics in the MA lived in three tracts exclusively and made up those tracts' entire population, this would indicate total dissimilarity, or a dissimilarity index of 1.

We also conducted the analyses with the isolation index (the second most commonly-used segregation index), though due to the length and breadth of the current study we limit our discussion to dissimilarity. The conclusions do not change much when using the isolation index.<sup>4</sup>

Our analysis begins with a descriptive look dissimilarity scores by race, nativity, and country of origin. In particular, we examine the segregation of White, Black, and other-race Hispanics, by nativity, from U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites (Anglos), U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks (African Americans), and U.S.-born Hispanics not of one's own race. The purpose here is to get a broad sense of what patterns of spatial assimilation we see among various groups of Hispanics.

It should be noted that here we use "assimilation" in a very precise way: as indicative of the attenuation of group spatial differences across generations. According to assimilation theory, we would expect to see lower Hispanic-Anglo segregation scores among native-born Hispanics than foreign-born ones, regardless of the race of Hispanic respondents, indicating a pattern of assimilation between first-generation immigrants and U.S.-born generations. Assimilation theory does allow for differences in the level and extent of change across generations among different

groups, but we should still witness this type of attenuation for all groups (Alba and Nee 2003). We compute Hispanic-African American segregation scores to gauge whether Hispanics, and Black Hispanics in particular, are more likely to be assimilated by the African American population than the Anglo population, thus providing some support for segmented assimilation. Finally, we examine Hispanic-“Hispanic not of own race group” segregation to gauge the extent of Hispanic pan-ethnicity spans across self-identified racial groups.<sup>5</sup> In the descriptive tables we also show these segregation comparisons by country of origin as the data allow. In particular, we look at the residential patterns of Mexican, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans by race and nativity to examine the extent of variation by country of origin.

Our descriptive analysis is followed by generalized linear regression analyses. These shed light on two related issues: the role socioeconomic status and other group characteristics have in explaining levels of segregation for various Hispanic groups, and whether the effects of these group characteristics varies by the reference group used in the segregation calculations. That is, are high levels of, say, Hispanic income, associated with lower levels of segregation between Hispanics and Anglos (as predicted by assimilation theory), but associated with higher levels of segregation between Hispanics and African Americans? Since Black median incomes are lower than Hispanic ones, we might expect Hispanic income and Hispanic-African American segregation to be positively associated. We discuss the statistical models in more detail below.

## **Results**

Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c present mean dissimilarity scores of Hispanics, by race and nativity, from native-born: a) Anglos, b) African Americans, and c) Hispanics not of the same race group, respectively. As described in the previous section, groups that have at least 100,000

members in the United States and at least 1,000 in a particular metropolitan area are included in the calculations. The differences by nativity discussed here and presented in the figures are each statistically significant at the  $p < .01$  level. Figure 1a indicates that native-born Hispanics are less segregated from Anglos than the foreign born—consistent with the predictions of spatial assimilation theory. However, we also see distinct differences in Hispanic-White segregation by race. White Hispanics are much less segregated from Anglos (0.47) than Black Hispanics (0.74). The dissimilarity score for other race Hispanics (0.57) falls between the two groups, though closer to the White Hispanic score. The general rule of thumb is that dissimilarity scores below 0.30 are considered low, and those above 0.60 are high (Massey and Denton 1993). Among all groups, the foreign-born are more segregated than the native born.

(Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c here).

Figure 1b, where the reference group African Americans, shares some similarities with Figure 1a. In particular, U.S. born Hispanics of all groups are less segregated from African Americans than the foreign-born. This reveals a form of assimilation not discussed in the previous literature on the segregation of Hispanics: we not only see a generational assimilation of Hispanics with Anglos, but also with African Americans. The generational differences are actually quite similar for all three racial categories of Hispanics, and levels of segregation from African Americans does not substantively differ all that much by race of the Hispanic group.

As has been shown in previous studies, a comparison of Figure 1a with 1b also indicates that White Hispanics, particularly the native-born, are less segregated from Anglos than African Americans, but Black Hispanics are considerably less segregated from African Americans than Anglos. Other-race Hispanics are fairly similarly segregated from both African Americans and Anglos, though slightly more so from the latter group.

Figure 1c indicates that levels of White and other-race Hispanic segregation from native-born Hispanics of a different race group are all relatively low—in the 0.21 to 0.32 range. For these groups we once again see a pattern of assimilation—the native-born are less segregated from other Hispanic race groups than the foreign-born. This suggests yet another form of assimilation: a growth in pan-Hispanic neighborhoods less divided by race across generations.

Notably, for Black Hispanics we see a bit of a different pattern. U.S.-born Black Hispanics are actually more segregated from other U.S.-born Hispanic race groups than the foreign-born, and levels of segregation are on the whole higher as well. This suggests that Black Hispanics are not becoming residentially more similar to U.S.-born Hispanics of different races. Whether this suggests a differential selection into self-identifying as “Black” among native-born Hispanics who feel apart from other Hispanics in the second and higher generations, or truly different patterns by nativity and phenotype we cannot say with the data available. In any case, we do see a markedly different pattern among Hispanics who identify their race as Black.

Table 1 shows results that informed Figure 1 as well as provides more detailed dissimilarity scores for Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans.<sup>6</sup> Because there are fewer than 100,000 foreign-born Black Mexicans, Black Cubans, or Black Puerto Ricans in the U.S., we have no data to present for these specific groups. Table 1 shows Puerto Ricans as a whole to be slightly more segregated from Anglos (0.60) than Mexicans (0.54) or Cubans (0.54), though Cubans are the most segregated from African Americans.

Despite some general differences in levels of segregation across the three country-of-origin groups, we see assimilation patterns among the groups that mirror the overall findings for Hispanics described above. For example, providing support for the spatial assimilation model,

foreign-born Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans who are White are more segregated from Anglos than the native-born of those respective groups.

There is, however, one important assimilation-related pattern by country of origin that differs from the overall Hispanic one. Contrary to the patterns among all White Hispanics and White Mexicans in particular, White Cubans and Puerto Ricans show a strong pattern of generational assimilation with Anglos but *not* with Hispanics not of the same race. In other words, this indicates that over generations Cubans and Puerto Ricans who self-identify as White are becoming residentially more similar to Anglos but not to other non-White Hispanics. In contrast, White and other-race Mexicans are increasingly likely to live with Hispanics of other races across generations, suggesting a greater importance of Hispanic origin than race among Mexicans.

