SITUATING MIXED-RACE HOUSEHOLDS IN NEIGHBORHOOD CONTEXTS: NON-LATINO WHITE AND MEXICAN MIXED-RACE FAMILIES IN LOS ANGELES

by

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(Under the Direction of Steven R. Holloway)

ABSTRACT

Census 2000 counted approximately 1.7 million White/Latino mixed-race/multiethnic households in the US. Unfortunately, most research is limited to similar statistical accounting. Very little research moves beyond frequency counts to describe racial and ethnic identities in White/Latino households or the relationships of White/Latino households to segregated US urban terrain. Thus, this dissertation project is a case-study of the LA geography of White/Mexican households. White/Mexican households are the most numerous White/Latino household-type and, in LA, their population size is equal to that of Black same-race households.

Unlike previous work by geographers, I theoretically examine White/Mexican household locations with regard to racialization theory and feminist and cultural studies notions of difference; not simply "race-blind" theories about individual-level ethnic assimilation through "out-partnerships" with Whites. Using geographically-detailed and confidential 1990 census data from one in six LA area households, I link individual and household characteristics with census tracts and use dissimilarity and exposure indices, maps of neighborhood concentration rates, and residential attainment models to measure the segregation, concentration, and neighborhood racial compositions of White/Mexican households relative to: individuals from five non-Latino racial groups, groups of Mexican and "other Latino" individuals, and White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households.

Dissertation results indicate that neighborhood racial compositions and intra-urban residential geographies of White/Mexican households are "in-between" those of comparable White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. In contrast to White same-race households, White/Mexican households have more Mexican and Other Latino neighbors; relative to Mexican co-ethnic households, White/Mexican households have many more White neighbors. Residential attainment models find that, even after controlling for numerous household-level factors not accounted for in simple residential exposure calculations -- *i.e.,* household income and education levels, US or foreign-born nativity, and Spanish language use, *etc*. -- White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households that are equivalent to White/Mexican households do *not* share the same racially-defined residential space as White/Mexican households. Complex household-level racial affiliations appear to alter the residential locations of White/Mexican mixed-race households and, unlike predictions from assimilation theory, Mexican partnerships with Whites do not necessarily result in household residential patterns that are exactly like those of White same-race households.

INDEX WORDS: Mixed-race, Household-level Identity, White/Latino, Multiethnic, Segregation, Assimilation, Paradoxical Space, Racialization Theory, and Geographies of Difference

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DEDICATION

I selfishly dedicate this dissertation to Me, Myself, and I!!!!!!!! I certainly could not have completed this project without the help of my family (their love, their support, their *money*, *etc*.), my friends (Helen Wiggins and Pamela Nemeth were huge supporters), and my major professor (of course) but, ultimately, I am the one that had to decide that I really, really *wanted* this and that I *deserved* to finish and *finally* earn my doctorate. I am the one that mustered the self-confidence and will-power to finish and I am very proud of myself for completing this degree. I may not always respect the bureaucracy of academia (*e.g.,* the irrationalities of campus politics and the strategies necessary for tenure), but I respect myself and all those other earnest and interested teachers and researchers who endeavor within it.

I walk a contrary path, so I may not always do "it" (whatever it is) like everyone else expects (*i.e.,* according to their time-tables, their agendas, their expectations, *etc*.), but I get it done and I do it pretty well. In finishing this dissertation, I celebrate all those other crazy, confused, overly-analytical, overly-sensitive, constantly-evolving, and irrepressible females that muddled through "it" before me.

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rejoiced when I rejoiced, and I am fully aware of how much my work is also their work. From Dad I get charm and dreams, from Mom I get dogged, "By Gawd" determination. Jason and I are both strong and capable because of them.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"... it's happened a couple times. One time, Mom was dropping me off in Brentwood at a friend's birthday party, and my friend's mom asked whether or not she would be picking me up later or whether 'his Mother would be coming by.' She thought my Mom was my nanny. [pause….] Mom's kinda brownish."
- comment from David, 23 yr. old, child of Mexican-descent Mom and White Dad of Irish descent, in conversation with author on November 15, 2004

In the manner so aptly illustrated by David's comment, racial and class-based perceptions about difference emerge and operate in specific places. Thus, *appearing* to belong is contextually-specific. In David's case, the question from his friend's mom emerged in the context of Brentwood, CA – a Los Angeles area neighborhood where most residents are wealthy and White and where many residents have Mexican or Latino household help. For mixed-race non-Latino White[1]/Latino households like David's, appearing to belong is sometimes difficult because these types of households are in the minority in most types of urban residential landscapes. Residential landscapes in the United States typically are very segregated places and they are socially marked as territory belonging to specific racial and ethnic groups. Unfortunately, social science offers us only limited information about households like David's and we understand little about how they negotiate race and place-based social interactions. We also have little information about how they residentially navigate through segregated urban space. Census 2000 revealed that over 7% of married and 15% of partnered opposite-sex households in the US were mixed-raced and/or mixed, Latino-origin relationships (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003a). Non-Latino/Latino relationships are nearly half of all these cross-racial/cross-

[1] Henceforth my use of the word "White" refers to non-Latino Whites.

ethnic relationships and this type of relationship has increased from 2.6% of all households (married or partnered) in 1990 to 3.3% of all households in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1994, 2003b). Most of these households (86% of all non-Latino/Latino households) were household's like David's and consisted of a White person partnered or married to a Latino -- in 2000 this was 1,662,045 opposite-sex households (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003b).

Studies that examine this specific type of partnership explain their increased frequency relative to two dominant arguments. One argument explains that increasing Latin American immigration to the US and the spatial dispersal of Latinos beyond the boundaries of traditional immigrant gateway cities reduces spatial barriers for contact between members of these two groups, thus increasing the national-level possibilities for these types of relationships (*e.g.*, Cready & Sanez, 1997; Tafoya, 2000; Wong, 1998; Rosenfeld, 2002). A second argument explains that reductions in social distance between Latinos and Whites have made mixed-race pairings between Whites and Latinos somewhat less socially transgressive for Whites than cross-racial pairings with members of other racial groups (*e.g.,* Qian, 1997; 2002; 2004; Root, 1992; Garcia & Rivera, 1999; Johnson & Warren, 1994). Despite the substantial number of White/Latino households, researchers understand little about them beyond statistics indicating their frequency or likelihood of occurrence. Given societal concerns about urban immigration pressures and economically and structurally incorporating America's newest Latino migrants, surprisingly little research attempts to understand racial and ethnic identities in White/Latino households or the relationships of White/Latino households to the segregated socio-spatial contexts US urban terrain. Thus, this dissertation project empirically establishes the White/Latino household as a racially-mixed yet collective unit that is situated within specific types of racially- and ethnically- segregated urban space. The White/Latino household is thus

both a *contextual site* where racial and ethnic identities form and *collective unit* capable of complex racialized practice in residential preferences. Urban space for White/Latino mixed-race households might not simply be equivalent to that of White same-race households as assimilation theorists presume (*e.g.* Gordon, 1964). With this project, I refocus geographic attention to the *mixed-race household* as an understudied and necessary precursor to the formation of *multiracial individuals* (Wright et al., 2003). I also relate the racial identities and residential locations of White/Latino mixed-race households to theoretical discussions of racialization theory, feminist discussions of difference, immigrant assimilation studies, and intra-urban residential attainment processes.

Project Purpose and Study Questions

Los Angeles is an ever-changing immigrant metropolis that has sparked countless theoretical (re)formulations of urban segregation processes (*e.g.,* Zubrinsky & Bobo 1996; Allen & Turner, 1996; Clark, 1992) and empirical analyses of the residential location of immigrant and *multiracial bodies* (*e.g.,* Allen & Turner, 2002; Brewer & Suchan, 2001). Unfortunately, there is little research from LA, or any where, that focuses on the residential location of White/Mexican and other types of *mixed-race households* (although see notable exceptions in the literature from Allen & Turner, 1997, Allen, 2005; Holloway et al., 2005). The project presents a case study of White/Latino mixed-race households in the Los Angeles consolidated metropolitan area (LACMSA). Primary attention is paid to White and Mexican-origin pairings (WM) as Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans[2] constitute the largest ethnic and racial minority in the area (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993). In 1990, White/Mexican (WM) households were approximately

[2] Henceforth my use of the word "Mexican" refers to the entire Mexican-descent population -- both native-born Mexican Americans and foreign-born Mexican immigrants. I refine these terms later in discussions regarding White/Mexican household nativity status.

93,198 (4.3%) of all LA area opposite-sex households -- nearly the same number as Black same-race households (estimate based on 15,533 WM households from 1-in-6 confidential data sample from the U.S. Census Bureau, 1993). The primary purpose of this project is to explicitly investigate the household residential settlement of Los Angeles' White/Mexican mixed-race pairings. Specifically, I use a rigorous combination of tabular, cartographic, and multivariate statistical analyses to assess the following four sets of questions about the metropolitan distribution and residential location of these White/Mexican mixed-race households relative to other types of LA area households.

1. What are the racial and ethnic characteristics of the neighborhoods in which different types of White/Mexican households generally reside and how do these characteristics compare to those of other types of White/Latino mixed-race pairings *and* same-race/co-ethnic households from both partner's constituent racial/ethnic groups – White same-race households (WW) and Mexican co-ethnic households (MM)?

2. Where do White/Mexican households residentially concentrate; how does their pattern of residential concentration compare to those of White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households; and how are family member racial and ethnic identities related to residence in racially-concentrated places?

3. How are household-level differences in socio-economic status (income, educational attainment, homeownership, *etc.*) and demographic structure (nativity, age, presence/absence of children, *etc.*) related to neighborhood differences in the residential location of different types of White/Mexican households versus those of comparable White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households?

4. And, finally, how are family member racial, ancestral, and nativity characteristics (*i.e.*,

reported race of the Mexican partner and/or the reported race of children, the race of immigrant partners, the national ancestry of partners, Spanish language retention and English ability, *etc*.) associated with household differences in residential location of White/Mexican households with children?

Descriptive tabular and cartographic analyses provide general answers to the four questions; multivariate modeling provides further results for questions three and four. The primary benefit of the modeling process is the ability to control (statistically) for important household-level covariates that impact residential location and results from models reveal the independent effect of specific household-level predictors of residential location. Models generated for exploring questions three and four appear in Chapter 5. Tabular and cartographic results appear in Chapter 4.

Project Rationale

Most previous research regarding mixed-race partnerships with Whites ignore the post-union activities of these households, including their subsequent residential trajectories, due to analytical fixation upon the effect of place on the romantic prospects of segregated *individuals*. Geographic and sociological studies of mixed-race households typically examined the propensity to form such unions given a neighborhood or a particular city's racial and ethnic composition (*e.g.* Blau et al., 1982,1984; Peach, 1974; 1980). For immigrants, researchers then used the neighborhood or metropolitan incidence of mixed-race partnership formation as indicators of local immigrant socio-spatial assimilation to an ethnically- and racially-undifferentiated American cultural identity. Assimilation narratives postulate that ethnic minorities assimilate through generational acculturation to American society; the end-stages of which include marital assimilation with Whites, spatial assimilation to White-dominated neighborhoods, and the loss of

minority-identified ethnic affiliations once partnered with Whites (*e.g.*, Gordon, 1964; Kennedy, 1944; Park et al., 1967 [1925]; Peach, 1974, 1980, 1999, 2000; Rosenfeld, 2002; Alba & Golden, 1986; Qian, 2002; Qian & Cobas, 2004; Qian & Lichter, 2001; Rosenfeld, 2002).

Research from other fields, like family science and psychology, examine mixed-race households; yet most research from these disciplines only focus on residential location in specific types of urban spaces. These spaces are examined for whether or not there are place-based social interactions that can act as a mediator for satisfaction or distress in mixed-race marriages and/or contribute to or alleviate emotional stress or identity conflict for multiracial children (e.g., Burke, 1991; Burton & Jarrett, 2000; Carroll, 1998; Cerroni-Long, 1984; DeBerry et al., 1996; Deters, 1997; Herring, 1992; Lal, 2001; Lopez, 1999; Martinez, 1988; McLoyd et al., 2000; Pinderhughes et al., 2001; Roer-Strier & Rosenthal, 2001). Unfortunately, though they do privilege the mixed-race household and the household's neighborhood as unique and interrelated contextual scales of identity formation, studies from family science often fail to situate mixed-race households and family member racial identities as forming in, and subject to, metropolitan-scale processes of urban segregation and residential attainment.

Collectively, most traditional scientific treatments of mixed race, multiracial, and multiethnic identity assumed the position that being multiracial, and that being in mixed-race households, results in a "marginal man" problem (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935; Zhou, 1997) -- that being "mixed" somehow results in a permanent outsider position in society. More recent examinations by social scientists, however, have criticized this outsider description and current work reconfigures mixed-race households and individuals as social "insiders", *i.e.,* people with complex ethnic and racial identities that have multifaceted, negotiated, and, sometimes, privileged access to multiple social groups (Mahtani, 2001, 2002; Parker & Song, 2001; Root,

1992). Regrettably, however, much of this work lacks any comparative descriptions of the residential activities of mixed-race households versus the activities of their same-raced household counterparts. In sum, the literature typically omits the post-union activities of mixed-race households, fails to treat them as a distinctive analytical and geographic scale (one that must interact with people and social groups organized at other spatial scales), and continues to perpetuate misunderstandings about identity formation processes in such households as they exist within segregated cities (see arguments in Ellis et al. forthcoming; Holloway et al. forthcoming; Holloway et al., 2005; Wright et al., 2003).

Conceptual Framework and Project Terminology

In this project and contrary to assimilation narratives, I examine White/Mexican unions and their subsequent residential geographies with attention to racialization theory (*e.g.,* Omi & Winant, 1994; Anderson, 1991) and feminist and cultural studies theories of difference (*e.g.,* Rose, 1993, Mahtani, 2001; Butler, 1993, Pratt, 1998; Pratt & Hanson, 1994; Anderson, 1998). Racialization theory describes human racial distinctions as developing through processes of cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) and created through processes of domination, coercion, incorporation, identity construction, and re-articulation with reference to the cultural dominant – in this case White America (Omi & Winant, 1994; Anderson, 1991). Feminist and cultural studies theories of difference further emphasize that racial identities (like other dimensions of identity, *i.e.*, gender, class, and sexuality) are non-static and mutable. Racial identities may be multiple; they may evolve; and they are performed in relation to societal norms that shift across time and space (*e.g.,* Anderson, 1998; Butler, 1993; Mahtani, 2001).

I thus utilize a conceptual framework and related terminology that treats White/Mexican households as "mixed-race", not simply interethnic, multiethnic, or out-partnered (all terms used

in the language of prevailing ethnic assimilation literature). With this framework, I conceive of White/Mexican and other White/Latino household-level racial identities as "racialized" (Omi & Winant, 1994) and "paradoxical" (*i.e.*, that they are not fixed as either one thing or another and thus they are both White and Mexican/Latino, Rose, 1993; Mahtani, 2001) rather than being more or less socially "assimilated". I, likewise, treat the residential geographies of White/Mexican households as also racialized and paradoxical and not simply becoming "spatially assimilated" with Whites.

In contrast, the rubric of assimilation postulates that ethnic, racial, *and* spatial distinctiveness from Whites dissolves with the act of partnering with Whites. Assimilation theories are also often "color blind" with regard to racialized experiences of the Latino partner. This especially true for so-called straight-line assimilation theory (*e.g.* Gordon, 1964) and most assimilation studies also use color-blind/race-blind terminology like "interethnic" or "intermarriage" to describe White/Latino partnerships. And, finally, all variants of assimilation theories are resistant to the notion that identities are not "static" or essentialized as either one thing or another.

In using the term "mixed-race", I acknowledge the power of the US system of racial classification that: a) privileges White people as members of the culturally dominant group and, b) classifies Mexicans and other Latinos "other", not White and not Black. White partners in mixed-race households are members of a socially privileged racial group. This racial privilege has material consequences in all manner of social processes, including residential attainment processes and there is much literature, for instance, that suggests that White householders are more likely than members of minority groups to attain residence in places that are consistent with their residential preferences (*e.g.,* Zubrinsky & Bobo, 1996; Massey & Denton, 1993;

Yinger, 1995, 1999). Latino partners in mixed-race households are members of a less powerful minority group. Latinos share ethnic, class, *and* racial distinctiveness from Whites due to nationally-based cultural dissimilarities from Whites, continual work force in-migration and occupational segregation into lower paying ethnically-concentrated employment, a history of US colonization of Mexican-descent residents, and mestizo phenotypes (*i.e.,* browner skin, dark eyes and hair and other body features that indicate both European Hispanic and American Indian heritage) (see Delgado & Stefancic, 1998; Anzaldua, 1987; Rodriquez, 2002; Golash-bosa, 2006; Tienda, 1995; Stolzenburg & Tienda, 1997). The material consequences of this racialized "othering" of Latinos is only reduced *if* the Latino's linguistic and cultural differences diminish in favor of American linguistic and cultural norms *and if* a person's bodily phenotype and social mannerisms can pass for those socially and contextually privileged as being White (*i.e.*, lighter skin, types of speech patterns, patterns of dress, *etc*. as in the case of ethnically undifferentiated "White America") (see the above set references and Massey & Denton, 1993 and Golash-boza, 2006).

