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

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

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This article investigates patterns of spatial assimilation of Hispanics in U.S. metropolitan areas. Using restricted-use data from the 2000 Census, we calculate Hispanics' levels of residential segregation by race and nativity and then estimate multivariate models to examine the association of group characteristics with these patterns. To obtain a more nuanced view of spatial assimilation, we use alternative reference groups in the segregation calculations—Anglos, African Americans, and Hispanics not of the same race. We find that Hispanics experience multiple and concurrent forms of spatial assimilation across generations: U.S.-born White, Black, and other-race Hispanics tend to be less segregated from Anglos, African Americans, and U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race than are the foreign-born of the respective groups. We find some exceptions, suggesting that race continues to influence segregation despite the general strength of assimilation-related factors: Black Hispanics display high levels of segregation from Anglos, and U.S.-born Black Hispanics are no less segregated from other Hispanic groups than are their foreign-born counterparts.

Hispanics surpassed African Americans as the largest U.S. minority group in 2003 (National Research Council 2006). The rapid growth of the Hispanic population has created uncertainty as to the future of Hispanic social and economic incorporation in the United States. In the residential sphere, Hispanic segregation from Anglos—although lower than African American segregation—is moderately high and shows no sign of decreasing (Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz 2002; Lewis Mumford Center 2001).[1] In fact, immigration may con-

tribute 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 this study, we are 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 another combination of race categories (Grieco and Cassidy 2001). Black Hispanics are economically disadvantaged and more segregated from Anglos than are 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 spa-

[1] In this article, 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). Also, for clarity, we refer to native-born non-Hispanic Whites as "Anglos" and native-born non-Hispanic Blacks as "African Americans."

tial 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 exhibit varying or multiple forms of assimilation with other groups. Thus, the following questions guide our study: To what extent do Hispanics' residential patterns vary by race and nativity? Among which groups are spatial differences attenuating? What is the association between various group characteristics and these patterns? To answer these questions, we analyze restricted-use 2000 Census data to calculate Hispanics' levels of residential segregation by race and nativity, using the dissimilarity index. We then estimate multivariate models to examine the role of group characteristics, including socioeconomic status and English language ability.

From a methodological perspective, our study builds on existing research by taking advantage of restricted-use decennial census files. These data allow us to examine the segregation of Hispanics simultaneously by race, nativity, and, in some cases, country-of-origin. They also allow us to estimate models that control for group characteristics. Such calculations are simply not possible with public-use census data, but they are important for isolating the roles of race and nativity from other attributes that shape residential patterns. 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, not only between Hispanics and Anglos, but also between Hispanics and other U.S.-born groups. We obtain a more nuanced picture of the different forms of spatial assimilation that various Hispanic groups experience. In the conclusion, we discuss how the patterns we observe shed light on the changing nature of racial and ethnic residential divisions, as well as 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 it is usually conceptualized as the degree to which various groups reside in different neighborhoods (White 1987). In the United States, 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 United States focused primarily on the Black–White residential divide. Since then, researchers have increasingly examined the segregation of other racial and ethnic groups, primarily Asians and Hispanics. These studies generally find that African Americans are more residentially segregated from Anglos than are Hispanics, and, in turn, Hispanics are more segregated from Anglos than are Asians (Iceland et al. 2002).

The literature notes two common and competing theoretical approaches to residential segregation: spatial assimilation and place stratification (Charles 2003; Massey 1985). The immigrant incorporation literature also notes a third approach: segmented assimilation.

Classic spatial assimilation theory posits that immigrant groups experience a process toward integration with a society's majority group through the adoption of mainstream attitudes, culture, and human capital attributes (Alba and Nee 2003). The acculturation of the foreign-born and their children to the host society, as well as their socioeconomic mobility over time, are key factors in the assimilation process. Early in this process, groups may be segregated from the native majority for a number of reasons. The low socioeconomic status (SES) of many immigrant groups may mean that such individuals cannot afford to live in the same neighborhoods as the more affluent native majority (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, shape where internal migrants and immigrants live (Castles and Miller 2003; Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

Immigrant group members are more likely, however, to move into other residential areas if and as they become more socioeconomically similar to the native majority. Contemporary assimilation theorists emphasize that assimilation need not be a one way street, with immigrants becoming more like native majority group members. Rather, assimilation involves a general convergence of social, economic, cultural, and—the focus here—residential patterns (Alba and Nee 2003).

In short, spatial assimilation theory offers clear and testable hypotheses concerning the residential patterns of immigrants. The residential segregation of Hispanics from others is expected to decrease across generations because of the acculturation process and socioeconomic mobility that allows immigrant groups (and their progeny) to reside in more affluent areas. Although we may expect some variation in the magnitude of the effects of nativity and group characteristics across Hispanic subgroups (much as among European immigrants of the previous great migration), the general direction of the associations should not vary much.

In contrast to the residential convergence of groups highlighted by spatial assimilation theory, the place stratification perspective emphasizes majority prejudice and discrimination in shaping residential patterns of new or marginalized groups in a society (Charles 2003; Massey 1985). Proponents of place stratification theory assert that in-group preferences among majority group members become institutionalized such that immigrant and minority group members have 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 in the metropolitan United States.

Research documents the discriminatory practices in the U.S. housing market against African Americans in particular, as well as against Hispanics and Asians (Massey and Denton 1993; Ross and Turner 2005; Turner and Ross 2003; Turner et al. 2002). Over the years, these practices have included real estate agents steering racial groups away from certain neighborhoods, unequal access to mortgage credit,

exclusionary zoning (in which groups are restricted to particular neighborhoods), and neighborhood hostility (Goering and Wienk 1996; Massey and Denton 1993; Meyer 2000; Yinger 1995). Research indicates 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 in 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).

Overall, the place stratification perspective predicts that immigrant groups will preserve their residential distinctiveness across generations, due in large part to discrimination by the native majority. Increasing knowledge of the language of the new country and familiarity with its culture and customs will not lead to increased spatial assimilation. In the U.S. case, Hispanic immigrants essentially become racialized, and thus retain their distinctive residential patterns over time and across generations. Socioeconomic factors are expected to have little impact on this process (Alba and Logan 1993; Charles 2006). For example, until relatively recently, African Americans of all income levels were highly segregated from Whites (Massey and Denton 1993).

The segmented assimilation perspective focuses on divergent patterns of incorporation among contemporary immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1999). According to this theory, the host society offers uneven possibilities to different immigrant groups based on social factors such as race and SES. Different segments of U.S. society absorb recent immigrants, ranging from affluent and predominantly Anglo middle-class suburbs to impoverished and predominantly African American inner-city ghettos. Becoming "American" is not always an advantage for immigrants or their children.

Segmented assimilation theory posits that individual- and structural-level factors strongly influence the incorporation process. Individual-level factors include SES and English language ability, among other characteristics. For example, high SES immigrants and their

children, who are fluent in English, have a rel-
atively high likelihood of assimilating with
Anglos. Conversely, low SES immigrants with
poor English language skills are less likely to
assimilate with Anglos. Instead, they cultivate
ties with their ethnic communities or assimilate
downward with poorer African Americans
(Zhou 1999). Structural factors that likewise
affect patterns of incorporation include racial
stratification and the range of economic oppor-
tunities available in a particular place at a par-
ticular time. As discussed above, racial
discrimination may diminish the opportunities
available to non-White immigrants. This issue
may be particularly pertinent to the residential
experiences of Hispanics in the United States.