While these descriptive segregation statistics are informative, they do not control for important group characteristics that might help explain these patterns, such as income and English language ability. Looking at the relationship between race, nativity, and Hispanic segregation patterns controlling for such characteristics—and examining the effect of these characteristics themselves on the assimilation process—is the goal of the following multivariate analysis.

#### *Specification of the statistical model*

To estimate the relationship between segregation, race, and nativity, and other factors, we estimate the following:

$$Y_{ji} = B_0 + B_1X_{ji} + B_2Z_j + e_{ji}$$

where  $Y_{ji}$  is the dissimilarity score for metropolitan area  $j$  and group of interest  $i$ ,  $X_{ji}$  is a vector of group  $i$  characteristics in metropolitan  $j$ , and  $Z_j$  is a vector of metropolitan characteristics for

metropolitan area  $j$ . As before, the reference groups for the segregation calculations ( $Y_{ji}$ ) are, alternately, U.S.-born Anglos, U.S.-born African Americans, and U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race as the Hispanic group of interest. We run separate models for White Hispanics, Black Hispanics, and other-race Hispanics, such that the groups of interest ( $i$ ) for the dependent variable in the first set of models are the native and foreign born of each of those groups. Again, we are testing whether foreign-born White Hispanics, Black Hispanics, and other-race Hispanics are more segregated from Anglos, African Americans, and Hispanics of a different race than the native-born of each of those groups, and the degree to which each group's characteristics explain these nativity differences.

For example, when examining the segregation patterns of White Hispanics, for each metropolitan area where there is at least 1,000 group members present there is an observation indicating the segregation of native-born White Hispanics and foreign-born White Hispanics from a particular reference group of interest (e.g., Anglos). This yields up to 2 observations per metropolitan area. We create a dummy variable indicating whether each particular metropolitan-level segregation score is for foreign-born White Hispanics or native-born White Hispanics to see among which group segregation from the reference group is higher. Because the same metropolitan areas are included twice in the models, we produce corrected standard errors by using Generalized Linear Regression models that account for the correlated error structure among the independent variables.

The X-vector variables in the regression models that represent group  $i$  characteristics in metropolitan area  $j$  include: group size, English language proficiency (percentage who speak English very well or well), country of origin (Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, or other) median household income relative to the reference group, and housing tenure (percentage owning

homes).<sup>7</sup>  $Z$  is a vector of metropolitan area characteristics that have been shown to be associated with segregation (Frey and Farley 1996; Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004; Wilkes and Iceland 2004). This includes metropolitan area size, percentage of the population that is minority, percentage of the civilian labor force that is in manufacturing and government, percentage of the labor force that is in the military, percentage of the population that is over 65 years old, the proportion of the population 18+ that is enrolled in school, percentage of housing units built in the last 10 years, the percentage of the metropolitan area population in the suburbs, and region.

All of the regression models are unweighted because our aim is to understand the factors associated with metropolitan-level variation in segregation patterns. Our models do, however, contain controls for both the size of the group in question (an  $X_{ji}$  variable) and the log of the total metropolitan population size (a  $Z_i$  variable).

Table 2 shows the unweighted characteristics for various groups. Specifically, it shows metropolitan area averages for metropolitan areas where there are at least 1,000 individuals of the relevant group in question. The median household income for Anglos, at \$43,964 in the 2000 census, is higher than the African American median (\$27,940) and the Hispanic median (\$32,934). Among Hispanics, the U.S.-born tend to have higher median incomes than the foreign-born except among Black Hispanics. Patterns of home ownership is a little more mixed, though in all cases all groups of Hispanics are disadvantaged in comparison with the Anglo population. The majority of foreign-born Hispanics speak English well or very well, however the proportion of Black foreign-born Hispanics is higher than that of their white and other-race counterparts. Finally, Table 2 also shows that over half of both White and other-race Hispanics are of Mexican origin with Puerto Ricans and Cubans comprising considerably smaller proportions. Among Black Hispanics, approximately one-third of the native-born are of Mexican

origin and one-third are of Puerto Rican origin, while among the foreign-born, more than one-fifth are of Mexican origin, close to one-fifth are of Cuban origin, and nearly half are of “other” origins, predominantly the Caribbean.

(Table 2 here)

The multivariate results are reported in Tables 3, 4, and 5. Table 3 shows results where Anglos are the reference group in the dissimilarity calculations, Table 4 has African Americans as the reference group, and Table 5 has Hispanics not of the same race as the reference group. Results in Model 1, 3, and 5 of Table 3 essentially confirm the bivariate findings from Table 1. Native-born White, Black, and other-race Hispanics are less segregated from Anglos than the foreign-born of the respective groups. For example, U.S.-born White Hispanics have segregation scores that are, on average, 0.171 points lower than foreign-born White Hispanics. Note that the nativity difference is largest for White Hispanics and smallest for Black Hispanics, suggesting greater assimilation among the former group with Anglos than the latter group.

(Table 3 here)

Adding group characteristics in models 2, 4, and 6 narrows the difference between native-born and foreign-born of each race group, and the difference becomes statistically insignificant among Black Hispanics and other-race Hispanics. This suggests that nativity differences are explained in part by group characteristics (the nativity coefficients become insignificant for Black and other-race Hispanics even before metropolitan characteristics are included in the models, according to results not shown). We see that for all groups, a higher ratio of group income to that of Anglos is associated with lower levels of segregation, as the spatial assimilation model would predict. Among White Hispanics, in metropolitan areas where a greater proportion of White Hispanics own a home and speak English well or very well,



segregation from Anglos also tends to be lower, again confirming the predictions of the spatial assimilation model. Among other-race Hispanics the coefficient for the English language dummy is also negative and statistically significant. In short, the foreign-born are more segregated from Anglos in part because they have lower incomes and, for White and other-race Hispanics, less English language proficiency than the native-born of the respective groups. We also see that among White and Black Hispanics, metropolitan areas with a higher proportion of White and Black Cubans, respectively, tend to have lower dissimilarity scores from Anglos.