Obviously, my choice to treat Latinos and White/Latino households as a racialized groups of people and households is problematic (as are all conceptual generalizations). First, my framework and terminology privileges a public and academic viewpoint of the union – perspectives within these households may differ. For instance, some Latinos that are romantically partnered with non-Latinos may not, in fact, consider their unions to be racially mixed. This may especially be true for Latinos who report a White racial classification on census questionnaires and who are partnered with Whites. Additionally, given my understanding of "race" and "ethnicity" as socially constructed and contentious categories of human difference, my use of the words "Whites", "Latinos", and "Mexicans" does not perfectly classify people into

unique groups of co-ethnics with shared racial heritages. Nevertheless, describing White/Mexican and White/Latino unions as "mixed-race" does refocus scientific attention to the potential for racial complexity in White/Mexican and other White/Latino households; these households are not necessarily internally homogenous with regard to race or ethnicity.

At the household scale, White and Latino partners privately negotiate the mixing of two or more racial/ethnic social differences -- differences that are also shaped by interactions in larger social landscapes. Regardless of whether or not members of the household consider themselves to be racially and ethnically different from each other, outsiders at other contextual scales (neighborhoods, cities, schools, *etc*.) often regard individual's in these households as being ethnically and racially distinct from each other. Members of the household would be very aware of their racial positioning relative to other social groups. Latino partners would be aware of their position along the "color line"; White partners might realize their privileged position along this color line due to experiences with prejudices and racisms that are directed toward their partner and/or children. Within the White/Mexican household, racialized identities evolve and reflect partnership with differently-racialized others. Thus, at the household-scale the negotiations that occur within a racialized-partnership affect household-level decision-making. Residential decisions would thus be would be reflective of the racialized nature of the mixed-race partnership and multiple racial ties and affiliations within the household would affect residential trajectories to multiple types of places.

The residential trajectories of these households will reflect the racialized nature of interactions with household outsiders. White/Mexican couples, like other mixed-race unions, are subject to societal taboos against romantic involvements that cross racial and ethnic boundaries. Mixed-race unions, by their very existence, modify the structure of power relationships inherent

to racial stratification because they challenge dominant ideologies about the inevitability of group inequalities (Johnson & Warren, 1994). Mixed-race households may encounter racist ideology in almost any social situation; they must make decisions about family life in relation to public perceptions and possible prejudices while still fulfilling their private needs, desires, and values.

Explicitly interrogating "Where mixed-race households live" is vitally important for studies of urban segregation and racial difference. Decisions about "where to live?" rank among the most important issues that confront mixed-race households because they must select residential locations from a set of neighborhoods typically marked in terms of single racial categories. Neighborhood locations are a result of choice and household preferences (see Clark, 1992; Clark & Blue, 2004; Shelling, 1971), household economic status, *and* discriminatory constraints that structure housing markets see (*e.g.*, Holloway & Wyly, 2001; Wyly & Holloway, 1999; Yinger, 1995, 1999). Neighborhood location for mixed-race households is likely to be both a *reflection of* the household-unit's evolving racial/ethnic identity and a *key influence on* household-members' future identity development.

For some, neighborhood residential locations may be places typified by many White neighbors and, perhaps, reflective of a White/Mexican household's collective identity as "like Whites". For others, neighborhood residential locations may be places typified by many Mexican neighbors. Again, these locations might be reflective of a collective identity as "like Mexicans". Or, alternatively, neighborhood residential locations may be "in-between" places with a mix of neighbors from both partner's racial/ethnic groups. These would be places reflective of both partner's racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Los Angeles is a place with numerous types of racially and ethnically-identified places and as such White/Latino households might find residential space that matches the particular racialized identity of their household. However, given the US system of racial classification that also works in local housing and employment markets (*e.g.*, Massey & Denton, 1993; Tienda, 1995; Stolzenberg & Tienda, 1997), residential expression of household-level identities may be constrained for some White/Latino households, especially those with mestizo-featured family members (*e.g.,* Massey & Denton, 1992; Massey & Denton, 1993; Golash-boza, 2006). Prejudicial social forces and processes of segregation might thus further work to confine some White/Mexican households to "browner" places.

Project Significance

This analysis is unique in that it uses geographically-detailed and confidential individual level 1990 census data to illuminate where White/Mexican mixed-race households reside relative to other LA area households. These data allow for a detailed assessment of the effects of the White/Mexican household's demographic and socio-economic characteristics on residential outcomes within LA's "constellation of neighborhoods" (Wright et al., 2005, p. 112). Other work has relied on analyzing residential attainment within the more common central city/suburb dichotomy. This contribution is important given that Census Bureau data constraints limited most previously-published empirical work regarding the settlement of White/Mexican and other mixed-race households to geographically coarse examinations of residential attainment between residence in "darker" central cities versus "whiter" suburbia (*e.g*., Farley et al., 1978; Allen & Turner, 1997; Allen, 2002; Alba et al.,1999)**.** This project may be the first ever comparative examination of the intra-urban neighborhood geographies of White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households.

This multi-scalar analysis of White/Mexican households and neighborhoods will offer social scientists the first and much needed empirical information about where such mixed-race households settle within large metropolitan areas. It will also illustrate how household settlement choices are associated with White/Mexican family member racial and ethnic identities. Such analysis is crucial given the changing nature of US racial and ethnic demographics. By the year 2050, 25% of the US population will be Latino and the rates of White/Latino partnering will likely increase (McLloyd et al., 2000; Rosenfeld, 2002).

The racial and ethnic identities that develop within White/Mexican mixed-race households will undoubtedly alter the character and culture of US citizenry. In what manner will Latino cultures and racial identities blend into and/or alter those of White America? This analysis of White/Mexican households' residential contexts will theoretically and empirically challenge static ecological notions of immigrant socio-spatial assimilation through mixed-partnerships with White Americans. The focus of assimilation theories is on the loss of individual distinctiveness and they fail to adequately problematize ethnic and racial distinctiveness and racial (re)formulations at *household-scales*. Residential studies rooted in the assimilation narrative never actually compare the residential geographies of mixed-race households versus same-race households. Instead of considering that households are contextual sites of racial mixing and that these are places where new racial (re)formations take place, assimilation studies focus on the likelihood for individual intermarriage and fail to residentially locate mixed households after their union and/or relative to same-race and co-ethnic households – households with complex racial and ethnic affiliations. In multiethnic LA, White/Mexican households might retain elements of *both* partners' racial and ethnic identifications and might not gravitate toward White-dominated neighborhoods as assimilation theorists often assume (e.g., Peach, 1980).

And, finally, this project also augments findings from related published work (Holloway et al., 2005) by presenting comparative mapping of the intra-urban residential distribution of White/Mexican households versus that of White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. Maps of the intra-urban neighborhood settlement geographies of all mixed-race households are missing from previous studies.

Design of the Dissertation

In Chapter 2, I elaborate upon my conceptual framework and use racialization theory and feminist notions about the paradoxical nature of ethnic and racial identities to inform general hypothesizes about the residential attainment and neighborhood racial geographies of White/Mexican households. I also use this literature to speculate about White/Mexican household residential locations versus those of White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. This chapter also provides a discussion of ethnic assimilation theory because it has provided some limited empirical information about the geography and frequency of mixed-race households (although, as I noted earlier, this ethnic assimilation literature typically refers to such households in a race-blind manner). Finally, I conclude Chapter 2 with ideas for constructing comparative household-level regression models of residential attainment that are divorced from the theoretical underpinnings of assimilation theory.

Chapter 3 describes study area racial and residential divides and concludes with a discussion of project data sources and methods. Here I present methods for measuring residential segregation using notions of exposure, dissimilarity, and concentration. I also discuss analytical choices in variable construction and measurement for the statistical models of residential attainment that appear in Chapter 5

Chapter 4 reveals the racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods typical of White/Mexican households. In this chapter, exposure, isolation, and dissimilarity indices assess levels of White/Mexican segregation from White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households, other mixed-race White/Latino households, and individuals in seven in primary racial and ethnic groups – White, Blacks, Asians/Pacific Islanders, Native American Indians, Other Race, Mexicans, and non-Mexican Latinos. Findings from this chapter indicate that White/Mexican couples are more likely to live in neighborhoods with more Mexicans than White same-race couples and more likely than Mexican co-ethnic couples to live in neighborhoods with more Whites. Higher socio-economic status and US nativity in are associated with increased residential exposure to Whites. White/Mexican households where the Mexican partner is racialized as "other" (vs. white), where the children are racially identified as Mexican-white and Mexican-other race (vs. white only), and where the Mexican partner is foreign-born are more residentially exposed to Mexicans.

Chapter 4 also illustrates the residential distribution of White/Mexican households via choropleth maps of the concentration of White/Mexican households relative to patterns of residential concentration for White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. And, finally, this chapter explores the effect of place on White/Mexican family member racial identities by associating reported racial identities with White/Mexican residence in places of high concentration for White same-race and Mexican-co-ethnic households. Comparison of concentration maps indicate that White/Mexican mixed-race households have settlement geographies that do not simply mirror those of same-race/co-ethnic household's from both partner's constituent racial groups. Such households appear to concentrate in "in-between" places that are neither completely Mexican nor completely White. Importantly, however, there is

evidence that, even when they do not actually reside in places dominated by residential clusters of either Whites or Mexicans, they seem to residentially cluster *near* places with a high concentration of Mexicans. Findings also associate the reporting of "other race" for Mexican family members with household residence in areas of high Mexican concentration.

Chapter 5 presents results from residential attainment models for four samples of White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households. These models associate selected household-level characteristics with neighborhood percentages of Whites and Mexicans and with residence in White or Mexican-typified places (*i.e*, places of residential concentration for White same-race households or Mexican co-ethnic households). Using the same model specification across groups, I use these model estimates to compare predicted residential attainment for matched sets households. Findings from this comparative modeling confirm that White/Mexicans live in racial "in-between" places – with fewer White neighbors relative to comparable White same-race households and fewer Mexican neighbors relative to comparable Mexican co-ethnic households.

This chapter also presents an expanded model that uses racial, ancestral, and nativity factors to explain the residential attainment of White/Mexican family households with children. For this subset of White/Mexican households, findings indicate that White neighborhood presence decreases when: the Mexican-descent partner's race is reported as "other race"; one or both partners is foreign-born; the household's median income is lower than average; household education levels are low; Spanish is spoken in the household; and children's racial and ethnic identities are reported as Mexican-white or Mexican-"other race". The neighborhood presence of Mexicans increases for households with the aforementioned characteristics.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of key findings and relates White/Mexican residential settlement in urban "in-between" space to literature on racialized residential preferences and discrimination in labor and housing markets. In this chapter, I also discuss the theoreical implications of White/Mexican residential settlement to "in-between" space for studies of racial formation in mixed-race households and urban segregation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW:

WHITE/LATINO MIXED RACE HOUSEHOLDS AND URBAN SPACE

In this chapter, I utilize theories of racial formation and feminist and cultural studies notions of paradoxical identity (*i.e.*, social identities are fluid, multiple, and non-static) to present a conceptual framework that treats: a) White/Mexican household unions as "mixed-race" rather than simply multiethnic, intermarried, or out-partnered (all terms used to describe these unions in the language of assimilation theory); and b) White/Mexican household residential geographies as "racialized" and "paradoxical" (*i.e.,* reflective of multifaceted household-level racial and ethnic identities) rather than more or less "spatially assimilated." Utilizing this framework, I develop expectations about the intra-urban residential locations of White/Mexican mixed-race households in relation to those of White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households.

I argue that ethnicity theorists have focused on the "assimilation" of immigrant *individuals* and have ignored the complex racializations and racial identities that emerge in mixed-race *households* and that subsequently affect family residential location. Ethnic assimilation theorists fail to consider that Latino partnerships with Whites do not necessarily mean that people in White/Mexican and other White/Latino households will share neighborhoods with otherwise similar White same-race households (the assumption of straight-line assimilation theory). Nor do such partnerships mean that the racial identities in these households are statically American, or White, and thus that they lack ethnic and racial distinctiveness. It is possible that in a multiethnic metropolis like LA, Latino partnerships with Whites do not signal a potential loss of Latino co-ethnic ties or inevitably result in residential

location in White-dominated areas far away from Latino ethnic enclaves and culture. Because of complex racial identities in mixed-race households, I expect that White/Mexican households will share urban residential spaces with both Whites *and* Mexicans. Specifically, White/Mexican households will be more likely to have Mexican neighbors than White same-race households and more likely to have White neighbors than Mexican co-ethnic households. White/Mexican households as a group would not share the collective economic disadvantage of as many poorly-educated foreign-born persons nor the cumulative experiences with racial discrimination that typify most Mexican co-ethnic households. Therefore, White/Mexican mixed-race households would be more likely than Mexican co-ethnic households to attain residence in "whiter" places. Relative to White same-race households, however, White/Mexican mixed-race households will identify with and seek exposure to Mexican cultural centers and they may locate either within those historically Mexican neighborhoods or within close proximity to such cultural areas.

I further argue that urban residential patterns of White/Mexican households will be distinct from both White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households even when these three household-types share otherwise similar household characteristics. Comparisons of residential location for these three types of households will show that White/Mexican mixed-race and Mexican co-ethnic households do not live in places with the same neighborhood percentages and concentrations of Whites as do comparable White same-race households. General arguments for these hypotheses are developed in this chapter and findings appear in Chapters 4 and 5.

Crucial to my argument is the (re)formation and deployment of mixed and racialized identities at the unit of the household. Households simultaneously constitute a contextual site in the formation of individual racial identities (*e.g.* Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Luke, 1994; Luke &

Luke, 1998; Deberry & Scarr, 1996; Frankenburg, 1993; Lal, 2001; Renn, 2003), a collective unit subject to forces of segregation (Burton & Jarrett, 2000; Buzar et al., 2005, Twine, 1999), and a unit reflective of complex racialized practice in residential preferences (McBride, 1996; Hongo, 1999; Wilson, 1987). I thus deflect theoretical and analytical concentration away from studies that describe ethnic and immigrant *individuals* and their spatial and social *assimilation* to a an ethnically-undifferentiated, American identity through partnerships with Whites (*e.g.,* Park et al., 1967 [1925]; Gans, 1979, Alba & Golden, 1986; Gordon, 1964; Alba & Logan, 1993; Logan et al., 1996).

Assimilation theory is a major alternative to the conceptual framework I present here and, in the latter part of this chapter, I also examine marital and spatial assimilation studies for their theoretical and methodological approaches to studies of "intermarriage" and "out-partnerships" (two umbrella terms for household mixing used by most assimilation scholars). These prior studies have also contributed empirically to what little we do know about the frequency and geographic distribution of White/Latino and White/Mexican households. In the analyses presented in Chapter 5, I modify methods developed by assimilation theorists for studying the location attainment of individuals even though I divorce these methods from the ecological theoretical underpinnings of most assimilation analyses. In these next few sections, I assert the importance of studying household-level processes of residential location, discuss racial formation theories, and speculate about the racialized residential practices of mixed-race households.

Returning the "Household" to Studies of Urban Segregation

Most existing assimilation research from geographers and sociologists fails to adequately explain urban residential locations because of two interrelated problems. First, it fails to describe

residential location as a result of processes that contingently operate between metropolitan-level, neighborhood-level, *household-level*, and individual-level scales. Typically, assimilation research skips the scale of the household and focuses upon the intra-metropolitan residential location of *individuals* (see arguments in Wright et al., 2003; Holloway et al, 2005). Second, in studies of ethnic minorities, most assimilation research privileges the role of the *individual's* retention or loss of *ethnic distinctiveness* in contributing to the *individual's* residential location (e.g. Gordon, 1964). Because of this focus on ethnicity, assimilation literature often fails to completely account for the transformative nature of US processes of racialization. These processes create racialized groups of individuals and racialized *households* out of ethnic minorities and their children with physical characteristics and linguistic markers of difference. These groups are socially-identified as "non-white", "other", and/or "foreign" (*e.g.,* Omi &Winant, 1994; Golash-Bosa, 2006).