According to the segmented assimilation
model, we should thus expect to see consider-
able differences in the residential patterns across
Hispanic race groups. White Hispanics in par-
ticular may experience generational assimilation
with non-Hispanic Whites. Conversely, Black
Hispanics may assimilate with African
Americans. It is less clear how to predict assim-
ilation patterns of Hispanics who identify as
neither White nor Black. Rumbaut (2006) sug-
gests that second-generation Latin Americans
who do not identify as either White or Black
may see themselves as belonging to a racialized
Hispanic category. The implication is that, con-
trary 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
African Americans. In fact, they may be more
segregated from these groups than would
Hispanic immigrants who have not yet inter-
nalized U.S. racial categories.

In short, like place stratification theory, seg-
mented assimilation theory emphasizes race as
a structural force shaping the residential patterns
of contemporary immigrants. However, as with
spatial assimilation theory, socioeconomic and
acculturation indicators also play important
roles in patterns predicted by the segmented
assimilation perspective. Spatial assimilation
theory does acknowledge that the pace and
extent of assimilation will vary across groups
(Alba and Nee 2003). The essential difference
between spatial assimilation theory and seg-
mented assimilation theory, then, is that accord-
ing to the former we should see a narrowing of
group differences over time; according to the lat-

ter, we may see no such narrowing among some
groups.

EMPIRICAL ANALYSES OF HISPANIC RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION PATTERNS BY RACE, NATIVITY, AND SES

Although many empirical studies find that
Hispanic–Anglo residential segregation is lower
than African American–Anglo segregation
(Fischer and Tienda 2006; Iceland 2004; Iceland
et al. 2002; Lewis Mumford Center 2001;
Massey and Denton 1987), comparisons of
Hispanic racial subgroups are relatively rare.
This stems in part from the ambiguous nature
of racial and ethnic identity among Hispanics.
Historically, collecting race information from
Hispanics has been problematic given their
diversity of origins and confusion over the dis-
tinction between Hispanic ethnicity and phe-
notypical race classification in the U.S. context
(Landale and Oropesa 2002; Rumbaut 2006).
While the United States has a history of
dichotomizing race into White and Black, exem-
plified by the "one-drop rule," race is a multi-
category continuum in Latin America (Denton
and Massey 1989). In addition, many Latin
Americans consider themselves to be a mix of
Spanish and Indian ancestry—a category of its
own.

Responses to the race and Hispanic origin
questions in U.S. government surveys reflect this
confusion. In the response to the question on
race in the 2000 Census, for example, 42 per-
cent of Hispanic respondents reported being
"some other race," compared with just .2 per-
cent of the non-Hispanic population (Grieco
and Cassidy 2001). 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 address-
ing the role of race in the Hispanic experience."
Only 1.8 percent of Hispanics (roughly 633,000)
reported Black as their only race in the 2000
Census, and only 6.4 percent reported two or
more race categories (including many who
reported "White" as one of their races).

In their analysis of 1970 and 1980 Census
data, Denton and Massey (1989) examine the
interplay of race and ethnicity in shaping the res-
idential segregation patterns of Caribbean
Hispanics. Their findings indicate that Black

Hispanics were indeed significantly more segregated from Anglos than were White Hispanics. This led Denton and Massey to conclude that race was more important than ethnicity in explaining Hispanic patterns of residential segregation. They document that Black Hispanics from the Caribbean were also fairly highly segregated from African Americans, suggesting the adoption of a distinct identity among these Black Hispanics. In another analysis of 1980 data, White (1987) similarly finds that Blacks of "Spanish" origin were highly segregated from non-Blacks of Spanish origin.

Between 1980 and 2000, the native- and foreign-born Hispanic populations grew rapidly, and they moved to new growth areas in the United States, primarily in the South and the Midwest (Singer 2004; Suro and Singer 2002). This shift in the composition of the U.S. urban population raises important questions about recent patterns of integration of Hispanics. Logan (2003) analyzes Census 2000 data and finds that non-White Hispanics continue to be more highly segregated from Anglos than are White Hispanics, thus suggesting that non-White Hispanics may be more similar to African Americans than to 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 appears 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 SES neighborhoods in 1980 than were other Latino groups, suggesting the continuing salience of race in shaping residential patterns. Other research shows 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 quite the same (Benson 2006).

Momentarily leaving aside the issue of race, 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 for the foreign-born (Denton and Massey 1988; Iceland and Scopilliti 2008), although sometimes other factors, such as ethnicity, over-

shadow the effect of nativity (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008; Scopilliti and Iceland 2008; White, Biddlecom, and Guo 1993; White and Sassler 2000). Additionally, high SES members of an ethnic group are less segregated from Anglos than are low SES members (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 proficiency are more likely to move into neighborhoods with more Anglos than are low SES Hispanics with less English language proficiency (South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005b).

Examining SES is particularly important for the association between race and Hispanic–Anglo and Hispanic–African American segregation: in much of Latin America and the Caribbean, people who are socioeconomically 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 (Waters 1994; Williams 1955). Our study distinguishes between the roles of race and class by including indicators of socioeconomic attainment.

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

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

A majority of Hispanics in the United States 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 evenly split between identifying as White and other race (in the 42 to 47 percent range). Puerto Ricans, however, are more likely to self-identify as Black (5.8 percent) than are Cubans (3.6

percent) or Mexicans (.7 percent) (Rumbaut 2006).

Previous research indicates that Puerto Ricans are more segregated from Anglos than are Mexicans, and they 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 more Anglos; they are more likely, however, to move into neighborhoods with more African Americans (South et al. 2005a). The greater segregation from Anglos among Puerto Ricans than among Mexicans may reflect that the former are more likely to have some African ancestry (Massey and Bitterman 1985). Logan (2002), however, finds that by 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 may explain these various patterns.

ECOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Finally, many studies on segregation discuss the importance of ecological context in shaping residential patterns more generally. Although our analysis focuses mainly on spatial assimilation processes, we acknowledge it is important to consider and control for contextual differences too. For example, regional differences in levels of residential segregation have long been noted. In particular, older metropolitan areas of the Northeast and the Midwest have more established residential patterns, and they often had histories of restrictive covenants and strict land-use regulations. They thus tend to have higher levels of segregation than do other parts of the United States (Farley and Frey 1994; Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004; South and Crowder 1997). Metropolitan area size and the size of a minority population are expected to be positively associated with segregation due to more discrimination, tighter housing markets, and larger established ethnic communities (Farley and Frey 1994; Logan et al. 2004; South and Crowder 1997).

In addition, a metropolitan area's functional specialization has been shown to be associated with residential patterns in U.S. metropolitan areas. On average, metropolitan areas devoted to durable goods manufacturing had more Hispanic–Anglo and African American–Anglo segregation in 2000, while those specializing in government and military had less African American–Anglo segregation (although these factors did not have a significant association with Hispanic–Anglo segregation) (Logan et al. 2004). Researchers have also estimated the effects of metropolitan area housing supply. Farley and Frey (1994) find that new housing constructed between 1980 and 1989 is associated with lower levels of African American–Anglo segregation in 1990. Timberlake and Iceland (2007) find the same for 2000, though they find no significant association with Anglo–Hispanic segregation levels.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS STUDY

Our analysis contributes to the literature on the residential segregation of Hispanics in several ways. Methodologically, we calculate our segregation indexes for Hispanics 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 among the foreign-born, which would be consistent with a trend of spatial assimilation across generations of immigrant families living in the metropolitan United States. A second methodological advantage is that using restricted Census data allows us to examine the associations between race, nativity, and residential segregation, controlling for a number of covariates, including average group income and English language ability, that are 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. 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), but few have examined the role of nativity in explaining these patterns (for exceptions, see Iceland and Scopilliti 2008; Scopilliti and

Iceland 2008). Why is nativity so important? While it is informative to know, for example, that Black Hispanics are less segregated from African Americans than are White Hispanics, these analyses do not reveal whether this reduction holds for both native- and foreign-born Black Hispanics. This is really the crux of assimilation theory: assimilation is the attenuation of group differences, usually across generations (Alba and Nee 2003). Although ours is a cross-sectional analysis, the comparison of Hispanic groups by nativity provides a useful approach to looking at differences in the residential patterns between first-generation Hispanic immigrants and later-generation U.S.-born Hispanics.