The coefficients for the metropolitan characteristics show that larger metropolitan areas have higher levels of segregation, and those with a greater proportion of housing stock built in the last 10 years have lower levels of segregation for all Hispanic groups. Other metropolitan characteristics show more mixed associations with levels of segregation, depending on the Hispanic group considered.

Table 4 shows analogous results but with African Americans as the reference group in the segregation calculations. As in Table 3, we see that the foreign-born are all more segregated from African Americans than the native-born of the respective Hispanic groups in bivariate models 1, 3, and 5, again confirming the findings in Table 1. That is, Hispanic groups not only assimilate with Anglos but also with African Americans. The nativity coefficient is this time largest among Black Hispanics (-0.106) and substantively fairly similar for White (-0.043) and other-race (-0.050) Hispanics.

Adding group and metropolitan characteristics does not have a large effect on the magnitude of the nativity coefficient, though it does reduce it to insignificance among Black and other-race Hispanics, largely because of higher standard errors associated with these coefficients. Nativity is of course correlated with some of the other variables in the models such as English-

language ability; in models run without the nativity variable, the association between group characteristics did not change significantly except in the case of English language ability where associations became stronger between English language ability and segregation, indicating some collinearity between English language ability and nativity. Overall, the group characteristics themselves tend to be statistically insignificant, suggesting that they are not all that helpful in helping us understand the variation in segregation from African Americans across the metropolitan areas. The main exception is that among White Hispanics, a higher ratio of group median income to African American median income is associated with higher segregation. This is consistent with spatial assimilation in that as shown in Table 2, White Hispanics (both native- and foreign-born) have higher median incomes than African Americans. Thus, a higher ratio indicates greater distance from African American median incomes, which in turn is associated with higher segregation. This coefficient is also positive, but insignificant, for the Black and other-race Hispanics. Among the metropolitan area controls, we see that segregation from African Americans is higher in larger metropolitan areas and those in the Midwest for all Hispanic groups.

(Table 4 here)

Table 5 shows results with native-born Hispanics not of the same race as the reference group in the dissimilarity score calculations. In other words, White Hispanics are compared to U.S.-born non-White Hispanics, Black Hispanics are compared to U.S.-born non-Black Hispanics, and other-race Hispanics are compared to U.S.-born White and Black Hispanics. Once again confirming results from Table 1, foreign-born White Hispanics and other-race Hispanics are more segregated from native-born Hispanics of a different race than the native-born of the respective groups, suggesting a process of spatial assimilation with other Hispanics

across generations. However, there is no significant nativity difference for Black Hispanics. Among White Hispanics, metropolitan areas with a higher proportion of Cubans tend to have higher levels of segregation from native-born non-white Hispanics. Among Black Hispanics, metropolitan areas with a higher proportion of Black Puerto Ricans and other-origin Hispanics tend to have lower levels of segregation from non-Black Hispanics.

(Table 5 here)

Among White Hispanics, greater relative income and English language ability are both positively associated with segregation, suggesting that residential assimilation with other Hispanics is less likely among those more fluent in English and with higher incomes. However, greater home ownership is associated with lower levels of segregation. Why this coefficient is negative while the other two are positive is not entirely clear. Perhaps it is partly a matter of Hispanic home seekers being more likely to be steered to Hispanic neighborhoods (Ross and Turner 2005). Home ownership is also negatively associated with the segregation of other-race Hispanics from White and Black Hispanics.

## **Conclusions**

This study examines the segregation of Hispanics in U.S. metropolitan areas in order to examine how race and nativity shape patterns of Hispanic spatial assimilation. Using restricted-use 2000 census data, we calculated dissimilarity indexes using alternative reference groups: U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites (Anglos), U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks (African Americans), and U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race to obtain a more nuanced picture of spatial assimilation than afforded by previous studies. A notable finding of our study is that we not only see a pattern assimilation of Hispanics with Anglos, but also with African Americans. Moreover,

Hispanic race groups also show particularly low levels of segregation from native-born Hispanics not of their own race, indicating the salience of pan-Hispanic identity. Thus, Hispanic race groups often experience multiple and concurrent forms of spatial assimilation with Anglos as well as African Americans and other Hispanics. This is consistent with White, Kim, and Glick's work (2005) describing how in diverse societies it has become increasingly important to recognize that individuals can become integrated with multiple groups (or none at all).

This is not say that race plays little role in shaping residential patterns. Our findings, for example, show that White Hispanics are in general less segregated from Anglos than from African Americans, and Black Hispanics are considerably less segregated from African Americans than from Anglos. It is likely that discrimination in the housing market, such as the steering of minority groups by real estate agents to certain neighborhoods and away from others, unequal access to mortgage credit, and neighbors' hostility still play a role in shaping residential patterns (Goering and Wienk 1996; Meyer 2000; Yinger 1995; Ross and Turner 2005).

We also see a couple of exceptions to the general patterns of assimilation. U.S.-born Black Hispanics are not less segregated from other Hispanic groups than the foreign-born. This suggests that Black Hispanics are not becoming residentially more similar to Hispanics of different races. Contrary to the patterns among all White Hispanics and White Mexicans in particular, we also find that White Cubans and Puerto Ricans show a strong pattern of assimilation with Anglos but *not* with Hispanics of other races. Thus, over generations White Cubans and White Puerto Ricans are becoming residentially more similar to Anglos but not to other non-White Hispanics.

What then, can be made of the paradoxical finding that Hispanic groups tend to display lower levels of segregation with both Anglos and African Americans at the same time as a

modest distancing between some Hispanic race groups across generations? We venture that there are two processes at work. First, we have conventional (if rather modest) assimilation between Hispanics and pre-existing native-born groups— both African Americans and Anglos. That is, this is consistent with the view that over time and generations, immigrant groups are more likely to leave their ethnic enclaves and share residential space with the Anglos and African Americans. At the same, as Denton and Massey (1989) have argued, immigrants become acclimated to the local—i.e., American—racial hierarchy, which results, in some cases, in the distancing between some Hispanic racial groups. That is not to say that racism is absent in the countries of origin, but rather that racial distinctions are more clearly delineated in the U.S. and play themselves out across generations in the U.S. metropolitan areas.