With regard to the first problem, focus on the activities of individuals is misleading in several ways. One, it is misleading because many residential decisions are jointly made, by multiple people, within the scale of the household. Individual-level residential decisions, in these instances, are not atomized. They are instead produced by the desires, needs, and constraints of other people within these households. Two, in many cases, households form and/or grow in size because individuals move to residential locations either to unite as a household or to become part of one. Again, the individual's residential location is not independent or atomized; he or she moves to certain areas because of family and other kinship ties at household-levels. Indeed, for people in Mexican-descent communities, person-to-household or household-to-household migrations may be especially critical urban processes because most first generation immigrants come to this country (either illegally or legally) for

both economic gain *and* family reunification in households (Pessar, 1999). For many, individual economic gain generally begins with relying on kinship ties for residential shelter and job networking (Pessar, 1999; Massey, 1999). Essentially, people often migrate to specific households; residence in specific neighborhoods is sometimes of secondary consideration. Researchers, therefore, need to consider how collective and group-level household identity affects neighborhood choice and other processes of residential segregation and location.

Understanding the intra-urban residential geography of households is important because neighborhoods become stages for cultural practice (Burton & Jarrett, 2000) and residential locations sometimes provide strong clues regarding the household's conception of its collective identity. Household and family ethnic and racial socialization decisions (who they are friends with and why, who they live near and why) may reflect the types of people with whom the household feels kinship and how the household wants to be perceived (*e.g.*, McLoyd et al., 2000; Jaret & Reitzes, 1999; Deberry et al., 1996; Hughes, 2003). Neighborhood location becomes a key component of household-level identity because it both signals household-level racial and ethnic identities (among other aspects of identity) and affects the subsequent enactment of those identities via neighborhood social interactions (*e.g.*, Harris, 1995; Miller, 1999; Fatimilehin, 1999; Duncan & Raudenbush, 1999; Inda, 2000).

Researchers also need to recognize that household-level identities are both subjective and complex. They reflect their embeddedness in the social structures and social interactions that work in any given context as well as the internal characteristics of individuals (Fincher, 1998; Klein & White, 1998; Pessar, 1999). For coupled and other types of households, characteristics that both affect and constitute household-level identity would include the age, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and economic-class of family/household members; the presence or absence of

children; household religious affiliation(s); migration histories, *etc*. All of these household characteristics lead to the development of group folklore and beliefs about themselves that bind the household together internally and bound the household as a unit apart from external relationships. This household-level identity is subject to change over the life-course of the household (Klein & White, 1998). It is also subject to regional forces of segregation that constrain choices of residential location and other expressions of identity.

Analyses of urban segregation and residential location must thus pay attention to the residential constraints and choices that shape the intra-metropolitan geographies of households (not simply those of individuals). For instance, home-owning family households tend to live in more segregated urban space (Masnick, 2002). Household-level decision-making about neighborhoods and household emersion in processes of segregation would, therefore, potentially operate very differently by household-type (either coupled without children, family couples with children, or single) and by household ethnicity and race (either same-race, mixed-race, or multiethnic). Analyses of the residential location of mixed-race households (often called out-partnerships in assimilation studies) and the social and spatial assimilation of ethnic minorities would thus be improved when they account for the rich complexity households and household residential attainment.

Households have multiple social identities and become differentiated and locally-identifiable "agents of urban transformation" (Buzar et al., 2005, p.413). White same-race households, White/Mexican mixed-race households, and Mexican co-ethnic households would thus have different abilities to negotiate metropolitan neighborhood terrain and their presence would differently impact social interactions in neighborhoods. For instance, Ellis and others (Ellis et al., forthcoming) indicate that mixed-race households, in places were there is relatively

little neighborhood diversity, constitute the bulk of diversity in those places – in other words mono-racial individuals and same-race/same-ethnicity households in less diverse places tend to encounter diversity not just through interactions with a few lone individuals of another race, but through interactions with households of multiply-raced individuals.

Racialization Theory, Racialized Households and Paradoxical Location

One of the key constraints to residential choice and to negotiating residential terrain for both households and individuals is the power of geographically contingent US processes of racial stratification that shape identity distinctions at individual and household scales. These processes shape the ability of people to both form mixed-race household unions and shape household residential trajectories after mixed-race household formation. I turn to racialization theories to explain the social construction of race for individuals, the persistence of racialized social barriers that limit the formation of mixed-race households, and the activities of mixed-race households within racialized urban terrain.

Social scientists no longer think of "race", "ethnicity", or "gender" as immutable or essential. We think of them as "social constructs": in other words, human classifications of identity and difference (its corollary) are not biological truisms. Instead they are categories that are socially produced, maintained, and modified as society and individuals change. "Race" and "ethnicity" -- like gender, class, sexuality, *etc.* -- are aspects of a person's identity that are created, performed, and recognized in reference to societal norms (*e.g.,* Anderson, 1998; Omi & Winant, 1994; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Pratt 1998; Inda, 2000; Butler, 1993).

This constructivist view of identity clashes with traditional ecological analyses of social distinctions in which identity distinctions were reducible to unalterable attributes. These

attributes were granted unquestionable causal power in many social processes (e.g. residential or occupational segregation) (Park et al., 1967[1925]). When we seriously consider the socially constructed nature of human classifications, we must understand how these categories come to be constructed and considered aspects of human identity.

Anderson (1998) writes: " 'race' is something which itself must be explained "(p. 204). Omi and Winant (1994) explain racial distinctions as a development that emerges through a complex web of *cultural hegemony* (idea originated with Gramsci, 1971) created though processes of domination, coercion, incorporation, identity construction and identity re-articulation with reference to the current cultural dominant – White America.

Gramsci (1971) described processes of domination such as those of the colonial expansion that allowed colonizing groups control over institutional structures and social processes inherent to daily life. Such control allowed dominant groups privileged access to resources and power. Those without power were coerced into compliance with the social regulations of the dominant group (Anderson, 1991; Omi & Winant, 1994). Omi and Winant write that cultural domination in America was achieved initially through coercive means. Later, however, as dis-empowered groups (such as blacks or Native Americans) struggled for emancipation they were forced to "possess the oppressor's tools – religion and philosophy [cultural discourse]" and rearticulate those dominant discourses in a manner that counteracted majority oppression (Omi & Winant,1994, p. 67). Dominant group discourse was then partially incorporated into the ideology of the oppressed. Cultural hegemony developed gradually as people began to situate their social identities in relation to the "unifying discourse" (Anderson, 1991, p. 25) of dominant groups.

Race is materially grounded as well as socially-constructed. Consider Omi and Winant's (1994) definition of race and the selection of racial group characteristics:

> race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies....race invokes biologically based human characteristics (so-called 'phenotypes'), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is a always and necessarily a social and historical process(p. 55).

In this definition, race is grounded in distinctions between human bodies. Selection of certain types of biological distinctiveness as belonging to racial categories is the work of racial formation processes attributable to cultural hegemony. Omi and Winant (1994) conceive of racial formation processes "as occurring through a linkage between structure and representation" (p. 56). Racial projects (*i.e.*, discursive and political projects of social groups) create these ideological links and they allow for interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics. Particular groups deploy racial projects in order to control certain resources. Racial formation is an inherently subjective process but one that impacts everybody (Omi & Winant, 1994; Pratt, 1998).

Discussing the concept of race in relation to its socially constructed nature tempts many authors to consider racial categories and identifications as illusions. Many even say that such illusions are unwitting tools that perpetuate minority oppression (Anderson, 1991; Jackson & Penrose, 1994). Rather than being simply illusory, however, a person's race is socially very real and effectual even though its meaning is problematic and multiple (Omi & Winant, 1994). Racial classification does not have to be interpreted solely as a tool of the oppressor. In the racial formation process, meanings are always rearticulated and racialized people recreate the meaning of their own racial classification. This re-articulation then affects how meaning is constructed in majority discourses. Moments of discursive re-articulation of racial meaning by

members of a racialized group coincide with the development of racial projects of "strategic essentialism". Strategically essentialist projects reduce racial meaning to uncomplicated concepts for the purposes of political mobilization. Such projects are situated historically and these moments of deployed meaning allow for the creation of political cohesiveness and they are fundamental to nation building practices and civil rights movements (Omi & Winant, 1994, Jackson & Penrose, 1994). These essentializng processes would also be fundamental to the emergence and maintenance of collective family identity in the mixed-race household. These processes would then allow such households to "act" as a unit in residential decisions when they negotiate urban residential space.

Regrettably, as noted earlier, US processes of racial stratification are given inadequate attention in studies of residential location by ethnicity-focused assimilation researchers. Some of these authors shun the language of race altogether in response to their recognition of the socially constructed nature of racial categories. However, the common alternative emphasis on ethnic distinctions (*e.g.*, Spickard & Burroughs, 2000) remains problematic. Ethnicity typically refers to social and cultural heritage expressed and recognized through a combination of affiliation, action, and appearance (*i.e.,* language, dialect, manner of dress, religion, etc.).

Theorists rooted in an assimilation narrative generally interpret ethnic distinctions as a result of immigrants' initial lack of interaction with the dominant host culture. Given sustained interaction over time, however, immigrants and ethnic minorities eventually assimilate into the mainstream of society by adopting dominant cultural norms, sharing residential space, and eventually inter-marrying with Whites (*e.g.*, Kennedy, 1944; Park et al., 1967[1925]; Gordon, 1964; Peach, 1980; Allen & Turner, 1996; Rosenfeld, 2002). More sophisticated variants of the assimilation narrative recognize that the racial segmentation of US society creates multiple

assimilative end-points (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). The ethnicity perspective also encompasses pluralism, which understands immigrant and ethnic identities as persistent, as assimilation's antithesis (*e.g.,* Glazer & Moynihan, 1970[1963]; Alba, 1997).

Unfortunately, these assimilative and pluralist ethnicity approaches both inadequately explain mixed-race household formation and the residential geographies of mixed-race households because they fail to fully appreciate the power of US racial stratification processes that continue to influence identity distinctions (*e.g*., Anderson, 1991,1998; Tienda, 1995; Stolzenburg & Tienda, 1997; Massey & Denton, 1993; Omi & Winant, 1994; Rodriquez, 2002) and they fail to embrace the contingent, fluid, multi-dimensional, and multi-scaled nature of identity formation (*e.g*., Pratt, 1998; Anderson, 1991, 1998; Rose, 1993; Mahtani, 2001, 2002) that affects mixed-race households' residential locations within segregated urban terrain.

Analyses of mixed-race households must consider race because it is a consequential classification grounded in the significance humans place on bodily distinctions. The experience and formation of race in such households, like other dimensions of identity related to ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality (among others), unfold in relation to societal norms that shift across time and space (*e.g*., Anderson, 1998; Butler, 1993; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Mahtani, 2001, 2002; Nelson, 1999; Pratt, 1998). For the mixed-race household this means that household-level racial and ethnic identities are not simply reductive to membership in one racial or ethnic group. People in these households actively *do* or *enact* their racial and ethnic identities both as a *mixed-race household unit* and separately *as individuals* in multiple contexts constituted at varying scales. These intersecting contexts – including families, households, neighborhoods, places of worship, schools, work places, *etc*. – simultaneously constrain and enable the enactment of racial

identities (*e.g.,* Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Butler, 1993; DesBiens, 1999; Mahtani, 2001, 2002; Pratt, 1998; Renn, 2000, 2003).

White/Mexican partnerships would thus be acutely aware of both partner's racialized identities. Therefore, these households are not simply multiethnic, interethnic, intermarried, or out-partnered households (all terms used by race-blind, ethnic assimilation studies that examine rates of Latino marital assimilation with Whites), they are also *mixed-race* households. As such they must negotiate racialized social interactions inside the scale of the household with differently racialized family members and beyond the household scale with differently racialized individuals and households organized at neighborhood and metropolitan scales (see related arguments in Wright et al., 2003)

For the Mexican-descent partner in White/Mexican households, cultural similarities, continual workforce in-migration, and shared histories of colonization create the basis for a Mexican-American ethnic *and* racial distinctiveness from Whites and possibly other Latinos. Most Mexican-Americans are Catholic and many are bilingual and use both Spanish and English on a daily basis. US incorporation of Mexicans began with the US movement westward, continued on through the introduction of Mexican migrant guest-workers during the Bracero program of the 1950's, and continues today through the use of both legal and illegal migrant labor. Economic isolation in lower paying agricultural, industrial, and service jobs; historical spatial concentration in the American Southwest; sustained contact with newly arrived Mexican immigrants (due to the continual US migration of this group); and common mixed-heritage, mestizo ancestry, has led to a strong sense of a distinct Mexican-American racial identity -- one that has also led incidences of strategic essentialism through "Brown Power" movements (*i.e.*,

the Chicano movements of the 1960's) (see Delgado & Stefancic, 1998; Garcia, 1997; Omi & Winant, 1994; Anzaldua, 1987; Rodriquez, 2002).

Mexican partners in White/Mexican households would also be aware that some people outside of their households potentially explain away their relationship to their White partner with sexual stereotypes. Portrayals of Latinas, for instance, illogically mythologize them as either: a) fiery, emotional, and sensual – women suitable for a passionate partnership but not marriage; or b) submissive, subservient, and traditional – women suitable for marriage because they would martyr themselves for their families. Even early academic research assumed these stereotypes and many previous studies of Latinas subjected them to the Marianismo (after the Virgin Mary) stereotype. This idea commonly asserts that Latina mothers are long-suffering keepers of la casa and los niños (the house and children) and that they are happy to be subordinate to men (Garcia, 1997; Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Such reasons are often uncritically cited for mixed-race partnerships with Latinas. For Latino men, sexual stereotypes about fiery Latin lovers also permeates discussions of Latino mixed-race partnerships.

Mexican partners might also be aware that some people view their relationship to the White householder as one of status exchange and "marrying up". Status exchange theories evolved from Weberian class notions and they postulate that with the achievement of higher socio-economic or class status (this is usually measured in either income or educational levels) male members of minority ethnic or racial groups (*i.e.,* African-, Latino-, and Asian-Americans) may be able to attract lower status female members of the majority (Merton, 1941; Kalmijn, 1993, 1998; Qian, 1997). Empirical support for this idea, however, is most consistent for African-American male/Anglo-American female pairings (Kalmijn, 1993, 1998; Qian, 1997). Educational status exchanges have only a slight tendency to characterize Latino male/White

female relationships (Qian, 1997). Latino females, on the other hand, do not seem to marry up in terms of educational status when they partner with White men; they are more likely to marry less educated White males (Qian, 1997).

Golash-Boza (2006) describes Mexican-American identity through a lens of racialized assimilation. She writes that shared mestizo phenotype not only signifies racial distinctiveness from both White and Black America, it also suggests a "foreignness" that racialized African-American phenotypes lack. In an analysis of data from several national survey's of Latinos, Golash-Boza (2006) finds that people of Latin heritage with experiences of discrimination are less likely to claim undifferentiated American ethnicity and more likely to claim pan-ethnic and country of origin ethnic classifications with the understanding that they are racialized as something different from Whites here in America. Massy and Denton (1992) also described racially segmented processes of Mexican residential assimilation with Whites and noted that Mexican-whites were more likely to share suburban residential areas with Whites than similar Black and mestizo Mexicans.

While the Mexican partner would certainly be aware of his or her location along the "color-line", their feelings about this location, indeed even where they see themselves as fitting in, might alter with the mixed-race partnership. It is possible that racisms from other Latinos would cause them to question their own racial and ethnic identifications, these might alter residential choices away from areas of concentrated native-born Latino settlement. Native-born Mexican American society in those types of places might view the Latino's relationship as a sly attempt to marry up financially and "become White"; thereby going against the essentialist tenents of Chicano movements (Omi & Winant, 1994; Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Such

movments encourage people to marry other Latinos and strengthen "La Raza"and the power of the "Brown" race.

Just as the Mexican partner's experience and practice of race and ethnicity transforms, so to does the White partner's. This change may occur in a "reactive" (Rumbaut, 1994) manner once they become aware of the racisms experienced by their spouse and directed toward their family (Luke, 1994; Luke & Luke, 1998; McBride, 1996). For instance, James McBride's biographical story of being a Black child of a White mother exemplified this idea. His mother insisted that she was the "color of water" and she acted as such by living out her life in places that crossed the Black-White color line. White partners might also become more aware of their privileged racial status, a status that is most fully revealed when they are apart from their mixed-race family and subject to the casual racisms about Mexicans from other White persons (see discussions in Luke, 1994; Luke & Luke, 1998).

US society's racist ideology complicates the enactment of racial identities in mixed-race households. Though White/Black couples likely inspire more virulent societal animosity (Sollors, 2000; Johnson & Warren, 1994), White/Mexican couples also encounter racist/essentialist societal ideologies about socially appropriate partnerships; proper White or Mexican individuals would not become romantically involved across racial lines. White society might view the partnership as "Anti-American" in nativist sense. Mexican society might view the relationship as a denial of "La Raza". White/Mexican households thus enact socially seditious household racial and ethnic identities that confound essentialist expectations (Johnson & Warren, 1994). White/Mexican mixed-race households might be aptly viewed as socially paradoxical (Mahtani, 2001; Rose, 1993) rather than essential in nature. Paradoxical refers to the simultaneous occupation of multiple social positions, social ties, and social classifications.