Moreover, we also examine an issue that has received little attention in the residential segregation literature: the possibility that Hispanic groups 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 assimilate with either Anglos, African Americans, or U.S.-born Hispanics of a different race (suggesting a growth in pan-Hispanic identity that is less dependent on race). Or, they may assimilate with all three at the same time. In this vein, White and colleagues (2005) argue that in diverse societies it is increasingly important to recognize that groups can become spatially proximate with a number of other ethnic groups, or conversely, remain highly segregated from them.

A final advantage of this investigation is that while previous studies have calculated the segregation of Hispanics by race (e.g., Denton and Massey 1989; Logan 2003) or by country of origin (e.g., Logan 2002), none have calculated segregation by both, due to the lack of public-use data at the neighborhood level. Indeed, Denton and Massey (1989:790) note 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."

DATA AND METHODS

We use restricted-use data from the 2000 Census to examine the residential patterns of Hispanics in U.S. metropolitan areas. 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. We conduct these analyses for all metropolitan areas in which the groups are present in sufficient numbers. Specifically, we compute dissimilarity indexes for groups with at least 100,000 members in the United States, and at least 1,000 members in a particular metropolitan area, because segregation indexes for small minority populations are less reliable than those for larger ones.[2] As is conventional in segregation studies, we exclude counts of people in institutional group quarters (such as prisons). We present segregation estimates averaged across metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs), and for New England states, New England county metropolitan areas (NECMAs). Hereafter, we refer to these 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 United States.

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 the unit most often selected by other researchers

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[2] 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 somewhat arbitrary, is used by other studies (Frey and Myers 2002; Glaeser and Vigdor 2001; Iceland and Scopilliti 2008). These cutoffs were also adopted by agreement with the Census Bureau Disclosure Review Board.

(e.g., Logan et al. 2004; Massey and Denton 1993).[3]

Respondent race and Hispanic ethnicity are determined by two questions in the 2000 Census. The first question asks: "Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?" There is an answer box for "no" and additional "yes" boxes for people to 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 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, and Japanese). 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 people, 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 are Hispanic in the first question mentioned above. We look at differences in residential patterns of Hispanics by whether they indicated their race to be White alone, Black alone, or some other race or combination of races. We classify people as Anglo (non-Hispanic White) or African American (non-Hispanic Black) if they marked only the White or Black boxes and also reported being not Hispanic.

When we examine 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 for "in the United States," where people are asked to print the name of the state, and one for "outside of the United States," where people are asked to print the

name of the country or territory. As is conventional in studies of the foreign-born, our foreign-born population includes people who reported 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). In addition, we code Hispanics born in Puerto Rico or other U.S. territories as foreign born. Although U.S. citizens at birth, they share the experiences of newcomers to the mainland United States. According to the spatial assimilation model, it is reasonable to hypothesize that migrants from Puerto Rico would be more segregated from Anglos than would Puerto Ricans born within the mainland.

As a measure of residential segregation, we use the dissimilarity index (D), which is the most commonly used measure. It captures how even the distribution of two groups are within smaller regions of a larger area (Denton and Massey 1989; Iceland et al. 2002; Logan 2002). The formula for the dissimilarity index is:

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

where n is the number of tracts in a metropolitan area, x_i is the population size of the group of interest in tract i, X is the population of the group in the metropolitan area as a whole, y_i is the population of the reference group in tract i, and Y is the population of the reference group in the metropolitan area as a whole. The dissimilarity index ranges from 0 to 1 and indicates the minimum proportion of a group that would have to move across neighborhoods within an area so that each neighborhood would have the same proportion of residents from that group as the total area. A dissimilarity index of 1 indicates complete segregation between two groups (100 percent of a group would have to move to comprise the same proportion of the component communities as in the larger area). Conversely, a dissimilarity index of 0 represents complete integration.

We conduct analyses using the isolation index (the second most commonly used segregation index). Because of the length and breadth of the current study, however, we limit our discussion to dissimilarity. The conclusions do not change much using the isolation

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[3] 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 is .640 using census tracts, but moderately higher at .669 using block groups (Iceland and Steinmetz 2003). Census tract- and block-group based scores, however, are very highly correlated (.99), so it is unlikely that using an alternative unit would affect conclusions about the relationships studied here.

index.[4] It certainly is possible to do analyses with additional indexes, such as the 20 described by Massey and Denton (1988). To keep this analysis manageable, we focus mainly on dissimilarity and conduct sensitivity analysis with isolation.[5]

Our analysis begins with a descriptive look at dissimilarity scores by race, nativity, and country of origin. In particular, we examine Hispanics' segregation, by race and nativity, from Anglos (U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites), African Americans (U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks), and U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race group. This provides a broad view of the patterns of spatial assimilation among various Hispanic groups. Note that we use "assimilation" in a very precise way: it is indicative of the smaller spatial differences across generations represented here as the difference in segregation patterns between first-generation foreign-born Hispanics and later-generation U.S.-born Hispanics in the 2000 Census. Specifically, it helps answer our first two research questions: To what extent do Hispanics' residential patterns vary by race and nativity? Among which groups are spatial differences attenuating?

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[4] Consistent with the predictions of spatial assimilation, when using the isolation index we find that for all Hispanic groups, the native-born are less segregated from a given reference group than are the foreign-born. The main difference using this index is that it is sensitive to the relative size of the groups in question while dissimilarity, as a measure of evenness, is not. The isolation scores thus tend to be lower for smaller groups. Indeed, we find that Black Hispanics have lower levels of isolation (but higher levels of dissimilarity) than do other Hispanics. Results with the isolation index are available from the authors upon request.

[5] Spatial segregation measures, such as the spatial proximity index, could potentially be useful because they consider the distance between neighborhoods whereas dissimilarity and isolation do not (Reardon and O'Sullivan 2004). These indexes, however, are computationally more intensive and beyond the scope of our analysis. We nevertheless note that the correlation between Hispanic–Anglo dissimilarity scores and spatial proximity scores was fairly high (.73) in 2000 (Iceland et al. 2002). Furthermore, some analyses indicate that the relationship between group and metropolitan area characteristics and these two indexes is quite similar (Wilkes and Iceland 2004).