We also acknowledge that racial identity can itself be shaped by one's circumstances, and this likely plays a role in our results. That is, living in Black neighborhood or low SES-achievement can affect one's racial identification, and not just vice versa (Waters 1994). Thus, we can not definitively say whether the lack of assimilation between Black and other-race Hispanics is simply due to the differential actions and/or treatment of Hispanics by phenotype, or partly a function of the racial identification process itself. Regardless of the mechanisms, our findings support the notion that racial identity—which sociologists long contend is socially constructed—has important implications for patterns of Hispanic assimilation in American cities.

Conversely, then, our findings are less consistent with Rumbaut's (2006) contention that Hispanics are becoming distinctly racialized—that Hispanics are increasingly comprising a quasi racial group unto its own. While we certainly see a general pan-Hispanic ethnic identity with low levels of segregation among Hispanics, the generational distancing between some groups of

Hispanics suggests that traditional racial distinction that are salient in the U.S. more generally are salient among Hispanics as well.

How these processes will play out over the long run certainly remains in question. We venture, however, that the multiple forms of assimilation we find will by-and-large reduce the significance of various color lines in metropolitan America. Both this analysis and other recent research suggests that immigrant families will tend to live in more integrated environments the longer that they remain in the U.S.—often as they become more acculturated and gain in socioeconomic status (Fischer and Tienda 2006; Iceland and Scopilliti 2006; South et al. 2003b). This is consistent with the view that residential racial and ethnic polarization will likely decline in the future as majority and minority groups all experience patterns towards a broader convergence in residential patterns.

Two sets of findings provide reason to be cautious about too firmly drawing this conclusion. First, despite some declines in African American segregation from others in the 1990s, African Americans and Black Hispanics continued to be highly segregated from Anglos and other Hispanics. Black-White racial polarization, and the continued—albeit declining—discrimination against African Americans in the housing market still play a role in shaping residential patterns (Ross and Turner 2005). Whether the long-run trend of moderate declines in African American segregation continues and eventually translates into less polarization and greater integration for Black Hispanics as well will be an important issue to track in the coming years. It is possible that we could see a hardening of the division between Blacks, including Blacks Hispanics, and others (Denton and Massey 1989). This would also be consistent with some research suggesting that Black immigrants develop a shared racial group identity with

African Americans over time, though the meaning attached to Black identity often varies (Benson 2006).

Second, that higher income is associated with lower levels of segregation between all groups of Hispanics and Anglos in particular has important implications. While it suggests that spatial assimilation processes are at work that could reduce Hispanic-Anglo segregation over the longer run, the continued immigration of low-socioeconomic status Hispanics suggests that we should in fact witness increasing levels of such segregation for Hispanics in the short- (and medium-) run. Over the long-run, we may see declines in Hispanic-Anglo segregation if second and third generation Hispanics continue to experience upward mobility (Bean and Stevens 2003).

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## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, we use the U.S. government definition of “Hispanic” to denote a person of any race whose origin is Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture (Ramirez 2004). For the purpose of clarity, we also refer to native-born non-Hispanic Whites as “Anglos” and native-born non-Hispanic Blacks as “African Americans.”

<sup>2</sup> Random factors and geocoding errors are more likely to play a large role in determining the settlement pattern of group members when fewer members are present, causing these indexes to contain greater volatility (Iceland et al. 2002; Massey and Denton 1988). The 1,000 group population cutoff, while inevitably somewhat arbitrary, is one chosen by some other studies (Frey and Myers 2002; Glaeser and Vigdor 2001; Iceland and Scopilliti 2006). These cutoffs were also adopted by agreement with the Census Bureau Disclosure Review Board.

<sup>3</sup> Choosing a smaller unit of analysis increases segregation scores because smaller units tend to be more homogenous. For example, the average metropolitan area dissimilarity score for Blacks was 0.640 when using census tracts, but moderately higher at 0.669 when using block groups (Iceland and Steinmetz 2003). Census tract and block-group based scores, however, are very highly correlated (0.99), so it is unlikely that using an alternative unit would affect conclusions about the relationships studied here.

<sup>4</sup> Consistent with the predictions of spatial assimilation, we find that for all groups, the native-born are less segregated from a given reference group than the foreign born when using the isolation index. The main difference when using dissimilarity versus isolation is in the overall levels of segregation across different groups. The isolation index is sensitive to the relative size of the groups in question while the dissimilarity index, as a measure of evenness, is not. Other factors being equal, the isolation index is higher for larger groups than smaller ones because it essentially measures, for a typical group member, the average proportion of co-ethnics living in his or her neighborhood. Indeed, we find that Black Hispanics have lower levels of isolation (but higher levels of dissimilarity) from other groups than White- and other-race Hispanics. This is likely in large part of function of the fact that Black Hispanics comprised only 2 percent of all Hispanics in 2000. Results with the isolation index are available upon request.

<sup>5</sup> In order to gauge whether the inclusion of mixed-nativity and/or mixed-race households stemming from young children (who presumably do not have the option of living elsewhere) residing with parents with different race or

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nativity characteristics influence segregation scores, we calculated scores and regression analyses omitting all people under 21 from the calculations (available upon request). The exclusion of those under 21 from the analysis does not affect the conclusions.