Mahtani writes in a discussion of a biracial woman's assertion of her mixed-race identity that: ". . . [she] unveils the subversive potential of the paradoxical position. Her simultaneous occupation of the centre (white) and margin (black) produces paradoxical space. In identifying as 'mixed-race', [she] refuses to be pinned down to a static model of racial identification, providing a way to trouble racialized categories of identity" (2001: 302). In this manner, White/Mexican mixed-race households thus potentially trouble static social notions of household-level racial and ethnic identities because they do not fit neatly within existing/essentialist categories of White or Mexican (Mahtani, 2001). Latina writers such as Gloria Anzaldua have long described their racial postions as "mestizaje" – that their race was not reductive to binary either/or conceptions (Anzaldua, 1987) -- and mestizaje identity would likewise characterize White/Mexican households.

Racial identity in White/Mexican mixed-race families very likely runs the gamut of several possibilities – from blended mixed-race and multiethnic mestizaje, to solely multiethnic, or singularly non-Latino White or singularly Mexican-American. This identity would also be changeable and be associated with different residential expression. Residential expression of White/Mexican family identity might occur in several ways. For instance, White/Mexican families with multiethnic or mixed-race identities may prefer to live in neighborhoods with a greater percentage of people racialized similarly to that of the minority partner; these might be places in which they predict to receive the least racial or ethnic prejudice (*e.g.* Frankenburg, 1993; McBride, 1996; Root, 1992; Twine, 1999; Wilson, 1987). Residence in such places might be a material expression of the paradoxical racial identity of some White/Mexican households. Results that I present in Chapter 4 are consistent with these ideas. These results suggest that differently racialized White/Mexican households live in neighborhoods with different racial and

ethnic compositions from White/Mexican households in general and from White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households as well. Maps of the residential distributions of White/Mexican households also show clustering near Mexican residential clusters. This too might be an expression of cultural ties to Mexicans as well as Whites in these mixed-race households.

In this light, rhetorics of ethnic residential location need not describe a static, zero sum game of "assimilation" (Rumbaut, 1997) whereby all ethnic distinctiveness and identifications are lost when Latinos partner with White, native-born Americans (exactly the scenario espoused by Gordon, 1964 in the end stage of the assimilation process). Through mixed-race marriages and other racial crossings, societal and household (re)formation takes place and thus new "racial interminglings and extraordinary hybridities" (to borrow terms from Rumbaut, 1997, p. 953) may emerge that do not signify the Latino's or the household's surrender to static societal ideals of an ethnically-undifferentiated American and/or a self-consciously, White American identity. It is within these types of households that American society transforms.

Internet communities and other virtual societies not withstanding, the literal residential location of a mixed-race partnership is often key to this paradoxical *re-formation* of mixed-race family identity because ethnic cultural behaviors, ideals, *etc.* are easier to practice where there are sufficient opportunities for everyday contact with both Latino and White society. It is therefore vitally important that students of urban difference and segregation begin to place the mixed-race household within segregated residential space.

Alternative Visions of White/Latino Households and Residential Space: Intermarriage Statistics and Social and Spatial "Assimilation"

In the preceding discussion, I have been fairly critical of some elements of ethnic assimilation studies of residential geographies. They typically focus exclusively on the

residential locations of individuals; they also uncritically assume the loss of minority ethnic distinctiveness through intermarriage with Whites (the endpoint of partner's identities are interpreted as being ethnically-undifferentiated or White American); and they often fail to problematize processes of racialization and racial transformation that affect the residential trajectories of intermarried households (their "race-blind" term for household mixing) after their formation. However, it is from these types studies that we have any empirical information about the frequency or geographic location of mixed-race households.

In this next section, I present empirical information that contextualizes the national and regional occurrence of White/Latino mixed-race households. I also provide more detail about socio-structural contact theories, marital and spatial assimilation studies, and their theoretical and methodological approaches to studies of "intermarriage" and "out-partnerships" (two umbrella terms for household mixing used by most assimilation scholars). I also describe location attainment analyses that I modify for use in this project's quantitative analysis of the residential locations of mixed-race households.

Assimilation studies indicate that White/Latino mixed-race households are the most frequent type of mixed-race pairing. In 2000, nation-wide statistics indicated that 3.3% of all US households were unions between Latinos and non-Latinos and 83.6% of these unions were Latinos married or partnered with non-Latino, Whites (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003b). Estimates that control for differences in group size and sex composition typically find that Blacks have the highest tendency for same-race marriages and that Whites are most likely to mixed-race marry. Using 1990 public use micro-sample (PUMS) data[3] and after controlling for group-sizes, Qian

[3] PUMS data are individual-level data with household attributes but they are distributed by the Census Bureau with geographic identifiers that are no where near as small as census tracts. They thus obscure intra-metropolitan geographies and they are not suitable for neighborhood analyses.

and Lichter (2001) find that Whites' mixed-race marriages are organized along a hierarchy of race and are most likely to occur with Latinos, followed by Asians, and lastly with Blacks. Latinos are most likely to marry Whites, then Asians, and least likely to marry Blacks. Immigrants of any type are more likely to marry other co-ethnic immigrants and US born natives of their same racial and ethnic background (Qian & Lichter, 2001).

Using 1990 PUMS data for adults ages 20-34, Qian (2002) also found that partnerships between Whites and Latinos were more frequent with Latinos whose reported race was "white" versus "non-white" and that the odds of White/Latino partnerships also varied by the Latino's national heritage and US nativity. After US-born, Central American whites, US born Mexican-American Whites had the strongest likelihood of intermarriage with Whites and were "43 times as likely to marry non-Latino Whites than native-born blacks" (p. 42) were to marry Whites. When compared to native-born Blacks, non-white Mexican-Americans were still nearly 18 times more likely to marry non-Latino Whites. Foreign-born Mexicans, regardless of their reported race, were only a little less likely to marry Whites than native-born Blacks (Qian, 2002).

Additional research associates the frequency of these White/Latino partnership rates with generational reduction in social differences and variation in regional and metropolitan contexts. For Mexican-Americans, Rosenfeld (2002) found that the tendency to marry within their own racial and ethnic group is still strong (e.g., in 1990 66% of Mexican-Americans ages 20 -29 married a co-ethnic) but this tendency has eroded over time and out-partnerships have increased -- both with Whites and other, non-Mexican Latinos. In 1990, 29% of Mexicans married Non-Latino Whites and this percentage was substantially higher than it was in 1970. In 1970 only 19% of Mexican-Americans married Whites (Rosenfeld, 2002). Yet, after examining Los Angeles area out-partnerships from 1990, Rosenfeld (2001) also found that Mexican-Americans

were increasingly likely to out-partner pan-ethnically with other, non-Mexican Latinos and that, after controlling for group-to-group population sizes in LA, the odds for out-partnerships with pan-ethnics were greater than they were for partnerships with Whites (Rosenfeld, 2001).

Feliciano (2002) found that odds rates for both Asian and Latino marriages reveal complex patterns of generational increases in out-marriages with Whites (far more so than Black out-marriages to Whites) but also persistent tendencies across generations for within group marriage and/or pan-ethnic group coalescence via marriage. According to Feliciano, this pattern was not typical of successive generations of immigrants from Europe whose odds for out-marriage with Whites were much more frequent in later generations. Both her and Rosenfeld's conclusions suggest that the racial background of most post-1965 immigrants and the continual influx of new immigrants from Asia and Latin American will cause generational change rates in the odds of mixed-race marriages to remain relatively low when compared to those of previous waves of immigrants from Europe (Feliciano, 2002; Rosenfeld, 2002). Pan-ethnic partnership tendencies will likely remain strong as waves of Latino immigration to gateway cities remain strong and newly arrived immigrants "replenish the supply of potential partners for second generation natives of the same race" (Qian & Lichter, 2001, p. 293) .

At the sub-national level, there are few studies of White/Latino and other mixed-race partnerships. Mixed race households occur most frequently in Alaska and Hawaii and much of the West and Southwest yet they rarely occur in portions of Appalachia and in many of the northeastern states (Wong, 1998). Cready and Saenz (1997) found that Mexican- and African-American rates of intermarriage with Whites vary with rural versus urban settings. African-Americans tend to out-marry less frequently in rural areas; Mexican-Americans are equally likely to out marry regardless of rural or metropolitan context (Cready & Saenz, 1997).

White/Latino mixed-race marriages occur more frequently in states and cities with very high immigration. Tafoya (2000) notes that mixed-race marriages are twice more likely in California than in the rest of the US and that most of California's mixed-race marriages were White/Latino unions (Tafoya, 2000). And, finally, in part of a larger study of mixed-race partnering and residential location within 12 US metropolitan areas (including Los Angeles), Holloway and others found that White/Latino households were the most frequent type of mixed-race union in each of their 12 study areas; comprising at least 40% of all mixed-race unions in those 12 places (Holloway et al., 2005).

Socio-structural theories of inter-group contact through proximate social interactions in neighborhoods are the most common explanations of the formation of these romantic household partnerships. They explain the occurrence of mixed-race and interethnic partnerships relative to people's opportunities for partnerships given an area's racial or ethnic population composition (including its age-sex distribution, population nativity status, population density, *etc*.), residential segregation, occupational segregation, and so on. These are "marriage market" ideas and sociologist Peter Blau, for instance, related incidences of intermarriage to Georg Simmel's idea of social interaction in cross-cutting social circles (Simmel, 1955). Blau argued that people intermarry more frequently when they are immersed in a web of multiple social affiliations (like those at work, church, school, *etc.*). People with numerous sets of social affiliations may feel more independent from immediate racial or ethnic ties and have greater opportunity to choose a more individualized lifestyle than one of strict racial or ethnic group affiliation. Blau and his followers found that intermarriage rates increased when people had larger and more heterogeneous sets of social affiliations – these heterogeneous social affiliations reduced social distance between members of distinct racial and ethnic groups (Blau et al., 1984, 1982).

Researchers too, consistently note that White/Latino partnerships have increased in recent decades largely due to the spatial dispersal of Latino immigrants and their children beyond the bounds of immigrant gateway cities (e.g., Rosenfield, 2001; Cready & Sanez, 1997).

However, as noted earlier, these socio-structural group contact theories fail at completely explaining the formation of mixed-race households. Even after accounting for group population sizes, age-sex ratios, and other factors that structure socio-spatial opportunities for relationships, researchers have still found significant tendencies for all racial and ethnic groups to be endogamous – to romantically partner with someone of similar racial and ethnic background. They note this tendency is likely still high due to racial and ethnic barriers that continue to operate in so-called "marriage markets" (Kalmijn, 1993; Kalmijn & Flap, 2001).

Common to much of this marriage market literature is the description of these types of relationships as "out-partnerships" – people marrying out of one group and into another. These ideas about the relationship of geographic and social contexts to out-partnership rates were quickly incorporated by geographers and sociologists into analyses of immigrant assimilation. Armed with census information about individuals in cities and census tracts, geographers and sociologists were quickly enamored with the structural idea that interracial and interethnic proximity in places of urban residence[4] (a site in the web of group affiliations, Simmel 1955, and a potential marriage market location) could lead to increased chances for an individual to out-partner cross racially or ethnically.

[4] Later day researchers are critical of the idea that residential proximity in neighborhoods really results in much higher rates of mixed-race household formation and schools, workplaces, churches, and the internet are now just some of the socio-spatial contexts that researchers examine as potentially better places of possibility for mixed-race contact (see Houston et al., 2005; Ellis, Wright, and Parks, 2005; and Wright et al., 2003).

Comparative work soon emerged that measured rates of marital racial and ethnic mixings in urban places (*e.g*., Peach, 1974, 1980; Alba & Golden, 1986; Rosenfeld, 2001). In most of these studies, individual-level racial and ethnic mixing within suburbs versus central cities assumed analytical privilege (Massey & Denton, 1992; Alba & Logan, 1993; Logan et al., 1996; White & Sassler, 2000; Logan et al., 2002). Mixing at the contextual site of the household ceased to be a research focus (see Wright et al., 2003) -- partly because census data about households is obscured at the neighborhood scale (researchers were dependent upon census data collected at large areal units, PUMA boundary areas with 100,000 or more inhabitants) and partly because researchers failed to problematize individual heterogeneity within the household scale (per my discussion in previous sections). In any case, most researchers began to describe these groups of individuals *and* places with higher rates of marital mixing as being structurally and spatially "assimilated" (e.g., Wong, 1998; Peach, 1974, 1980; Rosenfeld, 2001; Massey & Denton, 1992; Alba & Logan, 1993; Logan et al., 1996; White & Sassler, 2000; Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002). In studies of immigrant and native-born groups, ethnicity theorists quickly assumed the position that interethnic marriages and partnerships with native-born, protestant, Anglo-Americans indicated the ultimate end stage in an individual immigrant's acculturation and structural incorporation into American society (e.g., Alba & Golden, 1986; Gordon, 1964; Logan et al., 2004; Park et al. , 1967 [1925]; Gans, 1979, Alba & Nee 1997).

Described as the natural outcome of generational reductions in social distance (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965), intermarriage between distinct ethnic groups became a primary measure of an immigrant's social assimilation. Though some authors describe these new households as contributing to an American melting pot (Kennedy, 1944), to most researchers, mixed-race or multi-ethnic partnerships signaled that the minority partner's racial or ethnic distinctiveness

would gradually wane and that the intermarried household would be viewed by members of White society as similar to them and their households (Alba & Golden, 1986; Lieberson & Waters,1988). According to Gans (1979), the minority partner's lingering ethnic distinctiveness would largely become symbolic and nostalgic but not really exhibited in practice – in this case, ethnically-identified practices would be immigrants marrying only other immigrants. Using these ideas, Qian and Lichter (2001) would later write that: "Our goal is to reinforce the idea that marital assimilation not only represents a historically important aspect of the assimilation process in America but that patterns of intermarriage today provide clear evidence of structural assimilation and acculturation today among 'hard to assimilate' racial and ethnic minorities" (p. 296). Much of Qian and other's work thus openly espouses the notion that immigrant structural assimilation occurs through, and can be measured by, the marital assimilation rates of immigrants with White Americans.

Borrowing ideas from Park et al. (1967[1925]) about the invasion and succession of immigrants in city neighborhoods, Massey (1985) spatialized assimilation ideas and proposed that through generational acculturation and socio-economic advancements, immigrants would gradually disperse in a "straight-line" from central city immigrant enclaves to suburbs and that this spatial dispersion would occur on pace with the immigrant structural immersion in US born social groups. Immigrants would thus become both socially assimilated and spatially integrated into White suburbia (Massey, 1985).

Most subsequent immigrant assimilation studies followed this trend and immigrant assimilation was often measured in terms of residential proximity with native-born Whites in suburbs (*e.g.,* Logan et al., 1996; Alba et al., 1999; Massey, 1985). Residence in these "whiter" places supposedly indicated less racial distance between members of the two groups. These

analyses of individual-level "location attainment" evaluate immigrant economic ability and other factors that are thought to effect the immigrant's ability to buy into "whiter" places. These studies incorporate socio-economic measures as proxies for residential buying power in quantitative analyses of residential location. They also account for the same individual factors when they make cross group residential comparisons. Typically, measurements of immigrant residential attainment start by factoring in education levels, household income, occupational status, English language ability, *etc.* for their independent affects on immigrant residential location (typically measured either in terms of location near Whites in suburbs or tracts, suburb or tract median home value, suburb or tract median household income, or some other SES measure of the suburb or tract) (*e.g.,* Alba & Logan, 1993; Logan & Alba, 1993; Alba et al., 2000; Logan et al., 1996; White & Sassler, 2000; Alba et al., 1999; Massey, 1985). They then factor in immigrant nativity status (as proxies for "acculturation" and location specific human capital), and family structure (marital status and presence of children)..

Studies of individual-level location attainment in central cities versus suburbs often indicate findings for Latinos that support some assimilation ideals (other studies indicated some problems with the theory and those are discussed in later sections). Work by Richard Alba, John Logan, Douglas Massey and others (e.g. Alba & Logan, 1993; Alba et al., 2000; Logan et al.,1996) have found that Latino immigrants are showing patterns of increased residential attainment in suburbs as their socio-economic abilities improve, as they attain facility with the English language, and when they start having household structures that are more typically American, i.e., fewer children, single family household residences, and increased female labor force participation. Indeed, studies that incorporate immigrant out-marriage with Whites as a factor in this analysis often show that intermarriage with Whites increases the immigrant's

chances for suburban residence. For instance, using 1980 PUMS data, Massey and Denton (1992) determined that Hispanic marriage to a non-Hispanic was positively associated with suburban residence and increased Anglo contact.