According to spatial assimilation theory, we would expect to see lower Hispanic–Anglo segregation scores among native-born Hispanics than among the foreign-born, regardless of the race of Hispanic respondents. This would indicate a pattern of assimilation between first-generation immigrants and U.S.-born generations. As mentioned above, assimilation theory allows 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. Place stratification theory would predict no such attenuation of segregation with Anglos for any Hispanic group across generations (without reductions in institutionalized discrimination that may prevent minorities from integrating in native majority areas). We compute Hispanic–African American segregation scores to gauge whether Hispanics (particularly, Hispanics who self-classify as Black) are more likely to be assimilated by the African American population than by the Anglo population. This would support segmented assimilation theory. Finally, we examine Hispanic–"Hispanic not of own race group" segregation to gauge the extent to which a Hispanic ethnic bond spans across country of origin groups as well as self-identified race groups. In the descriptive tables, we show these segregation comparisons by country of origin where the data allow. In particular, we look at the residential patterns of Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans by race and nativity to examine the extent of variation by country of origin. These three groups represent the largest countries of origin among Hispanics and are the groups most commonly analyzed (see South et al. 2005a, 2005b). Unfortunately, race and nativity groupings from other countries of origin, such as El Salvador and the Dominican Republic, are not large enough in metropolitan areas across the United States for us to analyze them separately.

Consistent with traditional segregation studies, we include both adults and children living in the metropolitan United States in our calculation of segregation scores. This allows for an expansive sample that makes it possible to analyze smaller population groups, such as foreign-born Black Hispanics. It could, however, be argued that children should be excluded from the analysis because immigrant parents often live with native-born children. One would not

want segregation scores to be biased downward as a result of parents and children being separated between the group of interest and the reference group. This is not as large a problem here. In particular, the reference groups used in two of the three sets of the segregation calculations are native-born non-Hispanic Whites and native-born non-Hispanic Blacks, respectively. It is relatively unlikely that Hispanic parents would report that their children are *not* Hispanic. On the other hand, in analyses where native-born Hispanics of a different race group are the reference group, it is possible that parents may report a different nativity or race for their children than they report for themselves. We thus calculated scores and regression analyses omitting everyone under age 21 to compare with our results on the full metropolitan U.S. population. We found that excluding these individuals does not affect the conclusions (results available from the authors on request).

On a related note, among adults we do not limit our analysis to householders: we include all adults within households, even where race and nativity differed among them. Unlike children, we consider adults to have significant input as to where they reside. We thus want a segregation score to reflect, for example, lower levels of residential distance that occur through mixed marriages (e.g., foreign-born Hispanic men married to native-born Anglo women) or through other types of adult living arrangements (e.g., co-workers sharing housing) that reflect residential choices made by adults.

Following our descriptive analysis, we present generalized linear regression models. These show the roles that SES and other group characteristics have in explaining levels of segregation for various Hispanic groups. They thus help inform our third research question: What is the association between various group characteristics and segregation patterns? According to the spatial and segmented assimilation perspectives, these characteristics are important. Greater parity in group incomes and greater levels of acculturation should be associated with spatial assimilation and less segregation.

SPECIFICATION OF THE STATISTICAL MODEL

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

$$Y_{ji} = B_0 + B_1 X_{ji} + B_2 Z_j + e_{ji}$$

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 area characteristics for metropolitan area j. As before, the reference groups for the segregation calculations (Y_{ji}) are, alternately, Anglos, 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 are the native-born of each of those groups. We are also examining the degree to which each group's characteristics explain these nativity differences.

For example, when examining the segregation patterns of White Hispanics, there is an observation for each metropolitan area 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 two 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 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 (percent that speaks English very well or well), country of origin (percent Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, or

other), median household income relative to the reference group, and housing tenure (percent owning homes).[6]

Although we would prefer to have separate observations for each country of origin and dummy variables indicating the country, we use the percent of the overall Hispanic group from each country. There are too few metropolitan areas with sufficient numbers of Black Hispanics of particular countries to run meaningful regressions. In fact, as results in Table 1 show, there are insufficient numbers of foreign-born Black Hispanics among any of the countries of origin that meet our population criteria for inclusion (groups that have at least 100,000 members in the United States and at least 1,000 in a particular metropolitan area).

Z_j is a vector of metropolitan area attributes that represent the ecological context. These variables include: log of metropolitan area population, percent of the population that is minority (not non-Hispanic White), percent of the civilian labor force in manufacturing and government, percent of the labor force in the military, percent of the population over age 65, the proportion of the population age 18 and older enrolled in school, percent of housing units built in the past 10 years, percent of the metropolitan area population in the suburbs, and region.

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

LIMITATIONS

There are a few data limitations in the analysis worth noting. Because we use cross-sectional census data, we can discuss differences in segregation only by nativity, not by generation or across time in a truly longitudinal fashion. It

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[6] We also estimated 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 SES variables do not differ much using alternative model specifications.

would be preferable to distinguish between second and third generations because the assimilation process may be considerably more evident in the third generation than in the second (Alba and Nee 2003). For example, Brown (2006, 2007) finds (not relying on census data) that the residential patterns of Mexicans in the Los Angeles metropolitan area suggest that integration is particularly evident among the third generation but considerably less evident for previous generations. The net effect of this data drawback is that our analysis may understate the extent of assimilation because a large proportion of native-born Hispanics (around half) are second generation (National Research Council 2006).

A second limitation, also described above, is that we do not run multivariate analyses that directly compare the experience of Hispanics by race, nativity, and country of origin because we do not have sufficient numbers. We do show descriptive statistics for country-of-origin groups where possible. A third limitation is that the regression analyses examining the association between segregation and socioeconomic characteristics and acculturation are not strictly causal. For example, while high Hispanic SES may reduce segregation, lower levels of segregation may, in turn, increase Hispanic socioeconomic achievement.

RESULTS

Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c present mean dissimilarity scores of Hispanics, by race and nativity, from native-born Anglos, African Americans, and 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 members in a particular metropolitan area are included in the calculations. Table S1 (in the Online Supplement on the *ASR* Web site: http://www2.asanet.org/journals/asr/2008/toc065.html) provides descriptive statistics of the sample. The differences by nativity discussed here and presented in the figures are all statistically significant ($p < .01$).

Figure 1a indicates that native-born Hispanics are less segregated from Anglos (dissimilarity score of .47) than are foreign-born Hispanics (.59), which is consistent with the predictions of spatial assimilation theory. A dissimilarity

score of .47 means that 47 percent of either U.S.-born Hispanics or Anglos would have to relocate across census tracts for their average tract proportions to equal their share of the metropolitan area population. Among all Hispanic race groups, the foreign-born are more segregated from Anglos than are the native-born. We also see distinct differences in levels of Hispanic–Anglo segregation by race. White Hispanics are much less segregated from Anglos (.47) than are Black Hispanics (.74). The dissimilarity score for other-race Hispanics (.57) falls between the two groups, although it is closer to the White Hispanic score. As a point of comparison, the average Black–Anglo dissimilarity score was .64 in 2000 (Iceland et al. 2002). Generally, dissimilarity scores below .30 are considered low, while those above .60 are high (Massey and Denton 1993).

Figure 1b, in which the reference group is African Americans, shares some similarities with Figure 1a. In particular, U.S.-born Hispanics of all groups are less segregated from African Americans than are foreign-born Hispanics. This reveals a form of assimilation not discussed in the previous literature on the segregation of Hispanics: our data suggest not only a generational assimilation of Hispanics

with Anglos, but also with African Americans. The generational differences are quite similar for all three racial categories of Hispanics, and levels of segregation from African Americans do not substantively differ by race of the Hispanic group.