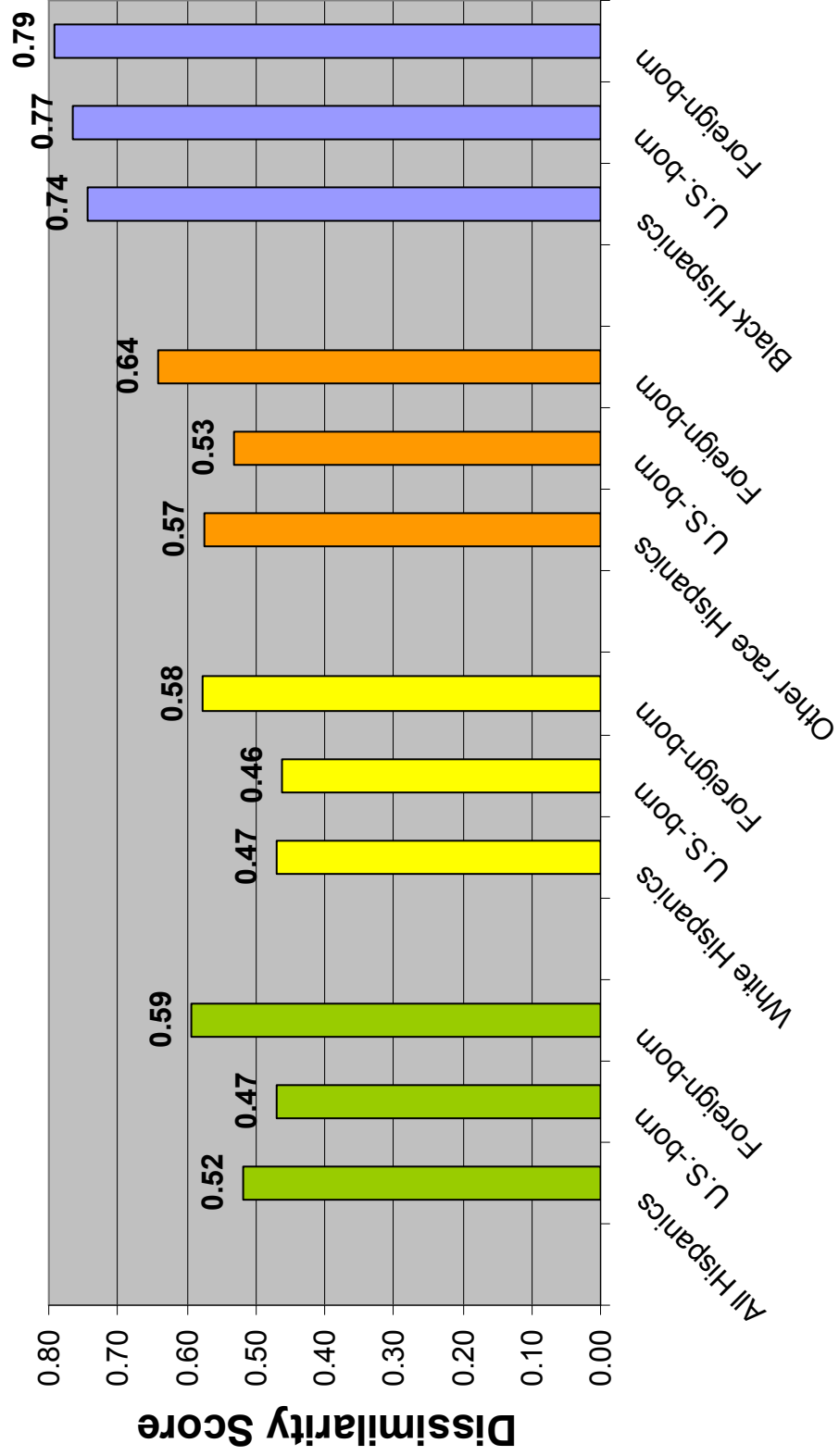
<sup>6</sup> Note that Table 1 shows segregation scores for all metropolitan areas where groups meet the population cutoff criteria, such that there are more metropolitan areas in the “All Hispanic” calculation, for example, than the “Black Hispanic” one. We ran additional analyses where we used only a constant set of metropolitan areas where all groups were present in sufficient numbers. In these analyses (available upon request), the patterns were similar to those shown in Table 1, except that the differences in dissimilarity scores across groups were a little smaller. For example, in the 31 metropolitan areas where all groups in the top panel of Table 1 were present in sufficient numbers, the dissimilarity score for all Hispanics was 0.57 (rather than 0.52 shown in Figure 1a) and for White and Other Hispanics the scores were 0.51 and 0.62, respectively. The scores for these groups tend to be a little higher in the restricted set of metropolitan areas in part because such metropolitan areas tend to be larger and have higher levels of segregation more generally.

<sup>7</sup> We also ran models with occupation, citizenship, and education variables, but these were highly correlated with income, English language, and housing tenure. Our findings on the general effects of acculturation and socioeconomic status variables do not differ much when using alternative model specifications.