Using a special tract-level tabulation of data from selected metropolitan areas from the 1980 census, White and Sassler's (2000) study was a notable exception to this type of central-city/suburb analysis. They were able to locate intra-urban residence at finer geographic scales than most studies and they also did not use residential proximity with Whites as their only dependent measure of neighborhood status attainment. Instead, they used immigrant out-marriage to Whites to help explain patterns of immigrant residential location in neighborhoods with higher SES characteristics regardless of race (their index scored places with less poverty, more college educated adults, less unemployment, and fewer female headed households as places with higher SES characteristics, White & Sassler, 2000). They did not, however, find a similar positive effect on suburban residence when immigrants married non-whites.

Unfortunately, because these assimilation studies were studies of individuals versus other individuals and because they measured factors that affected individual residential attainment, the intra-urban residential attainment of mixed-race *households* was never actually accessed. With a theoretical focus that described intermarriage as an "out-partnership" and "end stage" of immigrant assimilation, most typical "straight-line" assimilation studies would have assumed that White/Latino households would cease to be truly mixed with regard to both partners racial and ethnic identities and that any lingering sense of Latino household identity would be largely symbolic. Thus, because the minority partner's ethnic identity was assumed to be lost given his or her out-partnership, traditional assimilation studies did not consider it necessary to evaluate the residential outcomes for these types of households versus those of majority group households

because these two groups of households were no longer considered to be different. Under a theoretical lens that equated marital assimilation with end of difference and the beginning of spatial integration, there was no reason for further analysis.

Research that I present in this project will be among the first to actually compare apples to apples, coupled-households to coupled-households. In Chapters 4 and 5, I present comparative information about the residential locations of White/Mexican households versus those of majority group, White same-race households and minority group Mexican same-ethnicity households. In these chapters, I present findings that support the idea that the internal heterogeneity of White/Mexican mixed-race households leads to residential settlement patterns that are distinct from those of similar same-race and co-ethnic majority *and* minority group households. I expect that family racial complexity will affect White/Mexican household residential location because, even in analyses of the residential attainment of individuals, straight line assimilation theory has had substantial difficulty in explaining the continued persistence of Latino residential clusters. Many studies found that, even after accounting for individual-level factors and sometimes even including marriage with Whites, Latinos still do not settle in suburbs at the same rate as Whites and not all groups of Latinos are as likely to acquire suburban residence. Darker skinned Latinos do not share the same entrée into suburbs as do lighter skinned Latinos (Massey & Denton, 1992, 1993; Golash-Bosa, 2006; Logan et al., 1996).

Latino groups with lighter skin tones and groups that immigrated here with higher collective socio-economic class status, like early Cuban immigrants and European Hispanics, also find it easier to obtain economic and residential parity with Whites (see sections in Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Indeed, in Chapter 4, I present assessments of the residential location of White/Latino households with a non-Mexican Latino partner and these households do not share

the same types of residential geographies as White/Latino households with a Mexican households.

Furthermore, despite some differences by Latino national sub-groups, there is continued evidence of persistent Latino residential dissimilarity from Whites. Logan and others report that between 1980 and 2000, Latino residential dissimilarity from Whites in US metropolitan areas averaged at just over 50% for all three decades (Logan et al., 2004). In these US metropolitan areas, half of either group would have to move for the two groups to have similar residential distributions. Though some of this continued segregation is due to a constant flow of economically disadvantaged immigrants from Latin America to central cities, researchers have found that native-born Latinos are increasingly moving to suburbs (Logan et al., 2004). However, in many of those suburbs Latino segregation from Whites is also increasing and home ownership for Latinos increases the likelihood that they will live in ethnic enclaves (Yu & Myers, 2006). These findings cannot be explained by traditional assimilation theory and thus it evolved to partially include ideas about race. It did not, however, change it's focus on assimilative "endpoints".

Segmented Assimilation

Continued evidence of the persistent spatial clustering of immigrants lead some researchers to deny that America's newest Latin-American and Asian immigrants were completely assimilating. Some suggest that our cities and our populace are becoming pluralized because ethnic identities remain persistent (Glazer & Moniyhan, 1970 [1965]). However, more sophisticated advances in assimilation theory (and the emergence of racialization theory discussed previously in this chapter) subsumed part of this pluralism versus assimilation debate. In the 80's, Portes, Zhou and others would introduce the notion that immigrants might follow

patterns of segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). Segmented assimilation of Latino immigrants would occur in three ways. Some groups of Latino immigrants would follow a path of upward mobility, integration, inter-marriage and spatial assimilation with native-born Whites (similar to the idea of straight-line assimilation). Other groups, especially those coming to America with lower levels of education, fewer employable skills, and racially distinctive phenotypes, might follow a downward mobility pattern to an economically disadvantaged "underclass" (where the "underclass" was typically described as native-born Blacks living in the cheapest and poorest of urban neighborhoods). According to socio-structural contact theories, this other trajectory might also result in increased tendencies for Latino and Black mixed-race partnerships since they do sometimes tend to share residential space with Blacks in poorer parts of metropolitan areas. Note here, however, that Blacks and Latinos do not often intermarry; Latinos are most likely to marry Whites, then Asians, and least likely to marry Blacks (Qian & Lichter, 2001).

Yet other groups might follow a third path of segmented assimilation. This would be a path of economic assimilation, due to more employable job skills, higher education levels, and better English fluency. However, this group would also exhibit a lagged acculturation to American society due to racially distinctive phenotypes and a deliberate preservation of ties with co-ethnics and co-immigrants (these ties are suggested by movements to and sustained residential tenure in co-ethnic enclaves) (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). Goloash-Boza (2006), writes that this third type of segmented assimilation, that of economic parity with Whites but strengthened co-ethnic ties, is only possible in places with a large and economically-diversified co-ethnic community (Golash-Boza, 2006). These would be places like LA where co-ethnic ties could be expected to cushion the immigrant's job search and act as a barrier

against discrimination in the US job market (although see work by Sanders & Nee, 1987, that describes minority group job and residential networks as not really offering the immigrant much economic advantage).

Modifying Analyses of Residential Location for Use with Household-Level Data

Unfortunately, despite copious amounts of research documenting disparities in residential location, studies of ethnic and racial residential attainment (whether it is described as segmented or not) often suffered because of the very coarse scale of most work. Typically, most research has had to rely upon public use micro-sample data at the scale of PUMA boundaries. These boundaries are far to large to be considered neighborhoods. Consequently many segregation and mixed-race analyses reduced the evaluation of intra-urban residence to location within or without suburbs and central cities. Before researchers began to document increases in minority group suburbanization in multiethnic metropolises, much of the early work described residential attainment within "vanilla suburbs" versus "chocolate cities" (Farley et al., 1978). Only a few empirical studies have been able to locate intra-urban residential attainment within the nuanced racial mosaic of our modern metropolitan areas (e.g., Wright, Ellis, & Parks, 2005). It is not surprising that because of these data limitations, even fewer studies have residentially situated the intra-urban locational attainment of mixed-race households.

However, because of access to a confidential release of geographically-detailed data from the full 1 in 6 1990 sample of individual-level Census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993), Holloway and others (2005) were able to indicate that White/Latino mixed-race households typically attain urban residential locations in between the residential spaces of both partner's constituent groups and in neighborhoods typified by a preponderance of people from both

partner's racial backgrounds. Though household-level socio-economic background, nativity status, *etc*. altered these patterns a bit, the basic pattern of mixed-race households sorting themselves out residentially -- or being sorted out as in the case of a discriminatory market -- within the urban fabric of their household's multiple racial and ethnic identities hold true. I found similar results in the work I present in Chapter 4 on the typical racial and ethnic composition neighborhoods of White/Mexican household.

In Chapter 5, I extend the work of Holloway and others (2005) by constructing household-level regression models of residential attainment estimated with four subsets of Los Angeles' opposite-sex households. One group of matched residential attainment models compares the neighborhood racial attainment of White/Mexican households versus those of White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. Additionally, with a subset of White/Mexican family households, I develop a more detailed model specification to explore the impact of household-level racial and ancestral characteristics on residential attainment. Given differential social distance between Whites and various Latino sub-groups and conflicting reports about the coalescence of Latinos into pan-ethnic residential concentrations, I chose to study the residential attainment of White/Mexican mixed-race households specifically rather than that of White/Latino households more generally.

For these four samples of households, I use household-level characteristics to predict residential attainment in neighborhoods, using census tracts as proxies for neighborhoods (see variable definitions in Chapter 3). I measure neighborhood racial attainment in four ways and estimate models for each dependent variable for each group. Dependent variables for these models measure the tract percent White, the tract percent Mexican, the tract concentration rates of White same-race households, and the tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic

households for each of these four samples. Details about variable construction appear in Chapters 3 and 5.

Though there are other possible dependent measures of neighborhood attainment -- tract racial diversity, tract median home value, tract median household income, tract SES indices, etc. -- my purpose in this project is to understand how White/Mexican households attain residence in racially-marked urban space and how those residential patterns compare to those of same-race White households and co-ethnic Mexican households. In Holloway et al.'s study (2005), urban terrain for White/Latino mixed-race households included residential contact with different levels of Whites or Latinos but very little residential contact with Blacks and Asians. Additionally, both White and Latino same-race and co-ethnic households also exhibited high levels of segregation from Blacks and Asians. Findings from residential exposure indices (see Chapter 4) indicate that this true for White/Mexican , Mexican co-ethnic, and White same-race households as well. Therefore, I did not use other measures of tract racial composition like percent Asian or percent Black, *etc.*, as dependent variables in these models.

In Chapter 5, I provide more in-depth discussion of expectations about the relationships of independent variables to these four measures of residential attainment. Here I simply note that, because of findings from individual-level location attainment analyzes (e.g., Alba & Logan, 1993; Alba, Logan, & Stults 2000; Logan et al., 1996; White & Sassler, 2000; Alba et al., 1999; Massey, 1985), I expected all types of households to reside in "whiter" places when household human capital and SES measures are higher, when households exclusively speak English, and when household demographics are more typically "American" (*i.e.,* families have fewer children, fewer people in the household, and native-born family members). For households without these characteristics, I expected household residence in places with more Mexicans.

And, for expanded residential attainment models of White/Mexican family households, I expected that markers of ancestral, racial, linguistic, and natal difference from US-born Whites would also be independently associated with residence in places with more Mexicans and fewer Whites. According to Golash-bosa (2006), this would be evidence of "racialized assimilation". Latinos without these markers of difference might more readily find residence in "whiter" areas.

The unique value of estimating comparative sets of residential attainment models (for each of three samples White same-race households, Mexican co-ethnic households, and the larger sample of White/Mexican households) lay in using them to predict residential attainment given similar household characteristics. Consistent with expectations from racialization theory and feminist notions of difference, I found that the samples of White/Mexican and Mexican co-ethnic households were associated with predicted residences in places with fewer Whites and more Mexicans than White same-race households. I also found that White/Mexican households had predicted residence in "whiter" areas than comparable Mexican co-ethnic households. In these models, simply reporting "Mexican" was considered to be a general marker of racial identity. White/Mexican households were thus a mixed, majority-minority group type of partnership and Mexican co-ethnic households were a double-minority type of partnership. Among all the sample groups, Mexican co-ethnic households shared the least amount of residential space with Whites, a double-majority group type of partnership. And, finally, in expanded models for White/Mexican households, I did find that markers of racial difference from Whites were associated with residence in places with more Mexicans. I report these findings more thoroughly in Chapter 5.

Additionally, at the end of Chapter 4, I present findings that reveal differences in White/Mexican household racial distinctions for households living in places typified by

residential concentrations of White same-race households or Mexican co-ethnic households. White/Mexican households in more Mexican-concentrated places more often report children's racial and ethnic characteristics as "Mexican-other race" and rather than Mexican-white or White only. The same is true for the reporting of "other race" for the Mexican partner.

Studies of reported race by residence are a bit spurious because we do not have very good information that identifies the causal direction between residential location and reported race. Race develops in neighborhoods and other contexts; it also affects neighborhood selection. For adults, reported racial characteristics are bit more reliable as there is some evidence that in formal reporting of race, adults often fix on a classification and use it as a "core" social identity (Jarett & Reitzes, 1999. It is therefore possible to assume that a White/Mexican household where the partner self-identifies as "other race" might be more likely to choose residence in places with more similarly-identified residents. Again, it is also possible the processes of racial stratification limit these types of White/Mexican households to locations with similar racial minorities.

Chapter Conclusions

Teasing out the exact cause of the residential disparities between White same-race, White/Mexican, and Mexican co-ethnic households is impossible with the quantitative analyses that I report in this project because findings of residential attainment cannot speak to the meaning that households associate with reported races, particular place locations, or the life-cycle of family and housing market processes that help shape residence location. However, according to racialization theory and the feminist notions of identity, White/Mexican household residence in places that are not as completely "white" as those of White same-race households nor as thoroughly "Mexican" as Mexican co-ethnic households may signal a self-conscious

within-household notion of the *paradoxical household identity* (Mahtani, 2001; Rose, 1993) -- not only White, not only Mexican. As such, residential location in White-Mexican "in-between" spaces (Holloway et al., 2005) may indicate residential choice *and* racial preferences – preferences for residential spaces where they might socialize with people from the full range of their household's mestizaje identity. We may even begin to think of these *places as "paradoxical"* as well – places that are not only White and not only Mexican.

However, residence in these paradoxical places may not simply signal or indicate household preferences. It may also signal that members of White/Mexican households have been racialized similarly to those in Mexican co-ethnic households and as such their housing choices might have been constrained. It is possible that White/Mexican households share in a portion of the White racial privilege of White same-race households, but that they also share a portion of the racial prejudice that impacts the residential geographies of Mexican co-ethnic households. I present residential concentration maps in Chapter 4 that overwhelmingly illustrate the dissimilarity of White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic household geographies. Graphs of predicted residential attainment in Chapter 5 also reveal this very succinctly. And, results in both sections consistently portray the "in-betweeness" of White/Mexican residential geographies. In Chapter 6, I discuss findings reported here and in Chapters 4 and 5 relative to literature on White and Latino residential preferences (*e.g.,* Shelling, 1971; Clark, 1992; Zubrinsky & Bobo, 1996), mixed-race households and family residential choices (*e.g.,* Twine, 1999; Root; 1992; Wilson, 1997; McBride,1996), and housing market discrimination that impact Latino residential geographies (Yinger, 1995, 1999; Massey & Denton, 1993).

CHAPTER 3

STUDY AREA, DATA SOURCES, AND METHODS

In Chapter 2, I presented a conceptual framework that uses racialization theory and feminist and cultural studies notions of difference to understand the residential locations of White/Mexican and other White/Latino households versus those of same-race and co-ethnic counterparts. I also argued that is imperative for studies of racial mixing and residential location to understand racial mixings at the scale of the household not just at the scale of the individual and to situate mixed-race households within the residential patterns of cities that are marked by singly-raced urban space.

Given this conceptual framework, and contrary to assimilation theory, I understand White/Mexican households as contextual sites where racialized identities transform, emerge, and find expression and/or reflection in complex residential patterns. The residential patterns of White/Mexican households are not simply equivalent to those of Whites or Mexicans. Los Angeles is majority-minority metropolis where ethnic and racial distinctiveness from Whites is a regional norm. It is not, therefore, a place where Latino mixed-race partnerships are automatically equivalent to ethnic "out-partnerships" (as assimilation theory suggests). Instead, it is a place where racialized and paradoxical household identities impact the general pattern of residential trajectories for White/Mexican households. These unique household identities often result in residential locations to "in-between" spaces, places where households residentially mix with people from both partners' racial and ethnic backgrounds. In this chapter, I discuss the data sources and methods that allow me to situate White/Mexican and other White/Latino households within the multiethnic, yet socially and spatially segregated, urban terrain of Los Angeles, CA.

The Los Angeles Multiethnic/Multiracial Context

In Los Angeles, White/Latino households were 59.4% of all opposite-sex mixed-race households and there were more people in those types of households than even black-same race households (Holloway et al., 2005). These and other mixed-race households share metropolitan residence with US-born natives and immigrants from all over the world. Los Angeles is truly a "prismatic metropolis" (Zubrinskey & Bobo, 1996) in an equally prismatic state. Like Hawaii, Texas, and New Mexico, California is now a majority-minority state (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005).