The patterns in Figures 1a and 1b are consistent with previous research that shows White Hispanics, particularly the native-born, are less segregated from Anglos (.47) than from African Americans (.55). Black Hispanics, though, are considerably less segregated from African Americans (.49) than from Anglos (.74). Other-race Hispanics are similarly segregated from both African Americans (.51) and Anglos (.57), 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 relatively low (.21 to .32). For these groups, we again see a pattern of assimilation: the native-born are less segregated from other Hispanic race groups than are the foreign-born. This suggests yet another form of assimilation: a growth in Hispanic neighborhoods that are less divided by race across generations.

Notably, for Black Hispanics we see a different pattern. U.S.-born Black Hispanics are
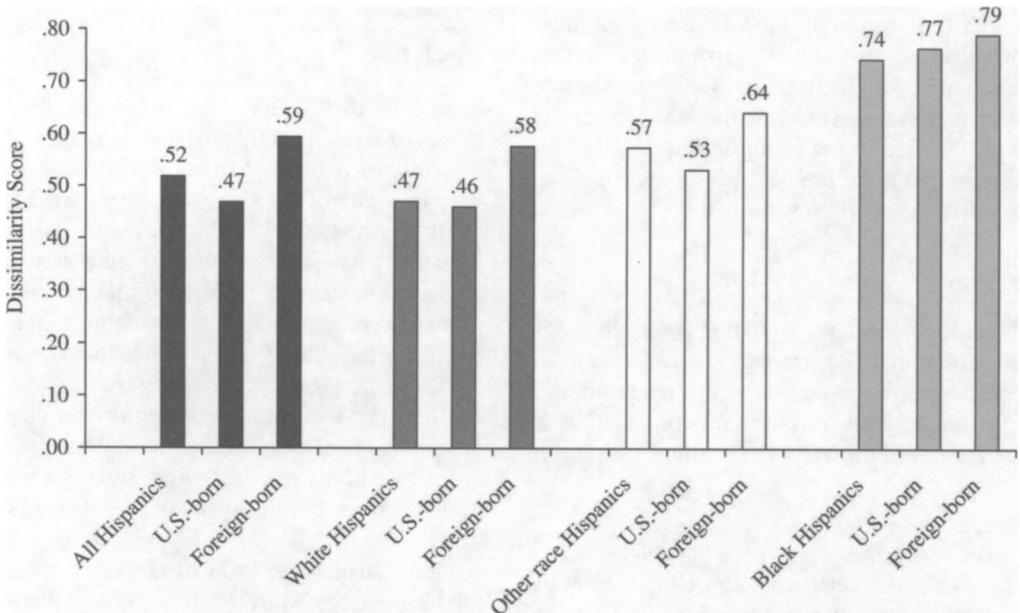
Figure 1a. Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race and Nativity, from Anglos: 2000

Note: Scores are weighted by the size of the Hispanic population group of interest.
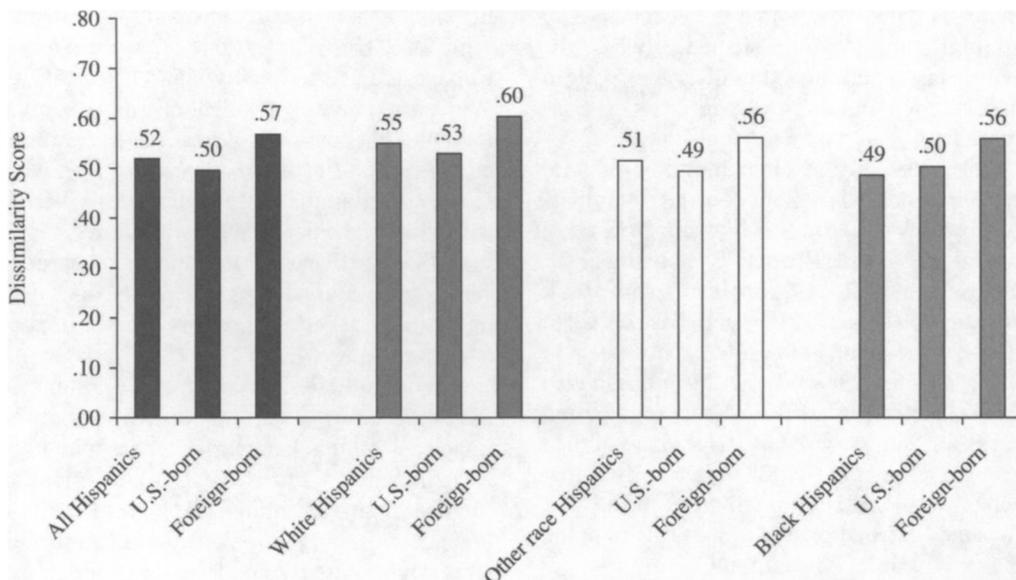
Figure 1b. Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race and Nativity, from African Americans: 2000

Note: Scores are weighted by the size of the Hispanic population group of interest.
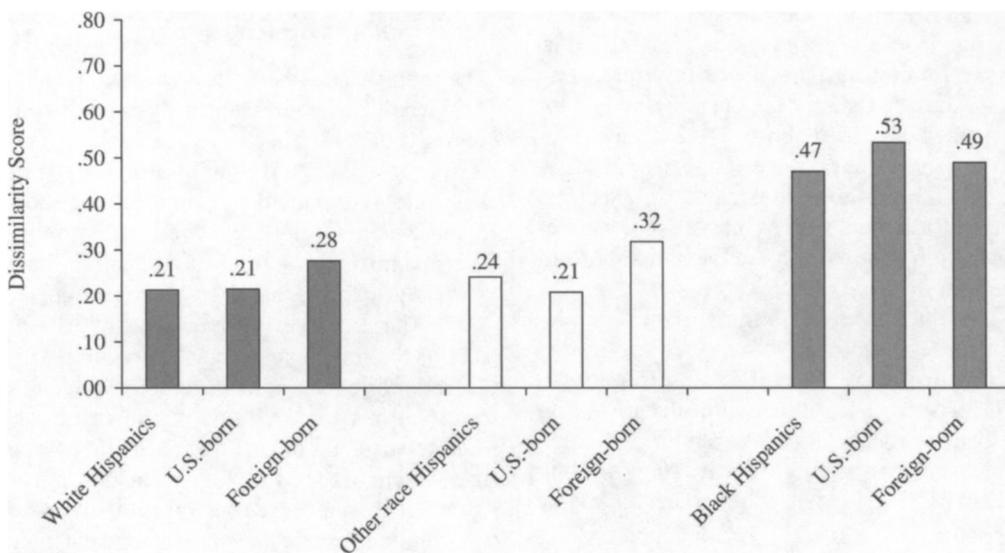
Figure 1c. Dissimilarity of Hispanics, by Race and Nativity, from Native-born Hispanics Not of the Same Race: 2000

Note: Scores are weighted by the size of the Hispanic population subgroup of interest.

more segregated from other U.S.-born Hispanic race groups (.53) than are the foreign-born (.49), and their levels of segregation on the whole are higher as well. This suggests that later-generation Black Hispanics are not becoming residentially more similar to U.S.-born Hispanics of different races. With the data available, we cannot tell whether this pattern suggests a differential selection into self-identifying as "Black" among native-born Hispanics who feel apart from other Hispanics of second and higher generations, or a truly different pattern by nativity

and phenotype. We do, though, see a markedly different pattern among Hispanics who self-identify as Black, and this divergent pattern supports the predictions of segmented assimilation theory.