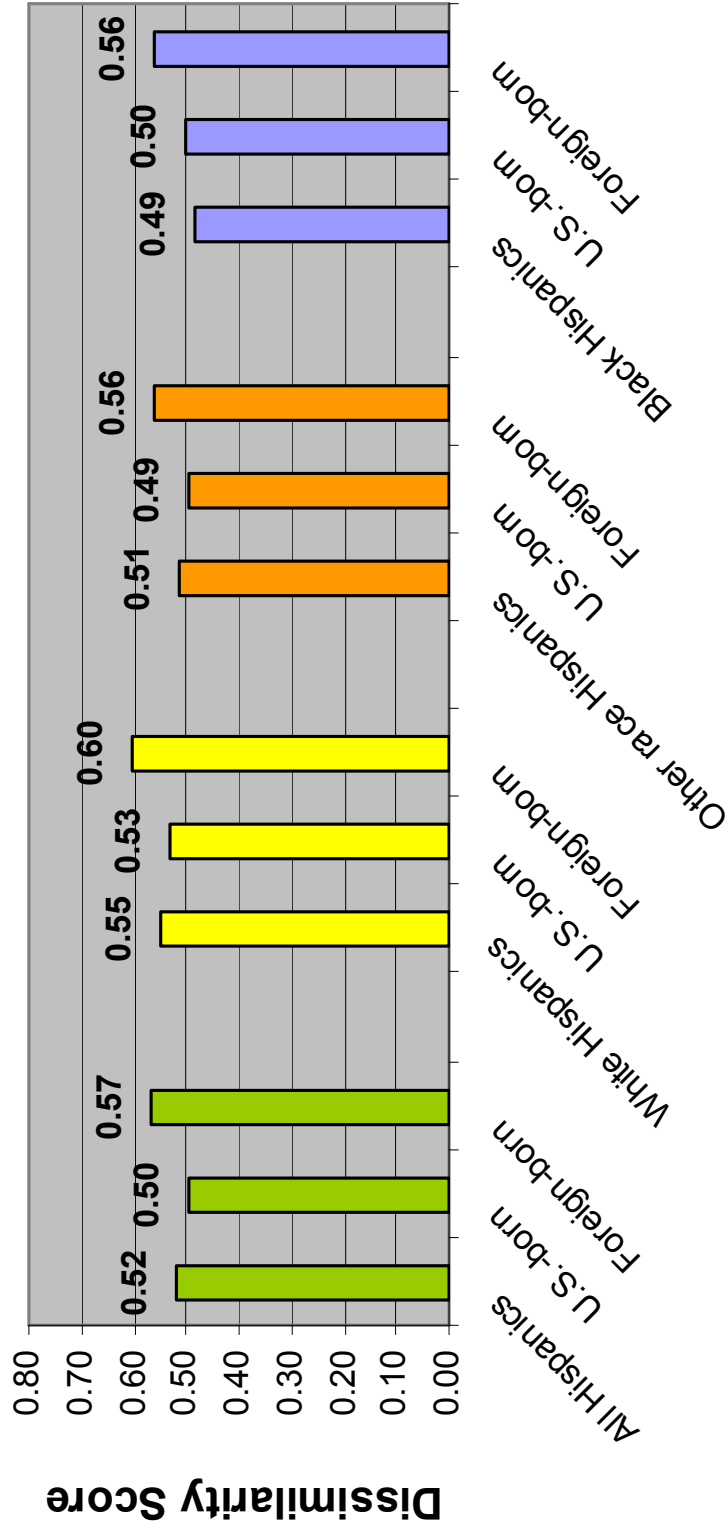




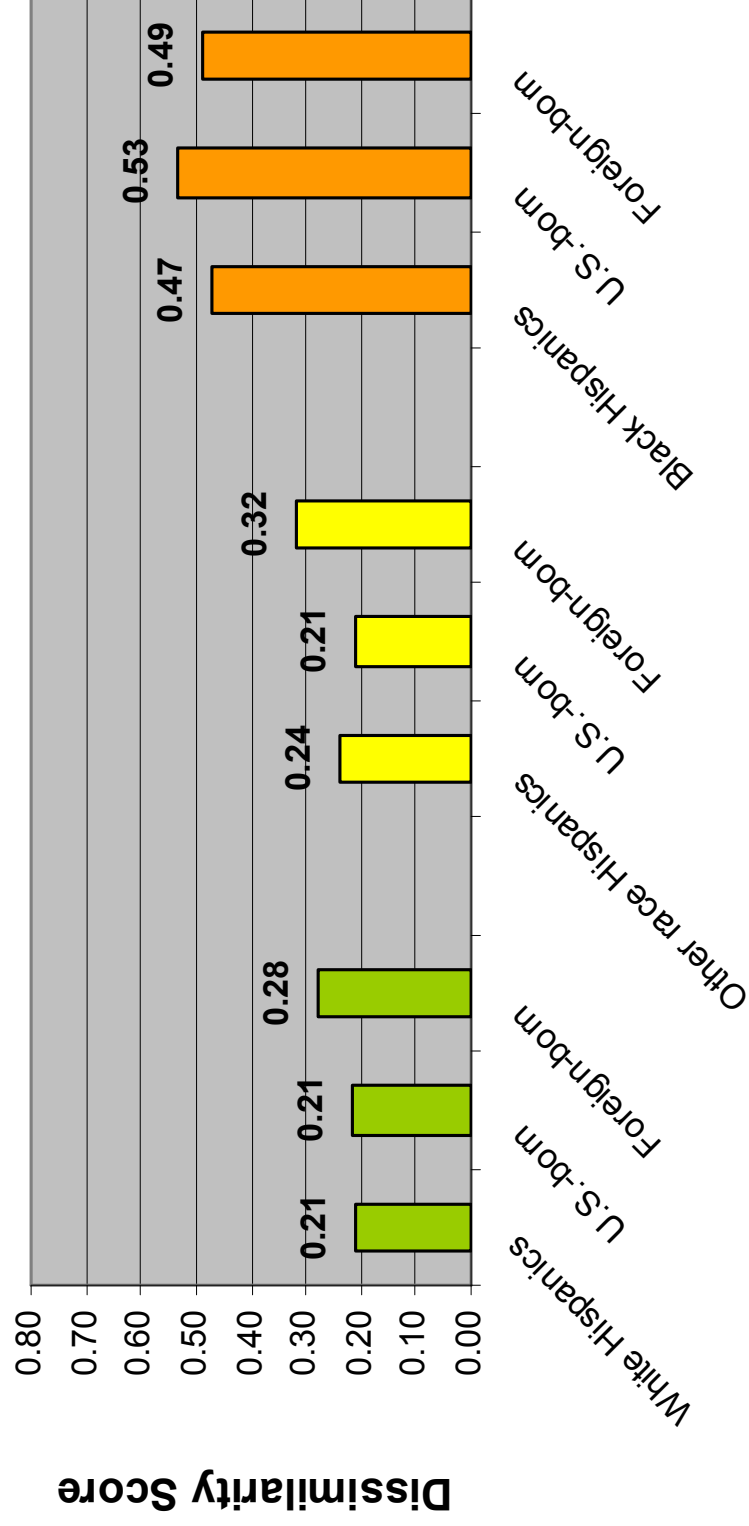
**Figure 1a. Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race and Nativity, from Anglos: 2000**



**Figure 1b. Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race and Nativity, from African Americans: 2000**



**Figure 1c. Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race and Nativity, from Native-born Hispanics Not of Same Race: 2000**