People move to LA from all over the world, including Latin America, and the region is home to a large and variegated Latino community – mostly of Mexican-origin but also including immigrants from Guatemala and El Salvador and other parts of Latin America. In 1990, official census statistics (Table 3.1) count 32.9% of the LA CMSA as having Latino heritage and by 2000 the documented Latino population had grown to 40.3% of the Metropolitan area (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993, 2003). INS estimates from 1996 indicate that California had over 40% of America's undocumented population (over 2 million people) and most of these undocumented migrants lived in either Fresno or Los Angeles (Schur et al., 1999). Most illegal migrants are from Mexico and this immigration, combined with the large population of native-born Mexican-Americans, is driving the "Mexicanization of Southern California" (Davis, 2000, p.2). Los Angeles is now a Latino Metropolis where "Latinidad" (Flores, 1993) flourishes – where Latino households often still speak Spanish and where many Latinos maintain strong co-ethnic ties to people in their home countries of origin and to co-ethnic LA area residents with whom they share a similar history of economic incorporation in the LA region. Quoting Flores (1993), Davis writes that " 'Latinidad is *practice* rather than *representation* of Latino identity. And it is on this

terrain that Latinos wage their cultural politics as a social movement' " (emphasis in original, Davis, 2000, p. 15). However, despite their path to relative ascendancy as the largest population group in the area and their potential power as a political movement, they are still very segregated economically, socially, and, most of all, spatially from other LA populations (see Alba, Logan, & Stults, 2000; Allen & Turner, 1996; Clark, 1992; Clark & Blue, 2004; Ellis, Wright, & Parks, 2004; Zubrinskey & Bobo, 1996).

Geographer James Allen calls the social and spatial separation between Latinos and Whites in the LA area a "Tortilla-Mercedes Divide" (2002) and writes that this divide "exceeds all other ethnic and economic divides in significance because it represents the two largest ethnic groups [in LA] and because cultural, demographic, and class differences combine to strengthen and maintain it" (p. 702). This Tortilla-Mercedes Divide persists culturally due to early Mexican settlement in the area; settlement that remained after 1848 and the end of Mexican-American War. It is fueled today due to continued Latino workforce immigration and family reunification. Sustained Spanish language maintenance is a primary contributor to this cultural divide (Allen, 2002).

Economically the divide exists because Latinos and Latino immigrants lost better paying regional manufacturing employment as US economic restructuring sent manufacturing jobs overseas and shifted new employment sector growth to high-end service sector jobs; jobs that unskilled Latino immigrants could not obtain. This forced many into lower-paying service sector jobs (Allen, 2002). Workforce racism also contributes to this divide and racism towards Latinos is especially prevalent in job markets as they are often funneled into lower paying types of service sector jobs. This often occurs even for those that have high human capital and other socio-economic characteristics (Raijman & Tienda, 1999; Stolzenburg & Tienda, 1997; Tienda,

1995). Stolzenburg and Tienda (1997) write that: "language minorities with the observed characteristics typical of minority group members earn considerably less than non-minorities with those same characteristics, but language minorities with the observed characteristics typical of non-minority group members suffer little or no disadvantage compared to non-minorities with similar characteristics" (Stolzenburg & Tienda 1997, 37). In other words, if a person is identified as a Latino on the basis skin color, behavior, or speech pattern, that person may experience more discrimination than others who may more closely resemble the White majority. In essence, some darker-skinned Latinos experience higher wage penalties than lighter-skinned Latinos. Allen (2002) adds that while racism towards Latinos occurs against those with these more mestizo features, it is also "combined with an attitude of cultural and economic superiority toward even lighter-skinned Mexicans" (p. 703) such that Whites and Mexicans in LA often regard each other with mistrust and suspicion.

This mistrust and suspicion appears in many Los Angeles area White-Latino divides and no where is it more evident than in the growth of the Latino barrio and continued residential dissimilarity between the two groups. Residential segregation from Whites remains a constant in Latino residential geographies. The basic residential patterns are clear and Whites tend to concentrate in suburban areas on the urban fringe. Latinos tend to concentrate in places east and southeast of downtown LA and in the newer barrios in older suburbs to the east of Los Angeles city proper (Allen & Turner, 1997; Allen, 2002) (a more thorough discussion of group residential patterns appears in Chapter 4). Dissimilarity values (D) measure the relative unevenness between the regional residential distributions of two distinct racial or ethnic groups [5]. US Census Bureau reports for the Los Angeles area indicate that Latino and non-Latino White

[5]See formulas later on in this chapter.

residential distributions gradually grew more dissimilar between 1980, 1990, and 2000 – measurements of D ranged from a low of 58% in 1980 to a high of 63% in 2000. D values from 1990 indicated that 61% of non-Latino Whites or Latinos would have had to move for the regional residential distribution of both populations to have been equal. The census also reported that Latino residential isolation (P*)[6] increased from a relative low of 60% in 1980, to 72% in 1990, and, finally, to a high of 78% in 2000. Interpretations of isolation are probabilistic, so, isolation statistics for 1990 indicated that, in a Latino's typical tract of residence, he or she would have had a 72% chance of encountering another Latino as co-resident of that tract. Probabilities for residential exposure to members of other racial groups were much lower with only a 28% chance of encountering a differently-raced resident in a Latino's typical residential tract (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005b).

The above discussions about the Latino Metropolis and the Tortilla-Mercedes divide suggests four things. One, because Whites and Latinos are quite segregated from each other in both workforce and residential geographies, social, racial, and spatial barriers for contact limit the possibilities for White/Latino racial mixing. Thus, barriers to White/Latino mixed-race household formation remain high. Two, despite these barriers, in Los Angeles, a shared history of metropolitan contact and large group population sizes suggest that there are, and will be, some limited chances for these types of unions to take place. Three, they also suggest that Los Angeles is a place with numerous neighborhoods where Latinos concentrate. Therefore, once formed, White/Latino households will not necessarily reside in White-dominated places after their union. And, four, in Los Angeles, partnering and living with Whites do not necessarily result in losing ethnic distinctiveness for there are myriad local and regional opportunities to

[6] See formulas later in this chapter.

participate in Latino cultural practices. This dissertation documents the character and extent of White/Latino and White/Mexican household formation in the 1990 LA CSMA and the data sources and methods described below will enable me to situate these mixed-race households within the urban landscape of the Tortilla-Mercedes divide (Allen, 2002).

Data Source & Methods

This project uses a unique sample of households from a confidential release of the complete 1-in-6 1990 long form census data. These data include individual and household information linked to census tracts. Similar household data is publicly available via the 1% and 5% 1990 Public Use Micro-data Samples (PUMS), but without the tract-level geographic detail necessary for this project. PUMS data restrict location information to Census-constructed areas with a minimum population of 100,000, thus rendering them too large for neighborhood-scale analyses (e.g., Holloway et al., 2005). These confidential data can be used only with Census Bureau permission and strict oversight in a secure facility. The disclosure of analyses based on these data (including that reported in this project) is restricted and subject to rigorous review. My use of these data allows for a more finly grained analysis of household residential patterns as they emerge across LA's intra-urban neighborhoods not just across LA's artificially-defined PUMA areas – places sometimes loosely defined as either central city or suburban (see work on intermarried households by Allen & Turner, 1996; Allen & Turner, 1997; Allen, 2005 that use PUMA-scale household analysis).

I used these data to combine census records of persons, households, and household-linked geographic identifiers into observations of households that also included detailed socio-economic, demographic, and residential information. Analysis was restricted to a sample of 1,811,130 non-group quartered individuals from the 1990 Los Angeles Consolidated

Metropolitan Area – approximately 1 in 6 people from Ventura, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Riverside, and Orange counties. Analysis of household residential locations began with a sample of 361,134 opposite-sex married or partnered LA area households[7]. Other literature from LA has been limited to examinations of the residential locations of *married* mixed-race households (and only at coarsely defined geographies as well) (Allen & Turner, 1997; Allen, 2005).

Individual- and household level observations were used to calculate isolation/exposure indices (P*) (Lieberson, 1981), residential dissimilarity indices (both presented in Chapter 4), choropleth maps of tract-level location quotients (LQs) (presented in Chapter 4), and multivariate analyses of White/Mexican, White same race, and Mexican co-ethnic residential attainment (modeling results presented in Chapter 5). Multivariate OLS regression analyses evaluated household-level factors for their independent association with the neighborhood racial attainment for samples of White same-race, White/Mexican, and Mexican co-ethnic households.

Methods for Describing the Relative Residential Location of Los Angele's White/Mexican Households

I used descriptive measures to quantify the extent of regional residential unevenness, typical neighborhood exposures, and regional concentration rates for White/Mexican mixed-race, opposite-sex *households* relative to other LA area *individuals* and *households*. Groups of individuals included people from seven primary racial and ethnic groups -- Non-Latino Whites, Non-Latino Blacks, Non-Latino Asians, Non-Latino Native Americans, Non-Latino "Other Race", Mexicans, and All Other Latinos. Groups of households included two same-race/co-ethnic households (White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households) and six

[7] Evaluation of the effects of mixed-race partnering within same-sex households and the interactions of those households within urban space deserve attention but is beyond the scope of this paper.

types of White/Latino mixed-race pairs -- Whites paired with Guatemalans, Salvadorans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, European Hispanics, and All other Latinos.

Indices of dissimilarity (D) illustrate unevenness in residential distributions between groups (*e.g*. between groups of mixed-race households and same-race households or mixed-race households and groups of individuals). Dissimilarity is typically calculated as follows (see also Holloway et al, 2005):

$$D = .5 * \sum_{j=1}^{J} \left| \left(\frac{w_j}{W} - \frac{x_j}{X} \right) \right|$$

where *j* indexes census tracts, and *w* and *x* index two ethnic/racial groups (both *w* and *x* can be groups of individuals or households). *W* and *X* are the total metropolitan populations of groups *w* and *x*, respectively, and w_j and x_j are tract counts of the respective groups.

Almost all applications of D describe the residential unevenness between groups of individuals but this project also uses them to reflect the unevenness of household-to-household and household-to-individual distributions. All values of D range between 0 and 1 (sometimes written as 0 and 100, 0% and 100%, or 0.0 – 100.0). A value of 0 means that the regional residential distribution between two groups in question is completely *even*. A value of 100 indicates that the residential distribution of the two groups is completely *uneven*, that there are never incidences where the two groups live in the same neighborhoods, and that there is complete regional segregation between the two groups. For example, if the D-value between White-Mexican, mixed-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households is 27%, this indicates that 27% of either group would have to move from their current neighborhoods in order for the two groups of households to have a similar regional geographic distribution.

Similarly to Lieberson 1981 and Holloway et al, 2005, the following formula was used to calculate exposure indices:

$$ {}_{w}P^{*}{}_{x} = \sum_{j=1}^{J}\left(\frac{w_j}{W} * \frac{x_j}{t_j}\right) $$

where *j* indexes census tracts, and *w* and *x* index two ethnic/racial groups, and t is the total population of members of all ethnic and racial groups. *W* is the total metropolitan population of group *w* across tracts, w_j, x_j, and t_j are tract counts of the respective groups. P* index values represent group *x*'s population share in group *w*'s typical tract, or commonly, the residential exposure of group *w* to group *x*. Both groups *w* and *x* could be sets of household or individuals. Holloway et. al. 2005, for instance, used exposure indices to measure household *w*'s exposures to households of type *x and* individuals of type *x*.

In this project, I interpret P* values probabilistically and generally use them to compare *household w*'s exposure to *individuals* of type *x.* The sum of P* values between a particular group and all others from a specified set of groups will always equal 1 (or 100 if written in percentages). Note here that because all the various White/Latino households groups (including White/Mexican households) had such small residential exposure values regarding their residential exposure to Native Americans and individuals who reported an "Other Race" racial classification, I exclude them from presentation in the results section. They were, however, calculated in order to provide accuracy checks for the values I do report.

Calculation of tract level location quotient values for each of three household-types -- White/Mexican mixed-race, White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households -- determined areas of residential concentration. A location quotient value for a particular household-type measures how concentrated that household-type is within a particular tract when compared to its

concentration or proportion in the metropolitan area as a whole. Calculation of LQs used the following formula:

$$LQ_{wj} = ((w_j/W)/(t_j/T))$$

where w equals the total number of household type w in tract j, W equals the total number of households of type w across all tracts in the area, t equals the total number of all households in tract j, and T equals the regional household total. Regional and group totals in the calculation of LQs correspond to totals for the urbanized portion of the LA CMSA – this left 2,402 in the tract analysis of residential concentrations (see Figure 3.1 for a study area map).

The mapping of location quotients allows for the presentation of patterns of household concentration without disclosing raw population counts or percentages by tract. A value of one equals parity – there is the same proportion of a household-type in a tract's population as there is in the metropolitan area as a whole. For example, if a tract has a LQ for White/Mexican household-types of 2.5, then that particular tract has a concentration of White/Mexican households that is 2.5 times that of the proportion of White/Mexican households in the entire metropolitan area. If the LQ for White/Mexican was 0.5, then that tract has proportion of White/Mexican household's that is 0.5 times the metropolitan proportion of White/Mexican households.

In the choropleth maps presented in Chapter 4 each tract in the urbanized area is shaded according to the value of its location quotient. It is impossible to use ranges of location quotient values to derive actual counts of households for specific tracts because the total number of White/Mexican, White same-race, or Mexican co-ethnic households in the urbanized area is not publicly-released or possible to derive from this or any previous confidential data releases. As a further safeguard, census tract boundaries are not displayed on the maps, which makes

individual urban tracts more difficult to distinguish. These publication restrictions were imposed by the Census Bureau Disclosure Review Board in order to prevent the inadvertent disclosure of geographic areas with small cell counts for minority populations. According to the Census, these restrictions apply to the locations of mixed-race households regardless of their group size for specific metropolitan areas.[8]

Residential Attainment Modeling for White Same Race, White/Mexican Mixed-Race, and Mexican Co-Ethnic Households

I explored predictors of residential attainment with sixteen multivariate OLS regression models; four models each with four separate samples of Los Angeles area White same-race, Mexican co-ethnic, White/Mexican mixed-race, and White/Mexican mixed-race family households (a subset of White/Mexican households that had children under age eighteen present in the house). Regression results are shown in Chapter 5 where I present models of residential attainment measured with four dependent variables: the tract percent White (%W), the tract percent Mexican (%M), the tract concentration rates for White same-race households (LQWW), and the tract concentration rates for Mexican co-ethnic households (LQMM). Similar to the method used for creating location quotient maps of residential concentration, measures of racial concentration in tracts were determined by the tract percentage of White same-race households relative to the regional percentage of White same-race households and the tract percentage of Mexican co-ethnic households relative to the regional percentage of Mexican co-ethnic households.

[8] These restrictions reflect census assumptions that "mixed" households are still considered socially "taboo" enough as to require added protection regarding their exact location. However, as noted earlier. In LA, White/Mexican households are nearly as numerous as Black same race households and no such restrictions are placed upon the public revelation of their whereabouts.

Though there are other possible dependent measures of neighborhood attainment -- tract racial diversity, tract median home value, tract median household income, tract SES indices, etc. (e.g. Alba & Logan, 1993; Logan & Alba, 1993; Logan et al., 1996; White & Sassler, 2000) -- my purpose here was to understand how White/Mexican households attain residence in racially-typified urban terrain[9].

For the samples of White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households, I estimated a basic OLS[10] multivariate regression model that used 23 household-level characteristics to predict neighborhood residential attainment (Table 3.2). Additionally, for the sample White/Mexican family households with children, I also predicted residential attainment with an expanded model that included a more complete suite of measures for household racial, nativity, and ancestral characteristics[11] (Table 3.3).

Similar to individual-level locational attainment models typical to assimilation literature (Alba & Logan, 1993; Logan & Alba, 1993; Massy & Denton, 1992; Logan et al., 1996; Alba et al., 1999, 2000; Logan et al., 2002; White & Sassler, 2000), I used household-level human capital and socio-economic class characteristics (partner's education levels, combined income,

[9] I also evaluated tract diversity (measured with entropy calculations) and tract clustering of White/Mexican households as dependent variables but, for most samples of households, model fits statistics indicated that there was a poor relationship between these two measurements and quantifiable, census-collected household-level characteristics. Results of models of tract diversity and tract concentration rates for White/Mexican mixed-race households are available upon request to the author.

[10] Working under the assumption that all of these models share the potential for spatial auto-correlation based on the clustering of people within census tracts, I estimated robust standard errors for these OLS models. Thus all of Chapter 5's model fit statistics and parameter estimates represent conservative error estimates of the relationships between the independent variables and dependent variables.

[11] I also estimated an expanded model of residential attainment for White/Mexican households regardless of the presence of children. Results of this model are not shown in Chapter 5 but they are similar to the models that I do show for the White/Mexican family households with children. Results of these regressions are also available upon request.

English language use, mobility status), nativity characteristics (immigrant status of both partners), family structural characteristics (male's age, presence of children), and indicators of military service and school attendance to explain the residential location of these households. I provide general expectations regarding the relationships between these variables and household residential attainment in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 includes a more detailed discussion of model expectations as well as actual model results.