Table 1 shows results that inform Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c, as well as more detailed dissimilarity scores by country of origin (for Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans). Because there are fewer than 100,000 foreign-born Black Mexicans, Black Cubans, and Black Puerto Ricans in the United States, we have no data to present for these specific country-of-origin/race groups. 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 in the "Black Hispanic" calculation.[7]

Table 1 shows that Puerto Ricans as a whole are slightly more segregated from Anglos (.60) than are Mexicans (.54) or Cubans (.54), although 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 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 are the native-born of these groups.

There is, however, one important assimilation-related pattern by country of origin that differs from the overall Hispanic pattern. 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 U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race. This suggests that over generations, Cubans and Puerto Ricans who self-identify as White are becoming residentially more similar to Anglos but not to non-White Hispanics. These divergent patterns by race are consistent with segmented assimilation. In contrast, it appears that White and other-race Mexicans are increasingly likely to live with Hispanics of other races across generations, suggesting Hispanic ethnicity, rather than race, holds greater importance among Mexicans.

Although these descriptive segregation statistics are informative, they do not control for important group characteristics that may help explain these patterns, such as income and English language ability. The goal of the following analysis is to look at the relationships among race, nativity, and Hispanic segregation patterns while controlling for such characteristics, as well as examining the effects of these characteristics on the assimilation process.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

The multivariate results are reported in Tables 2, 3, and 4. Each regression analysis predicts the segregation of a Hispanic race group (White Hispanics, Black Hispanics, or other-race Hispanics) from another group. Table 2 shows results where Anglos are the reference group in the dissimilarity calculations; Table 3 has African Americans as the reference group; and Table 4 has U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race as the reference group. As previously discussed, while we would prefer to have separate observations for each country of origin and dummy variables indicating the country, we use the percent of the overall Hispanic group from each country because there are relatively few metropolitan areas that have sufficient numbers of Black Hispanics of particular countries to run meaningful regressions.

Results in Models 1, 3, and 5 of Table 2, which predict segregation scores from Anglos for White Hispanics, Black Hispanics, and other-race Hispanics, confirm the bivariate findings from Table 1. Here, native-born White, Black, and other-race Hispanics are less segregated from Anglos than are the foreign-born of the respective groups. For example, U.S.-born White Hispanics have segregation scores that are, on average, .171 points lower than the scores

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[7] We conducted additional analyses in which we used only a constant set of metropolitan areas where all groups were present in sufficient numbers. In these analyses (available from the authors upon request), the patterns were similar to those in Table 1, except that the differences in dissimilarity scores across groups were slightly smaller. The restricted set of metropolitan areas are larger and tend to have higher levels of segregation more generally. These small differences do not change the general association between race, nativity, and segregation described in the text.

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

| | Reference Group | | | | | |
| | Anglos | | African Americans | | U.S.-Born Hispanics Not of the Same Race Group | |
Population Group of Interest	Number of Metropolitan Areas	Dissimilarity	Number of Metropolitan Areas	Dissimilarity	Number of Metropolitan Areas	Dissimilarity
Panel A						
All Hispanics	302	.519	280	.519	—	—
U.S.-born	288	.469	268	.496	—	—
Foreign-born	242	.595	231	.568	—	—
White Hispanics	273	.471	254	.550	242	.213
U.S.-born	251	.422	235	.529	236	.215
Foreign-born	204	.558	198	.603	199	.276
Other-Race Hispanics	263	.575	245	.515	250	.241
U.S.-born	237	.533	220	.494	234	.208
Foreign-born	217	.642	208	.561	214	.318
Black Hispanics	88	.744	88	.486	88	.471
U.S.-born	68	.766	68	.503	68	.533
Foreign-born	31	.792	31	.559	31	.489
Panel B: Hispanic Origin Subgroups						
Mexico	267	.542	247	.523	—	—
U.S.-born	244	.483	226	.500	—	—
Foreign-born	200	.639	189	.580	—	—
White	227	.512	214	.540	220	.203
U.S.-born	201	.453	190	.526	200	.206
Foreign-born	151	.632	145	.600	150	.287
Other race	225	.583	211	.526	220	.260
U.S.-born	186	.535	175	.501	186	.218
Foreign-born	170	.660	162	.581	168	.347
Black	29	.824	29	.676	29	.684
U.S.-born	22	.838	22	.676	22	.720
Foreign-born	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 1. *(continued)*

	Reference Group					
	Anglos		African Americans		U.S.-Born Hispanics Not of the Same Race Group	
Population Group of Interest	Number of Metropolitan Areas	Dissimilarity	Number of Metropolitan Areas	Dissimilarity	Number of Metropolitan Areas	Dissimilarity
Panel B: Hispanic Origin Subgroups						
Cuba	67	.538	67	.775	—	—
U.S.-born	44	.518	44	.770	—	—
Foreign-born	43	.575	43	.800	—	—
White	57	.538	57	.802	57	.480
U.S.-born	32	.508	32	.804	32	.517
Foreign-born	35	.572	35	.819	35	.485
Other Race	23	.690	23	.783	23	.521
U.S.-born	—	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign-born	—	—	—	—	—	—
Black	—	—	—	—	—	—
U.S.-born	—	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign-born	—	—	—	—	—	—
Puerto Rico	145	.602	145	.550	—	—
U.S.-born	123	.593	123	.553	—	—
Foreign-born	98	.658	98	.583	—	—
White	113	.554	113	.598	112	.332
U.S.-born	93	.551	93	.617	93	.380
Foreign-born	69	.614	69	.617	69	.338
Other Race	107	.698	107	.573	107	.391
U.S.-born	87	.692	87	.579	87	.397
Foreign-born	61	.751	61	.607	61	.433
Black	34	.823	34	.558	34	.544
U.S.-born	26	.839	26	.568	26	.578
Foreign-born	—	—	—	—	—	—

Notes: 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. Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens at birth, but the foreign-born category for this group refers to those born in Puerto Rico.

Table 2. 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 | |
	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE
Intercept	.531**	.007	.470**	.095	.803**	.016	.768**	.198	.575**	.007	.351**	.116
Nativity												
Native-born	-.171**	.006	-.096**	.022	-.054**	.014	-.068*	.029	-.111**	.005	.003	.021
Foreign-born (omitted)												
Other group-specific characteristics												
Hispanic group/Anglo ratio of median household income			-.097*	.040			-.111**	.041			-.129**	.043
Percent speaking English very well/well			-.135*	.064			.020	.093			-.293**	.059
Percent owning a home			-.127**	.039			-.027	.057			-.026	.039
Country of origin												
Mexican (omitted)												
Cuban			-.234**	.066			-.329**	.093			-.266	.188
Puerto Rican			.022	.041			-.144**	.038			.076	.039
All other origins			-.047	.041			-.104**	.038			-.052	.033
Group size (10,000s)			.000	.001			.000	.006			.000	.000
Metropolitan area characteristics												
Log of total population			.022**	.005			.038**	.010			.037**	.006
Percent minority			.058	.034			-.261**	.062			.008	.036
Percent in manufacturing			.102	.080			.207	.132			.042	.089
Percent in government			-.227	.146			.013	.195			-.126	.155
Percent in military			-.173	.172			-.705	.388			-.064	.217
Percent over 65 years old			.088	.130			-.189	.211			.318	.187
Percent of population enrolled in college			-.031	.130			-1.261**	.449			-.012	.138
Percent of housing units built in past 10 years			-.186**	.071			-.382**	.136			-.271**	.083
Percent of population in suburbs			-.012	.025			-.034	.033			-.012	.028
Region												
West (omitted)												
Northeast			.073**	.024			-.010	.026			.092**	.026
Midwest			.061**	.012			-.006	.021			.067**	.013
South			.046**	.012			-.001	.016			.045**	.013
Log-Likelihood	450.310		610.827		109.593		174.204		372.943		580.563	
df	453		434		97		78		452		433	