**Table 1. Mean Dissimilarity Scores for Hispanics by Nativity, Race, and Place of Birth: 2000**

Population Group of Interest	Reference Group					
	Number of Metropolitan Areas	Angols	Number of Metropolitan Areas	African Americans	Number of Metropolitan Areas	U.S.-born Hispanics Not of Same Race Group
<b>Panel A</b>						
<b>All Hispanics</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>0.519</b>	<b>280</b>	<b>0.519</b>	--	--
U.S.-born	288	0.469	268	0.496	--	--
Foreign-born	242	0.595	231	0.568	--	--
<b>White Hispanics</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>0.471</b>	<b>254</b>	<b>0.550</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>0.213</b>
U.S.-born	251	0.422	235	0.529	236	0.215
Foreign-born	204	0.558	198	0.603	199	0.276
<b>Other race Hispanics</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>0.575</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>0.515</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>0.241</b>
U.S.-born	237	0.533	220	0.494	234	0.208
Foreign-born	217	0.642	208	0.561	214	0.318
<b>Black Hispanics</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>0.744</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>0.486</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>0.471</b>
U.S.-born	68	0.766	68	0.503	68	0.533
Foreign-born	31	0.792	31	0.559	31	0.489
<b>Panel B: Hispanic origin subgroups</b>						
<b>Mexico</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>0.542</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>0.523</b>	--	--
U.S.-born	244	0.483	226	0.500	--	--
Foreign-born	200	0.639	189	0.580	--	--
<b>White</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>0.512</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>0.540</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>0.203</b>
U.S.-born	201	0.453	190	0.526	200	0.206
Foreign-born	151	0.632	145	0.600	150	0.287
<b>Other Race</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>0.583</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>0.526</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>0.260</b>
U.S.-born	186	0.535	175	0.501	186	0.218
Foreign-born	170	0.660	162	0.581	168	0.347
<b>Black</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>0.824</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>0.676</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>0.684</b>
U.S.-born	22	0.838	22	0.676	22	0.720
Foreign-born	--	--	--	--	--	--
<b>Cuba</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>0.538</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>0.775</b>	--	--
U.S.-born	44	0.518	44	0.770	--	--
Foreign-born	43	0.575	43	0.800	--	--
<b>White</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>0.538</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>0.802</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>0.480</b>
U.S.-born	32	0.508	32	0.804	32	0.517
Foreign-born	35	0.572	35	0.819	35	0.485
<b>Other Race</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0.690</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0.783</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>0.521</b>
U.S.-born	--	--	--	--	--	--
Foreign-born	--	--	--	--	--	--
<b>Black</b>	--	--	--	--	--	--
U.S.-born	--	--	--	--	--	--
Foreign-born	--	--	--	--	--	--
<b>Puerto Rico</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>0.602</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>0.550</b>	--	--
U.S.-born	123	0.593	123	0.553	--	--
Foreign-born	98	0.658	98	0.583	--	--
<b>White</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>0.554</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>0.598</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>0.332</b>
U.S.-born	93	0.551	93	0.617	93	0.380
Foreign-born	69	0.614	69	0.617	69	0.338
<b>Other Race</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>0.698</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>0.573</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>0.391</b>
U.S.-born	87	0.692	87	0.579	87	0.397
Foreign-born	61	0.751	61	0.607	61	0.433
<b>Black</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>0.823</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>0.558</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>0.544</b>
U.S.-born	26	0.839	26	0.568	26	0.578
Foreign-born	--	--	--	--	--	--

Note: Includes only those metro areas with at least 1,000 weighted cases in the relevant population groups. Scores are weighted by the size of the population group of interest. As Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth, the foreign-born category for this group refers to those born in Puerto Rico.

**Table 2. Group Characteristics by Race, Hispanic Origin, and Nativity, Census 2000**

	Total Population	HISPANICS											
		U.S.-born				Foreign-born							
		Anglos	African Americans	All Hispanics	White	Other Race	Black	White	Other Race	Black			
Population Group													
number of MAs	318	318	290	302	251	237	68	204	217	31			
Mean % of tot. metro area pop.	100.0	72.89	10.95	10.48	3.95	3.84	0.18	2.60	2.70	0.20			
Median household income	\$40,453	\$43,964	\$27,940	\$32,934	\$38,116	\$33,104	\$29,425	\$33,439	\$31,366	\$33,235			
Speaks English well/very well, %	97.10	99.64	99.59	81.87	96.38	95.30	96.79	61.48	59.13	66.72			
Home ownership, %	66.94	71.62	43.05	44.94	54.64	40.93	30.97	45.01	39.83	32.85			
Hispanic Origin, %													
Mexican	-	-	-	55.53	54.89	55.16	34.07	57.38	62.21	23.64			
Cuban	-	-	-	2.81	3.58	1.33	5.10	1.26	3.19	19.37			
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	14.54	13.52	16.89	33.57	4.70	1.23	7.64			
Other	-	-	-	27.12	28.01	26.62	27.26	36.66	33.37	49.35			

Note: These refer to metropolitan area averages; data only for metropolitan areas with 1,000 cases of relevant population group are included.

**Table 3. Generalized Linear Regressions with Levels of Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race, from Anglos: 2000**

	White Hispanics			Black Hispanics			Other-race Hispanics		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 5	Model 6	
	coef.	coef.	coef.	coef.	coef.	coef.	coef.	coef.	
	std. err.	std. err.	std. err.	std. err.	std. err.	std. err.	std. err.	std. err.	
Intercept	0.531 **	0.470 **	0.803 **	0.768 **	0.575 **	0.351 **	0.575 **	0.351 **	
Nativity									
Native born	-0.171 **	-0.096 **	-0.054 **	-0.068 *	-0.111 **	0.003	-0.111 **	0.003	
Foreign born (omitted)									
Other group-specific characteristics									
Hispanic group/Anglo ratio of median household income	-0.097 *	0.040		-0.111 **	0.041		-0.111 **	0.041	
% speaking English very well/well	-0.135 *	0.064		0.020	0.093		0.020	0.093	
% owning a home	-0.127 **	0.039		-0.027	0.057		-0.027	0.057	
Country of origin									
Mexican (omitted)									
Cuban	-0.234 **	0.066		-0.329 **	0.093		-0.329 **	0.093	
Puerto Rican	0.022	0.041		-0.144 **	0.038		-0.144 **	0.038	
All other origins	-0.047	0.041		-0.104 **	0.038		-0.104 **	0.038	
Group size (10,000s)	0.000	0.001		0.000	0.006		0.000	0.006	
Metropolitan area characteristics									
Log of total population	0.022 **	0.005		0.038 **	0.010		0.038 **	0.010	
% minority	0.058	0.034		-0.261 **	0.062		-0.261 **	0.062	
% in manufacturing	0.102	0.080		0.207	0.132		0.207	0.132	
% in government	-0.227	0.146		0.013	0.195		0.013	0.195	
% in military	-0.173	0.172		-0.705	0.388		-0.705	0.388	
% over 65 years old	0.088	0.130		-0.189	0.211		-0.189	0.211	
% of population enrolled in college	-0.031	0.130		-1.261 **	0.449		-1.261 **	0.449	
% of housing units built in last 10 yrs	-0.186 **	0.071		-0.382 **	0.136		-0.382 **	0.136	
% of population in suburbs	-0.012	0.025		-0.034	0.033		-0.034	0.033	
Region									
West (omitted)									
Northeast	0.073 **	0.024		-0.010	0.026		-0.010	0.026	
Midwest	0.061 **	0.012		-0.006	0.021		-0.006	0.021	
South	0.046 **	0.012		-0.001	0.016		-0.001	0.016	
Log Likelihood	450.310	610.827	109.593	174.204	372.943	580.563	174.204	372.943	
DF	453	434	97	78	452	433	78	452	

\*\*p<0.01 \*p<0.05

Notes: The unit of analysis is the segregation score for a particular group in a given metropolitan area. Includes metropolitan areas with at least 1,000 members of the group in question.