Households were included in the analysis only when both partners were 18 years or older and when they were located in tracts with at least ten housing units. These restrictions omitted non-adult households and household's located in relatively non-residential areas for which the census suppressed the reporting of household incomes. After these few restrictions, the sample for White/Mexican households consisted of nearly all White/Mexican households in the region. The sample of White/Mexican family households had 8,858 observations.

Because Los Angeles area White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households were far more numerous than White/Mexican households, random selection of observations from these two types of households ensured that all three of the larger samples had the same number of observations (15,474 each). These samples are thus matched for the purposes of comparing the predicative ability of 23 variable basic model specification across each of these three samples. Analyses in Chapter 5 compare predicted tract percent White, tract concentration rates for White same-race households, tract percent Mexican, and tract concentration rates for Mexican co-ethnic households across each of these matched models and samples of households. Findings presented in Chapter 5 are consistent with the idea that the internal heterogeneity of White/Mexican mixed-race households leads to residential settlement patterns that are distinct from those of similar

same-race and co-ethnic majority (White same-race households) *and* minority group households (Mexican co-ethnic households).

Table 3.1: 1990 and 2000 Race & Ethnicity Statistics for the LA CMSA

Racial & Ethnic Groups	1990 count	1990 % of total	2000 count	2000 % of total
Total Population	**14,531,529**		**16,373,645**	
White	9,388,957	64.6	9,028,873	55.1
Black or African American	1,229,809	8.5	1,245,039	7.6
American Indian and Alaska Native	87,487	0.6	142,083	0.9
Asian	1,339,048	9.2	1,701,740	10.4
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	---	---	46,674	0.3
Some other race	2,486,228	17.1	3,439,094	21
Two or more races	---	---	770,142	4.7
Latino (of any race)	4,779,118	32.9	6,598,488	40.3

Source: 1990 and 2000 Decennial Census

Table 3.2: Description of Independent Variables in Basic OLS Regression Models
* indicate dummy variables

Variable Name and Description of Indpendent Variables in Comparative Models		
Human Capital & SES	*household income*	cont. var., 1989 household income in ten-thousands
	household income squared	cont. var., 1989 household income in ten-thousands squared
	homeowner *	household owns or mortgages their home; ref. renters
	high school *	both partners have a high school degree; ref. both no high school degree
	some college *	both partners have some college; ref. both no high school degree
	bachelors degree *	both partners have a bachelors degree; ref. both no high school degree
	graduate degree *	both partners have a graduate degree; ref. both no high school degree
	one partner has > ed. Level *	one partner had a higher ed. level than the other partner; ref. both no high school degree
	English only in household *	English is only language spoken in the household; ref. other language spoken
	recent within CMSA movers *	household moved to current location from elsewhere in the CMSA after 1995; ref. housing tenure > 5 years
	recent long distance movers *	household moved to current location to the CMSA after 1995; ref. housing tenure > 5 years
Nativity Status	*one partner foreign-born* *	one partner is foreign-born; ref. both native
	both foreign-born *	both partners are foreign-born; ref. both native
Family Structure	*# people in household*	cont. var., number of people in household
	male partner's age	cont. var., the age of the male partner
	children present *	household has children: ref. no children in household
	married couple household *	couple in household is married; ref. couple are simply partners
	female in labor force *	female partner in the labor force
	females # work hours	cont. var., number of hours worked per week in 1989
Military Service & School Attend.	*one partner in school* *	one partner is in currently in school; ref. neither partner in school
	both in school *	both patners are currently in school; ref. neither patner in school
	one or both partners in active military *	one or both partners currently serve in the mitlitary; ref. neither partner active service
	one or both partners previously in military *	one of both partners were previously in the military; ref. neither partner has ever been in the military

Table 3.3: Additional Variables in Expanded Models for White/Mexican Family Households
* indicate dummy variables

Variable Name and Description in Expanded Models for White/Mexican Family Households	
*White male **	the White partner is male; ref. male is Mexican
*Mexcian-Black **	the Mexican partner reports "black" race; ref. Mexican reports "white" race
*Mexican-Asian **	the Mexcian partner reports "Asian or Pacific Islander" race; ref. Mexcian reports "white" race
*Mexcian-Nat. American Indian **	the Mexcian partner reports "American Indian, Eskimo, Aleutian Islander" race; ref. Mexcian reports "white" race
*Mexican-Other Race **	the Mexican partner reports "other race" race; ref. Mexican reports "white" race
*children, Mexican-white **	biological children in the WM household are reported as "white" and Mexican; ref. children's race are reported as "white" and not Latino
*children, Mexican-other race **	biological children in the WM household are reported as "other race" and Mexican; ref. children's race are reported as "white" and not Latino
*children, biological, all other races/ethnicities **	biological children in the WM household are reported as other combinations of non-Mexcian Lat. ancestry or black, Native American,or Asian race; ref. children's race are reported as "white" and not Latino
*children, not biological **	children in the household don't appear to be biological to both parents, indicated a blended household
*White partner, mixed ancestry **	the White partner claims that one or both parents ancestry comes from places outside of North America, Europe, the former USSR, Australia, and New Zealand; ref. ancestry inside North America
*Minority partner, mixed ancestry **	the minority partner claims that one or both parents ancestry comes from places inside of North America, Europe, the former USSR, Australia, and New Zealand; ref. ancestry outside North America
*Spanish spoken in the household **	Spanish is also spoken in the household; ref. Spanish not spoken.
*white partner, foreign-born **	the white partner is foreign-born; ref. both native
*mexican partner, foreign-born **	the Mexican partner is foreign-born; ref. both native
*Mexican immigrated in the 70's **	the Mexican partner immigrated in the 70's; ref. immigrated prior to 1970
*Mexican immigrated in the 80's **	the Mexican partner immigrated in the 80's; ref. immigrated prior to 1970
*Mex. Speaks poor English **	the Mexcian partner speaks English poorly or not at all; ref. English spoken very well or well

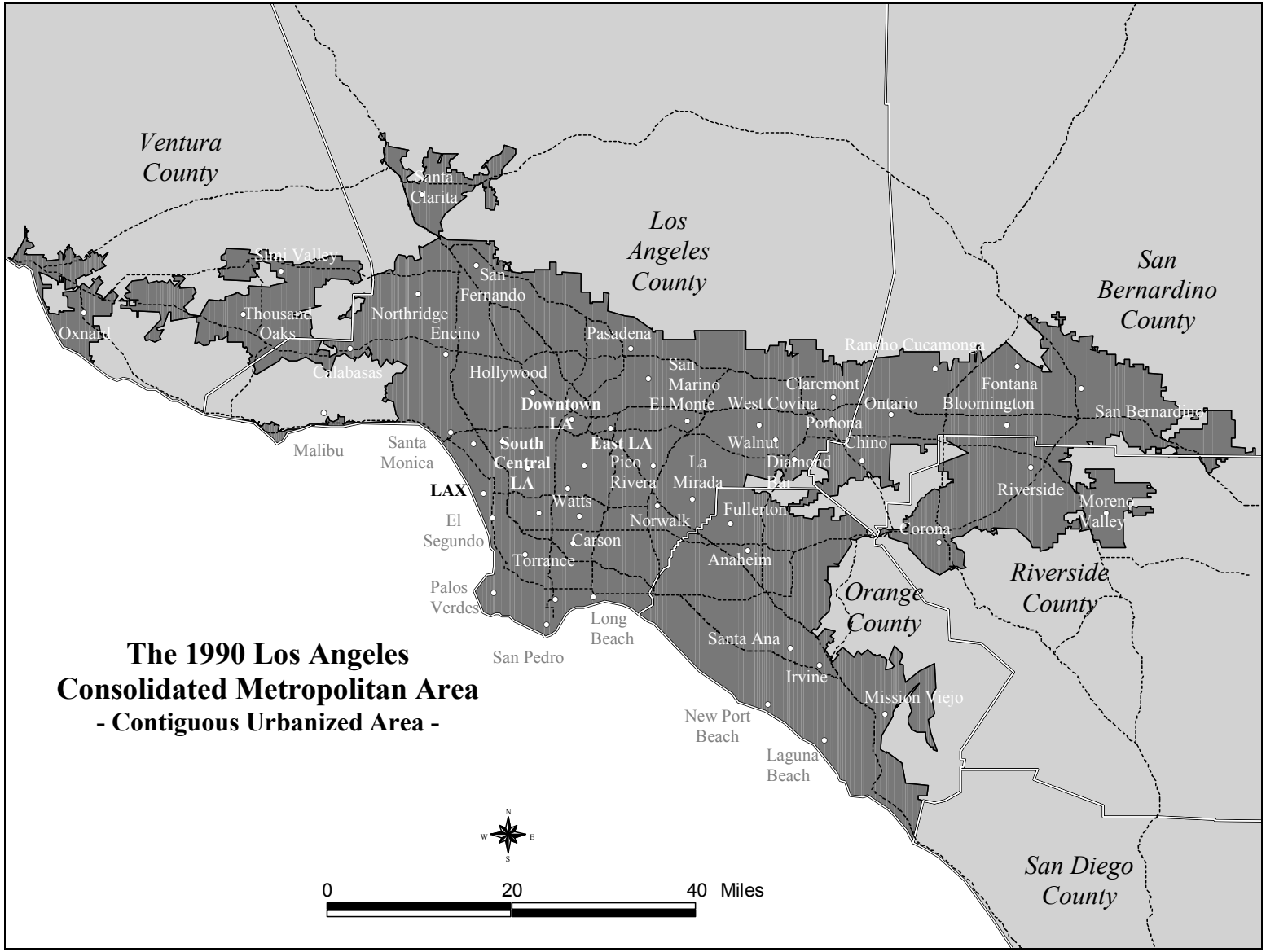


Figure 3.1: Study Area Map -- Selected Cities in the 1990 Los Angeles Consolidated Metropolitan Area

CHAPTER 4

PLACING HOUSEHOLD RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES: LOCATING WHITE/MEXICAN MIXED-RACE HOUSEHOLDS IN LOS ANGELES

In this chapter, I present tabular and cartographic results to address the project's four sets of research questions (see Chapter 1). What are the racial and ethnic characteristics of neighborhoods where White/Mexican mixed-race households typically reside and how do they compare with the neighborhoods where other types of White/Latino, White same-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households typically live? How do household-level socio-economic and demographic characteristics relate to variation in the racial and ethnic composition of typical neighborhoods for White/Mexican households? Where do White/Mexican households concentrate relative to places of concentration for White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households? And, finally, to what extent does residence in places of highest concentration reflect the racial/ethnic identification of the Mexican partner and children?

My general expectation (all expectations are developed more fully in Chapter 2) was that White/Mexican households *reside in* and have *residential patterns* of "in-between" space. Specifically, I expect that both their metropolitan residential distribution and neighborhood racial compositions are similar to yet distinct from both partners' constituent racial groups. I also expect that households with higher human capital and SES measures, better English fluency, native-born partners, and "white" Mexican partners and children will live in places with more Whites; those households with lower human capital and SES measures, foreign-born family members, poor English fluency and Spanish language retention, and "other race" Mexican partners and children will live in places with more Mexicans. And, furthermore, I expect that

households living in places of highest concentration for Mexican co-ethnic households more often have Mexican-identified partners and children with "other-race" racial classifications.

Findings presented in this chapter support these expectations and are consistent with the idea that multifaceted racial and ethnic ties and affiliations within White/Mexican mixed-race households are related to residential patterns that are distinctive from those of both White and Mexican same-race/co-ethnic households. In this chapter, I do *not* find that intermarriage results in residential geographies for White/Mexican households that are completely spatially assimilated with Whites. Instead, I offer evidence that Mexican racial and ethnic distinctiveness from Whites can linger in White/Mexican households after they form and that this distinctiveness is reflected in the residential geographies of these households.

In the next few sections, I describe specific findings regarding the racial and ethnic characteristics of typical neighborhoods for White/Mexican mixed-race households, the residential distribution patterns of White/Mexican households versus those of White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households, and the association of place and reported race in White/Mexican households. Before discussing findings in the categories above, however, I first document the frequency of White/Mexican mixed-race unions in Los Angeles (for Los Angeles is a mixed-race place like few others, see Holloway et al., 2003) and I characterize White/Mexican mixed-race households according to selected demographic and socio-economic characteristics (additional demographic comparisons between White/Mexican households and White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households appear in Chapter 5). Many of following demographic characteristics potentially impact residential location.

White/Mexican and Other Mixed-Race Households in Los Angeles

Analysis of sample data indicate that Los Angeles is an unusually mixed-race place. Nation-wide statistics reveal that 7% of all US households partner cross-racially and/or ethnically (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003a), but in Los Angeles, 1990 sample data indicate that mixed-race households accounted for nearly 12% of the Los Angeles area opposite-sex household population (Figure 4.1). White/Latino partnerships were 6.2% of the metropolitan total. Most of these White/Latino households were unions between Whites and Mexicans (see Table 4.1).

Of the sample of opposite-sex households in the Los Angeles CMSA, 15,533 (4.3%) were White/Mexican households (88% of these households were married households rather than partnered households). While 4.3% is a relatively small percentage of Los Angeles' total household unions, there were nearly as many of these households as there were Black same-race, opposite-sex households and almost half as many of these households as there were Asian same-race, opposite-sex households. The White/Mexican household was the region's most prevalent type of mixed-race household with over twice as many more couples than the second most prevalent type of mixed race household – White/Asian households. Other mixed-race partnerships were far less frequent and some were too infrequent to be reported.

These figures are not unsurprising on a superficial level given the metropolitan proportions of each of the six racial and ethnic groups (see Chapter 3, Table 3.1). There were indeed more Whites and Latinos in the Los Angeles area than any other two groups; therefore, it was structurally more probable that members of these two groups would partner more frequently than they would with members of other racial groups. In other words, these statistics do partially coincide with Blau's "marriage market" approach to understanding mixed-race partnerships

(Blau et al., 1982,1984). However, given this market approach, one would expect to find more White/Mexican partnerships in the Los Angeles region given the sizes of both the White and Mexican populations. Rosenfeld (2001) documents this discrepancy with odds ratios that controlled for group-size effects in the calculation of Mexican marriage rates in Los Angeles county. He found evidence for an emerging Latino pan-ethnicity in Los Angeles county as the odds for marrying a White person were less than what would be expected given the numbers of both Whites and Mexicans in the Los Angeles area. Controlling for the size of Mexican, Other Latino, and White populations, Rosenfeld determined the odds of a Mexican man marrying an "other Hispanic" woman was 1.55 and the odds of a Mexican woman marrying an "other Hispanic" man was 1.591. Conversely, the odds of a Mexican man marrying a White woman were 0.064 and the odds of a White man marrying a Mexican woman were 0.071 (Rosenfeld, 2001).

While social taboos and structural constraints against pan-ethnic partnerships were relaxing in 1990, social taboos against White/Mexican mixed-race unions were likely still relatively strong. These taboos were stronger still for other types of Los Angeles area partnerships. Given a market approach, one would expect to find more White/Black partnerships, or at least as many as one would find for White/Asian partnerships since there were approximately as many Asians as Blacks in the 1990 CMSA. This was not the case and White/Black partnerships only accounted for 0.6% of the total Los Angeles area opposite-sex household population.

The literature on racial mixing suggests that gender/race imbalances often characterize White mixed-race unions with minorities (*i.e.*, White women and men sometimes partner at uneven rates with members of different racial groups, *e.g.* Qian, 1997, 2002; Kalmijn, 1993).

However, findings from Los Angeles only indicate a slight tendency for this in White/Mexican mixed-race pairs. Fifty-three percent of all White/Mexican unions were White males coupled with Mexican females; forty-seven percent of all White/Mexican unions were Mexican males coupled with White Females (this same pattern generally holds true for other types of White/Latino pairings as well).

Gender imbalances were more definitive characteristics for Los Angeles' other White mixed-race unions. For instance, White/Asian partnerships most often consisted of White men with Asian women and White/Black partnerships most often consisted of White females with Black men. These findings are typical of other empirical literature regarding the propensity for those types of mixed-race partnerships to exhibit an imbalance of racial pairings by gender of partners.

Many White/Mexican partnerships were characterized by racial "difference within difference" (Luke & Luke, 1998). While a majority (63%) of the 15,533 White/Mexican unions in the sample involved a Mexican partner who reported a "white" racial classification, a substantial portion (35%) included a Mexican partner who reported his or her race as "other". Very few White/Mexican households involved Mexican partners whose reported race was black, Asian, or Native American (less than 2% all together).