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

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 3. 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 | |
	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE
Intercept	.539**	.009	-.178	.175	.659**	.020	.319	.308	.529**	.009	-.048	.195
Nativity												
Native-born	-.043**	.005	-.018	.028	-.106**	.018	-.123**	.042	-.050**	.005	-.046	.034
Foreign-born (omitted)												
Other group-specific characteristics												
Hispanic group/African American ratio of median household income			.071**	.025			.048	.037			.007	.032
Percent speaking English very well/well			-.081	.086			-.012	.133			-.001	.102
Percent owning a home			-.008	.054			-.058	.091			-.079	.058
Country of origin												
Mexican (omitted)												
Cuban			.118	.108			.111	.135			.108	.241
Puerto Rican			.064	.064			-.086	.081			.062	.068
All other origins			.095	.052			-.172*	.074			-.017	.044
Group size (10,000s)			-.002*	.001			-.036**	.008			-.002*	.001
Metropolitan area characteristics												
Log of total population			.048**	.009			.042**	.015			.045**	.010
Percent minority			.190**	.062			-.055	.072			.162**	.062
Percent in manufacturing			-.117	.133			-.143	.200			-.226	.140
Percent in government			.060	.250			-.282	.403			-.100	.249
Percent in military			-.918**	.277			-.392	.706			-.717*	.311
Percent over 65 years old			-.098	.251			.043	.307			.181	.289
Percent of population enrolled in college			-.218	.192			-.272	.650			-.122	.196
Percent of housing units built in past 10 years			-.175	.123			.068	.133			-.245	.127
Percent of population in suburbs			.044	.036			-.135*	.058			.062	.038
Region												
West (omitted)												
Northeast			-.039	.040			-.002	.045			-.080	.044
Midwest			.114**	.025			.071**	.024			.098**	.027
South			.049*	.019			.027	.020			.055**	.019
Log-Likelihood	283.267		417.770		93.262		135.586		285.870		386.751	
df	453		434		97		78		452		433	

Notes: The unit of analysis is the segregation score for a particular Hispanic nativity group from African Americans in a given metropolitan area. These include metropolitan areas with at least 1,000 members of the group in question.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 4. 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 | |
	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE	coef.	SE
Intercept	.352**	.009	−.272*	.136	.598**	.024	.560*	.235	.388**	.008	.007	.151
Nativity												
Native-born	−.037**	.007	−.138**	.031	.001	.021	−.061	.044	−.088**	.005	−.122**	.032
Foreign-born (omitted)												
Other group-specific characteristics												
Hispanic group/native-born Hispanics not of same race ratio of median household income			.122**	.025			−.035	.049			.049	.041
Percent speaking English very well/well			.290**	.100			.157	.137			.100	.095
Percent owning a home			−.228**	.066			−.007	.055			−.304**	.045
Country of origin												
Mexican (omitted)												
Cuban			.174**	.115			−.114	.125			−.026	.192
Puerto Rican			−.106	.064			−.307**	.075			.001	.067
All other origins			.098	.053			−.223**	.066			−.020	.041
Group size (10,000s)			−.002*	.001			−.025**	.006			.100	.001
Metropolitan area characteristics												
Log of total population			.026**	.007			.043**	.012			.032**	.008
Percent minority			−.168**	.057			−.266**	.071			−.225**	.040
Percent in manufacturing			.233*	.106			.028	.202			.073	.122
Percent in government			.549**	.191			.063	.304			.704**	.187
Percent in military			−.817**	.233			−.541	.668			−1.184**	.223
Percent over 65 years old			.046	.215			−.205	.311			−.123	.211
Percent of population enrolled in college			−.463**	.156			−1.651**	.586			−.503**	.159
Percent of housing units built in past 10 years			.028	.069			−.405*	.163			−.174**	.067
Percent of population in suburbs			.037	.027			−.088*	.039			.056*	.028
Region												
West (omitted)												
Northeast			.014	.038			−.059	.038			−.030	.040
Midwest			.083**	.014			.024	.030			.081**	.013
South			.073**	.014			.037	.022			.074**	.014
Log-Likelihood	295.670		467.930		76.395		138.223		334.559		498.475	
df	453		434		97		78		452		433	

Notes: The unit of analysis is the segregation score for a particular Hispanic nativity group from Hispanics not of the same race in a given metropolitan area. These include metropolitan areas with at least 1,000 members of the group in question.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed tests).

of foreign-born White Hispanics. That the signs of the nativity coefficients move in the same direction for each race group provides overarching support for spatial assimilation. Note that the nativity difference is largest for White Hispanics and smallest for Black Hispanics, suggesting less assimilation with Anglos among Black Hispanics than among White Hispanics.

Adding group characteristics in Models 2, 4, and 6 narrows the differences between the native-born and foreign-born for both White and other-race Hispanics, and the difference becomes statistically insignificant among the latter. This suggests that group characteristics explain, in part, nativity differences (e.g., income and English language fluency) among White and other-race Hispanics, where the nativity coefficient is cut by nearly half or more. Note that the nativity coefficients become insignificant for other-race Hispanics even before metropolitan area characteristics are included in the models (according to results not shown). For all three race groups, a higher ratio of group income to that of Anglos is associated with lower levels of segregation, as the spatial assimilation model predicts (this is also consistent with segmented assimilation, which generally emphasizes the importance of group characteristics). 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 tends to be lower. Again, this confirms the spatial assimilation (and segmented assimilation) model. Among other-race Hispanics, the coefficient for English language likewise indicates that greater fluency is associated with less segregation. Among White and Black Hispanics, metropolitan areas with a higher proportion of Cubans tend to have lower dissimilarity scores from Anglos.

The coefficients for the metropolitan area characteristics in Models 2, 4, and 6 in Table 2 show that larger metropolitan areas have higher levels of segregation. Areas with a greater proportion of housing stock built in the past 10 years have lower levels of segregation for all Hispanic groups, consistent with the notion that newer metropolitan areas are characterized by lower levels of segregation (Farley and Frey 1994). Other metropolitan area characteristics show more mixed associations with levels of segregation, depending on the Hispanic group considered.

Table 3 shows analogous results but with African Americans as the reference group in the segregation calculations for White Hispanics, Black Hispanics, and other-race Hispanics. In Models 1, 3, and 5, for each Hispanic race group, the native-born are less segregated from African Americans than are the foreign-born. Again, this confirms the descriptive findings in Table 1. In other words, Hispanic groups experience multiple forms of assimilation; they not only assimilate with Anglos but also with African Americans. The nativity coefficient is largest among Black Hispanics (–.106) and fairly similar for White Hispanics (–.043) and other-race Hispanics (–.050).

Adding group and metropolitan area characteristics into the models in Table 3 that predict Hispanic–African American segregation does not have a large effect on the magnitude of the nativity coefficients. It does, however, reduce them to insignificance among White and other-race Hispanics, in part due to higher standard errors associated with these coefficients. Overall, the group characteristics tend to be statistically insignificant, suggesting that they are not particularly helpful in understanding the variation in segregation from African Americans across the metropolitan areas.[8] 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 theory in that White Hispanics (both native- and foreign-born) have higher median incomes than do 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,

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[8] Nativity is, of course, correlated with other variables in the models (e.g., 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. This indicates some collinearity between English language ability and nativity.

but insignificant, for Black and other-race Hispanics.