**Table 4. Generalized Linear Regressions with Levels of Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race, from African Americans: 2000**

	White Hispanics			Black Hispanics			Other-race Hispanics					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 5	Model 6				
Intercept	0.539 **	0.009	-0.178	0.175	0.659 **	0.020	0.319	0.308	0.529 **	0.009	-0.048	0.195
Nativity												
Native born	-0.043 **	0.005	-0.018	0.028	-0.106 **	0.018	-0.123 **	0.042	-0.050 **	0.005	-0.046	0.034
Foreign born (omitted)												
Other group-specific characteristics												
Hispanic group/African American ratio of median household income	0.071 **	0.025					0.048	0.037			0.007	0.032
% speaking English very well/well	-0.081	0.086					-0.012	0.133			-0.001	0.102
% owning a home	-0.008	0.054					-0.058	0.091			-0.079	0.058
Country of origin												
Mexican (omitted)												
Cuban	0.118	0.108					0.111	0.135			0.108	0.241
Puerto Rican	0.064	0.064					-0.086	0.081			0.062	0.068
All other origins	0.095	0.052					-0.172 *	0.074			-0.017	0.044
Group size (10,000s)	-0.002 *	0.001					-0.036 **	0.008			-0.002 *	0.001
Metropolitan area characteristics												
Log of total population	0.048 **	0.009					0.042 **	0.015			0.045 **	0.010
% minority	0.190 **	0.062					-0.055	0.072			0.162 **	0.062
% in manufacturing	-0.117	0.133					-0.143	0.200			-0.226	0.140
% in government	0.060	0.250					-0.282	0.403			-0.100	0.249
% in military	-0.918 **	0.277					-0.392	0.706			-0.717 *	0.311
% over 65 years old	-0.098	0.251					0.043	0.307			0.181	0.289
% of population enrolled in college	-0.218	0.192					-0.272	0.650			-0.122	0.196
% of housing units built in last 10 yrs	-0.175	0.123					0.068	0.133			-0.245	0.127
% of population in suburbs	0.044	0.036					-0.135 *	0.058			0.062	0.038
Region												
West (omitted)												
Northeast	-0.039	0.040					-0.002	0.045			-0.080	0.044
Midwest	0.114 **	0.025					0.0712 **	0.024			0.098 **	0.027
South	0.049 *	0.019					0.027	0.020			0.055 **	0.019
Log Likelihood	283.267	417.770			93.262		135.586		285.870		386.751	
DF	453	434			97		78		452		433	

\*\*p<0.01 \*p<0.05

Notes: The unit of analysis is the segregation score for a particular group in a given metropolitan area. Includes metropolitan areas with at least 1,000 members of the group in question.



**Table 5. Generalized Linear Regressions with Levels of Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race, from Native-Born Hispanics Not of Same Race: 2000**

	White Hispanics			Black Hispanics			Other-race Hispanics					
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6						
Intercept	0.352 **	0.009	-0.272 *	0.136	0.598 **	0.024	0.560 *	0.235	0.388 **	0.008	0.007	0.151
Nativity												
Native born	-0.037 **	0.007	-0.138 **	0.031	0.001	0.021	-0.061	0.044	-0.088 **	0.005	-0.122 **	0.032
Foreign born (omitted)												
Other group-specific characteristics												
Hispanic group/native-born Hispanics not of same race ratio of median household income	0.122 **	0.025					-0.035	0.049			0.049	0.041
% speaking English very well/well	0.290 **	0.100					0.157	0.137			0.100	0.095
% owning a home	-0.228 **	0.066					-0.007	0.055			-0.304 **	0.045
Country of origin												
Mexican (omitted)												
Cuban	0.174 **	0.115					-0.114	0.125			-0.026	0.192
Puerto Rican	-0.106	0.064					-0.307 **	0.075			0.001	0.067
All other origins	0.098	0.053					-0.223 **	0.066			-0.020	0.041
Group size (10,000s)	-0.002 *	0.001					-0.025 **	0.006			0.100	0.001
Metropolitan area characteristics												
Log of total population	0.026 **	0.007					0.043 **	0.012			0.032 **	0.008
% minority	-0.168 **	0.057					-0.266 **	0.071			-0.225 **	0.040
% in manufacturing	0.233 *	0.106					0.028	0.202			0.073	0.122
% in government	0.549 **	0.191					0.063	0.304			0.704 **	0.187
% in military	-0.817 **	0.233					-0.541	0.668			-1.184 **	0.223
% over 65 years old	0.046	0.215					-0.205	0.311			-0.123	0.211
% of population enrolled in college	-0.463 **	0.156					-1.651 **	0.586			-0.503 **	0.159
% of housing units build in last 10 yrs	0.028	0.069					-0.405 *	0.163			-0.174 **	0.067
% of population in suburbs	0.037	0.027					-0.088 *	0.039			0.056 *	0.028
Region												
West (omitted)												
Northeast	0.014	0.038					-0.059	0.038			-0.030	0.040
Midwest	0.083 **	0.014					0.024	0.030			0.081 **	0.013
South	0.073 **	0.014					0.037	0.022			0.074 **	0.014
Log Likelihood	295.670	467.930	76.395	138.223	334.559	498.475						
DF	453	434	97	78	452	433						

\*\*p<0.01 \*p<0.05

Notes: The unit of analysis is the segregation score for a particular group in a given metropolitan area. Includes metropolitan areas with at least 1,000 members of the group in question.