Among the metropolitan area controls in Table 3, we see that segregation from African Americans is higher in larger metropolitan areas and in the Midwest for all Hispanic groups, consistent with expectations. Metropolitan areas with large minority populations also have higher levels of White and other-race Hispanic segregation from African Americans. Areas with a higher proportion of the population in the military have lower levels of segregation, supporting the notion that the military is relatively integrated.

Table 4 shows results with native-born Hispanics not of the same race as the reference group in the dissimilarity score calculations.[9] Once again confirming results from Table 1, foreign-born White and other-race Hispanics are more segregated from native-born Hispanics of a different race than are the native-born of these groups. This suggests a process of spatial assimilation with other Hispanics across generations. However, there is no significant nativity difference for Black Hispanics. This pattern in particular is consistent with the segmented assimilation perspective rather than with spatial assimilation. Among White Hispanics, metropolitan areas with a high proportion of Cubans tend to have higher levels of segregation from native-born non-White Hispanics. Among Black Hispanics, metropolitan areas with a high proportion of Puerto Ricans tend to have lower levels of segregation from non-Black Hispanics.

Among White Hispanics, greater relative income and English language ability are positively associated with segregation from non-White Hispanics. This suggests that residential assimilation with other Hispanics is less likely among those who are more fluent in English and have higher incomes. However, greater home ownership is associated with lower levels of segregation. It is not clear why this coefficient is negative while the other two are positive. Perhaps Hispanic home seekers are 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 how race and nativity shape patterns of Hispanic spatial assimilation. This issue is of growing importance given the rapid increase of the Hispanic population and its implications for social, economic, and spatial incorporation of immigrants and minority groups more generally in the United States. With restricted-use 2000 Census data, we calculated dissimilarity indexes using alternative reference groups—Anglos (U.S.-born non-Hispanic Whites), African Americans (U.S.-born non-Hispanic Blacks), and U.S.-born Hispanics not of the same race—to obtain a more nuanced picture of spatial assimilation than afforded by previous studies. Notably, we not only see a pattern of assimilation of Hispanics with Anglos, but also with African Americans. Moreover, Hispanic race groups show particularly low levels of segregation from native-born Hispanics not of their own race, indicating the general salience of a Hispanic ethnic identity that spans not only country of origin groups, but also self-identified race groups.

This is not to say that race does not help shape residential patterns. To the contrary, our findings 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. As place stratification theory emphasizes, discrimination in the housing market, such as real estate agents steering minority groups to certain neighborhoods and away from others, unequal access to mortgage credit, and neighbors' hostility, might still play a role in shaping residential patterns (Goering and Wienk 1996; Meyer 2000; Ross and Turner 2005; Yinger 1995).

We also see some exceptions to the pattern of generational assimilation. U.S.-born Black Hispanics are no less segregated from other Hispanic groups than are 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

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[9] 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.

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, while it is important to note that our analysis depends on the use of cross-sectional data, our findings indicate that over generations White Cubans and White Puerto Ricans are becoming residentially more similar to Anglos but not to other non-White Hispanics.

Our results suggest that there are two broader processes at work. First, we have conventional (if rather modest) assimilation between Hispanics and preexisting native-born groups—both African Americans and Anglos. 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 Anglos and African Americans. At the same time, as Denton and Massey (1989) argue, 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 strongly delineated in the United States and play out across generations in U.S. metropolitan areas.

We also acknowledge that racial identity can be shaped by one's circumstances, and this could impact our results. Living in a predominantly African American neighborhood or having low SES may affect one's racial identification (Waters 1994). However, South and colleagues (2005a) find that skin color, as judged by interviewers, is connected to Hispanics' mobility patterns. In particular, they report that, holding a number of other factors constant, darker-skinned Puerto Ricans and Cubans are less likely than their lighter-skinned counterparts to move into Anglo neighborhoods. This suggests that it is not simply self-identified racial differences that effect mobility patterns, but observed racial differences do too.

Overall, our findings have several theoretical implications. As previous research on Hispanics indicates, we can largely reject the place stratification perspective as having the most predictive power for Hispanics as a whole (Iceland and Wilkes 2006; Massey and Denton 1987; South et al. 2005a, 2005b). Our results show that, in addition to race, nativity, SES, and acculturation indicators contribute to Hispanic residential patterns. However, the high levels of segregation between Anglos and Black Hispanics in particular provide support for the segmented assimilation perspective, which predicts divergent patterns for different groups of Hispanics. Clearly, Black Hispanics, who comprise about 2 percent of the Hispanic population according to the 2000 Census, live in very different neighborhoods than do Anglos. Nevertheless, because segregation from Anglos is slightly lower among native-born Black Hispanics than among foreign-born Black Hispanics, support for segmented assimilation (as opposed to spatial assimilation) is not wholly unequivocal.

A second theoretical implication, one not widely discussed in the existing literature, is that *multiple* forms of assimilation exist among groups. Our analyses indicate a pattern of residential assimilation evidenced by nativity differences in the segregation of Hispanics with Anglos, as well as with African Americans. Although Hispanic immigrants are likely to initially settle in ethnic enclaves, across generations they move into both Anglo and African American neighborhoods. Studies of Hispanics typically try to discern whether Hispanics (or Hispanic subgroups) are assimilating with Anglos (e.g., South et al. 2005a, 2005b) or with African Americans (e.g., Denton and Massey 1989), or whether Hispanics are becoming distinctly racialized (Rumbaut 2006). Similarly, segmented assimilation theory describes how different immigrant groups assimilate either upward (toward integration with affluent Anglos) or downward (toward integration with poorer African Americans) or with no other group at all (i.e., ethnic retention). Our findings are consistent with White and colleagues' (2005) results that show how, in diverse societies, it is increasingly important to recognize that groups can concurrently become spatially integrated with multiple groups.

How these processes will develop over time certainly remains in question. In this era of greater racial and ethnic diversity, some argue that the traditional Black–White divide is more aptly described as a "White–non-White" or a "Black–non-Black" divide (Gans 1999). The existence of a White–non-White divide suggests a context of exclusive White privilege, in which all minority groups are disadvantaged in various spheres of American life. In contrast, a

Black–non-Black divide denotes Black exceptionalism; that Blacks face unparalleled levels of discrimination and are thus uniquely disadvantaged in the United States. Our findings are ambiguous on this issue. On one hand, the attenuation of differences between Hispanics and both African Americans and Anglos may soften the color line between these groups. On the other hand, the distancing between Black Hispanics and other Hispanics may reinforce the notion of a Black–non-Black divide.

We cautiously venture that the multiple forms of assimilation, combined with the secular decline in African American–Anglo segregation, may reduce the significance of various color lines in the metropolitan United States. 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 will be important to track in the coming years.

Another reason to be careful about predicting the trajectory of the color line stems from the association between SES and residential segregation (i.e., greater SES is associated with lower segregation from Anglos among all groups). Although this finding suggests that spatial assimilation processes may reduce Hispanic–Anglo segregation over time, the continued immigration of low SES Hispanics indicates that we may see higher levels of segregation for Hispanics in the short run. Nevertheless, research on the economic incorporation of immigrants generally shows that immigrant educational attainment and income levels rise over time and across generations even though the achievement gap between Hispanics and Anglos does not disappear (Bean and Stevens 2003). Over time, we may thus see declines in Hispanic–Anglo residential segregation if second- and third-generation Hispanics continue to experience upward mobility.

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