It is impossible to tell with these data whether or not the reporting of a Mexican-white racial classification as opposed to a Mexican-"other race" racial classification indicated that the Mexican partner truly considered his or her racial classification to be comparable to his or her partner's non-Latino White racial classification. However, given the Los Angeles location of this analysis and its history as the birthplace of the 1960's "Brown Power" and Chicano movements (e.g. Delgado & Stefancic, 1998; Davis, 2000), a partner indicating that he or she

had Mexican Hispanic heritage might have been a racial indicator as much as an ethnic indicator – this may be especially true for those respondents native to Los Angeles.

A comparison of the rates of partnership by gender and race for Non-Latino Whites and Mexicans (Tables 4.2 and 4.3) further indicate that most households were ethnically *and* racially endogamous. Los Angeles area Whites, both male and female, were more often partnered with each other than not -- 91.30% of White males (Table 4.2) and 93.08% of White females (Table 4.3) partnered with a similarly-raced person. The tendency to partner with an ethnically and racially similar person held true for Mexican males and females as well, but a much greater percentage of each of these two groups mixed-race partnered with non-Latino Whites. 10.22% of Mexican men partnered cross-racially and ethnically with White women and 11.31% of Mexican females did the same with White men.

For those Mexicans who partnered co-ethnically (*i.e.*, with another Mexican), most shared a racial classification with their partner; thus racial endogamy characterized most co-ethnic Mexican unions as well. However, Mexicans whose reported race was "black", "Asian", or "Native American" frequently partnered co-ethnically across racial lines and to non-Latino partners with whom they shared similar racialized identifications. It is likely that the Los Angeles area marriage market offered these types of people too few similarly raced co-ethnics in order for many to have completely endogamous romantic partnerships. For this reason, it is not surprising that nearly of third of Native-American Mexicans (both male and female) partnered cross racially *and* cross ethnically.

US nativity also characterized most White/Mexican households. Nearly two-thirds (60%) of White/Mexican households were unions between two native-born partners. Approximately sixteen percent of White/Mexican households were unions involving a foreign-

born Latino and the rest were unions were with two foreign-born partners or a White foreign-born partner and native-born Mexican-American. These statistics belie the nativist notion that White/Latino partnerships are somehow about the immigrant Latino attaining citizenship into American society by marrying a White person.

White/Mexican households had household incomes that were much higher that those of co-ethnic Mexican couples yet still considerably lower than those of White same-race couples. Mexican co-ethnic households had average household incomes that were nearly $30,000 less than White same-race households; White/Mexican mixed-race household incomes were only about $10,000 less than those of White same-race households. White/Mexican households would have been much more likely than Mexican co-ethnic households to share residential space with Whites since "whiter" spaces are also more expensive spaces.

A little more than half of all White/Mexican households had children (57%), a little less than half of all White/Mexican households also spoke Spanish in the home (42%), and less than one fifth of all White/Mexican households (17%) moved to the Los Angeles area after 1985. Many White/Mexican households probably formed in Los Angeles but that is impossible to determine with these data. Additional demographic comparisons between White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households appear in Chapter 5 before discussions of residential attainment models.

Racial and Ethnic Characteristics of Typical White/Latino and White/Mexican Neighborhoods

I use dissimilarity and exposure indices to compare the residential distribution of White/Mexican households with those of other Los Angeles area racial and ethnic groups. I can measure the relative parity of residential geographies between groups with dissimilarity indices.

I use exposure indices to characterize the racial and ethnic composition of the White/Mexican household's typical neighborhood.

Dissimilarity index values (Table 4.4) indicate that White/Mexican households had residential dissimilarity patterns that were more similar to those of White same-race households than Mexican co-ethnic households. Dissimilarity values between the two sets of households and Blacks were very high; 71% for White same-race households and 68% for White/Mexican households respectively. Dissimilarity values between the two sets of households and Asians and Native Americans were also relatively similar.

Dissimilarity values between the two sets of households and Mexicans were not similar. Values between White/Mexican households and Mexicans were twelve percentage points lower than that between White same-race households and Mexicans. Essentially, though White/Mexican households had a residential distribution that was fairly disparate from Mexicans, their pattern of residence was not as dissimilar from Mexicans as White same-race households were from Mexicans. White/Mexican households also had dissimilarity values that were sixteen percentage points higher than White same-race households with respect to their residential dissimilarity from Whites. Mexican co-ethnic households had residential patterns that were very dissimilar from both Whites *and* Blacks. Mexican co-ethnic households, in fact, seemed not to share similar residential patterns with any other racial or ethnic group; for every group other than Mexicans, residential dissimilarity values were all over 56%.

Examination of residential exposure indices indicate that the racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods for White/Mexican households was distinctive from both that of White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households (Figures 4.2 to 4.5). White/Mexican households generally lived in neighborhoods marked by White and Mexican

racial mixing (Figure 4.2) – slightly over 82% of the White/Mexican household's neighbors were either White or Mexican. Generally, neighborhoods for White/Mexican households were places where they had a 59% chance of residential exposure to White neighbors, a 23% chance of exposure to Mexican neighbors, and a 9% chance of exposure to Latinos of other, non-Mexican national origins. White/Mexican households typically had very few Asian or Black neighbors (neighborhood exposure values to Native Americans and people that reported "Other Race" were extremely small and are excluded from the following figures).

The typical neighborhood racial composition of White/Mexican households was also distinctively different from that of several other types of White/Latino households. Household demographic characteristics affected these patterns. First, the nationality of the Latino in the White/Latino household pairing affected the typical neighborhood racial and ethnic composition of various types of White/Latino households (Figure 4.2). White/Salvadoran, White/Guatemalan, White/Mexican households were residentially exposed to Mexican and other Latinos more often than household partnerships between Whites and Puerto Ricans, European Hispanics, and Cubans – the later three types of households tended to live in places with more White neighbors and many fewer Mexican neighbors. White/Latino households that lived in places with more White neighbors were also the same White/Latino households where the Latino partner's national origin group has less social distance -- in terms of skin color, other racial phenotypes, and economic class status – from ethnically undifferentiated White America (see discussions in Delgado & Stefancic, 1998). Thus, this paper's empirical focus on the residential distributions of White/Mexican pairings is justifiable not only because they were nearly 70% of all White/Latino pairings in the region but also because their residential distribution was substantially different from other White/Latino households.

Comparisons of other exposure indices (Figure 4.2) indicate that White/Mexican households lived in neighborhoods with greater residential exposure to Mexicans than White same-race households and in neighborhoods with much greater exposure to Whites than Mexican co-ethnic households. Compared to White same-race households, the neighbors of White/Mexican households were more likely to be Mexican by about nine percentage-points. Compared to Mexican co-ethnic households, the neighbors of White/Mexican households were more likely to be White by 32 percentage-points. It is likely that the typical neighborhoods of White/Mexican households would have been urban "in-between spaces"; residential space where mixed-race households could be close to the residential concentration of both partner's racial groups but where neither group seemed to numerically dominate the neighborhood. Maps depicted later in this chapter very clearly illustrate this point.

Differences in this "in-between" pattern in the typical neighborhood racial and ethnic composition of White/Mexican households were associated with variation within White/Mexican households. Figure 4.3 presents the typical neighborhood racial composition for households subdivided by the reported race of the Mexican partner and the nativity status of both partners. Figure 4.4 presents the typical neighborhood racial composition for households subdivided by whether or not Spanish was spoken in the household, both partner's ancestral origin, and the reported race of children. Figure 4.5 depicts variation in the typical neighborhood racial and ethnic composition for households subdivided by measures of socio-economic status.

White/Mexican households tended to live in neighborhoods with greater residential exposure to Mexicans and other Latinos: when the Mexican partner racially identified as "other race"; when the Mexican partner or both partners were foreign-born; when Spanish was spoken in the household or when the Mexican partner was not fluent in English; when the White partner

reported ancestral origins from places *outside of* North America, Europe, the former USSR, Australia, and New Zealand (White/Mexican – White Mixed Ancestry); when children in the household were racially identified as Mexican - "other race" (as opposed to White only); and when they had low socio-economic status (low household incomes and low collective levels of educational attainment and when they were renters as opposed to homeowners). Not surprisingly, residential exposure to Whites increased: with increases in household level socio-economic attainment; with the use of English in the household; and when one Mexican partner was native-born or if both partners were native-born; and when the Mexican partner reported ancestral origins from places *inside of* North America, Europe, the former USSR, Australia, and New Zealand (White/Mexican – Mexican Mixed Ancestry).

The gender-paring of partners (not shown) appeared to have no relationship with differences in the residential exposure rates for White/Mexican households. Mexican-male/White female and White male/Mexican female households seemed to live in the same types of racially-defined places. This is not to say that such households are not markedly different. For instance, Lutz (2006) found that Latino females retain Spanish language abilities longer than do Latino males and that Spanish use in the house is more likely if the Latino partner is female (Lutz, 2006). Additionally, official reporting of children's racial and ethnic identities often follow patrilineal lines and, in situational interactions with other households and people, White/Mexican households with markers of Latino heritage, such as Latino sounding last names, would very likely be perceived differently from those without such significations of "otherness" (see Jimenez, 2004).

The Spatial Distribution of White/Mexican Households

In this next section, I situate White/Mexican households within larger patterns of metropolitan residential distributions by comparing maps of residential concentration for White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households. The next series of figures map household residential geographies within the contiguously urbanized portion of the 1990 Los Angeles CMSA (see study area map, Figure 4.6). These maps reveal intra-metropolitan areas (census tracts) where White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households disproportionately concentrate or where they have low concentration levels relative to their share of households in the metropolitan area (Figures 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 respectively). Tracts shaded in the lightest color of grey indicate places where each of these households have the lowest concentration levels – levels that are at least 0.5 times less than the metropolitan share of each household. Tracts shaded in the next lightest gray color are places were these households have concentration levels that are near their metropolitan share (*i.e.*, these are places where they have relatively average presence and concentration levels between 0.5 and 1.5 times their metropolitan share). Tracts shaded in darkest grey indicate places of moderate residential concentration, between 1.5 and 2.0 times their metropolitan share. Tracts shaded in black indicate places of highest residential concentration – places with household concentration levels that are greater than two times their metropolitan share.

In Figure 4.7 it is immediately obvious that White same-race households were most concentrated in the suburban and beach areas of the CMSA and that they are disproportionately absent from most of downtown Los Angeles and cities adjacent to it to the south. The places of least concentration are very likely places of "white flight" and avoidance of the both the housing conditions *and* the ethnic and racial groups that concentrate in South Central and East Los

Angeles – most people and households in these places are Black (South Central) and Mexican/Other Latino (East Los Angeles). See Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996 and Farely et al. 1978, among others, for a discussion of White racial preferences regarding neighbors and "white flight" from central cities.

In the *Ethnic Quilt: Population Diversity in Southern California*, geographers Allen and Turner (1997) mapped Los Angeles metropolitan area residential distributions for 1990 and found similar residential patterns for Whites. A map from their book (Figure 3.1, pg. 51) indicates that, after 1940, the City of Los Angeles saw massive population shifts by Whites away from the inner city towards suburbs on the city's fringe. Blacks were the only group on this map that showed any population shift toward central and downtown Los Angeles. Other maps from the *Ethnic Quilt* indicate that places with the least concentration of White same-race households on my map, Figure 4.7, were often also places where fewer than 4.2% of people reported their race as non-Latino White (Allen & Turner, 1997, pg. 53). These nearly "non-white" places also had the greatest percentages of people living in poverty, in crowded houses with more family members than average, and in densely packed neighborhoods with the oldest and most dilapidated housing stock. These same places also had the least percentages of owner-occupied housing and the highest percentages of multi-family housing. They also tended to be the places that had the smallest percentages of college graduates and the smallest percentages of white-collar professionals (Allen & Turner, 1997).

Though they were the most residentially dispersed group in this analysis, 13.6% of White same-race households in the Los Angeles area lived in the places of highest concentration on Figure 4.7. None of these places exhibited the above markers of economic disadvantage that characterized the hypersegregation of Blacks and Latinos (Massy & Denton, 1993). Only 9.5%

of tracts in this study were highly concentrated places for White same-race households (Table 4.5) and those few tracts were in the beach cities of Malibu, Palos Verdes, Long Beach, Newport Beach, and Laguna Beach; in the Westside and valley cities of Thousand Oaks, Pacific Palisades, and Encino near the Santa Monica mountains; in the cities that rim the San Gabriel mountains; and in the cities that extend into the interior of Orange County.

Figure 4.8 presents a dramatically different residential distribution for Mexican co-ethnic households. The level of concentration was exceedingly high for some tracts and Mexican co-ethnic households were more likely to live in such highly concentrated neighborhoods than White same-race households. One tract had nearly 10 times more Mexican-co ethnic households than one would expect given their metropolitan share. 57% of all Mexican co-ethnic households lived in residentially concentrated places with at least two times the metropolitan share and 18.9% (Table 4.5) of the tracts in the study housed these highly concentrated co-ethnic households. Unfortunately, many of these most concentrated places exhibit all the markers of economic disadvantage that places of White same-race household residential concentration lack (see maps in Allen & Turner, 1997). The places of highest concentration for Mexican co-ethnic households were located in East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights, South Los Angeles, Pico Rivera, El Monte, Santa Ana, Wilmington, San Pedro, Pomona, near Ontario, and San Fernando. These places of highest concentration were also in, or close to, the area's most commercial and industrial land uses (see Allen & Turner, 1997, p. 21) and they were places that have traditionally had the highest concentrations of newly arrived Mexican immigrants (Allen & Turner, 1997; Wright, Ellis, & Parks, 2003). Mexican immigrants were attracted to these places for manufacturing jobs and co-ethnic residential settlement. These highly concentrated areas of Mexican co-ethnic settlement have also been the cultural epicenters for the Los Angeles area

Mexican-origin population (Davis, 2000). And, finally, they were places where daily lives are lived bilingually, if not entirely in Spanish.

Interestingly, some of these places of highest concentration, particularly East Los Angeles, Boyle Heights, and EL Monte were also places that had high percentages of intermarried Non-Hispanic Whites (Allen & Turner, 1997). In East Los Angeles, for instance, over 18.1% of Whites were intermarried in 1990 (Allen & Turner, 1997, Figure 9.18, p. 242) and it is highly probable that these people were intermarried with Mexicans (though Allen and Turner do not specifically report the exact type of intermarried partnership). The few non-Latino Whites that lived in these areas were probably living in households with Latinos. Using spatial units much larger than neighborhoods, they also mapped percent of Mexican-origin intermarried persons (Allen & Turner, 1997, Figure 9.20, p. 242) and found that their highest percentages were near Torrance and Topanga in the Santa Monica hills north of the City of Santa Monica (an area not shown on my figures because it is not included in the urbanized area, see Chapter 3). It is also likely that the few Mexicans living in these places were probably living in households with non-Latino Whites. Allen and Turner's maps are one of the very few instances of the mapping of intermarriage and, though innovative, they suffer because of the large areal extent of PUMA boundaries, because they do not reveal the exact intermarried dyad (White-Mexican marriages, for instance, versus general out-marriages by group), and because they do not consider cross-racial or cross-ethnic household *partnerships* as well as marriages.

The data I use for this analysis have no such limitations and Figure 4.9 shows the census tracts where White/Mexican mixed-race married and partnered households concentrated in 1990. Most notably, White/Mexican households did not concentrate in the historic Mexican areas of East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights. They also did not concentrate in the places of highest

concentration for White same-race households. Nearly 25% of White/Mexican households in the sample lived in places shaded in black on the larger map on Figure 4.9. These are places where White/Mexican household presence was at least twice that of the overall metropolitan share. This map clearly shows that White/Mexican households were more residentially dispersed than Mexican co-ethnic households and less residentially dispersed than White same-race households. The highest location quotient value for White/Mexican households was 4.03 and 10.7% (Table 4.5) of urbanized tracts were places of highest concentration for White/Mexican households.

Comparison of these metropolitan-scale distribution patterns indicates that White/Mexican households concentrated much farther inland than most White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households (see inset maps on Figure 4.9). Though there were a few places of highest concentration to the north and northwest of Los Angeles in Ventura and Santa Clarita, most places of White/Mexican household concentration were in Los Angeles County. In Los Angeles county, they generally had the highest concentrations in urbanized tracts slightly south and east of Los Angeles proper – places like Pico Rivera, Norwalk, La Mirada, Walnut, West Covina, Diamond Bar, and Claremont. In San Bernardino county, they highest concentrations in neighborhoods near Chino Hills, Bloomington, Rancho Cucamonga, and Fontana. In Riverside County, they were highly concentrated in Corona, Riverside, and Moreno Valley. And, though high tract concentrations were much fewer in Orange county, a few were located near Irvine, Fullerton, Anaheim, and Mission Viejo.

In order to see more clearly the spatial relationships between neighborhoods of high mixed-race household concentration and other racially-marked neighborhoods, I created two overlay maps (Figures 4.10 and 4.11). Highly concentrated tracts for White/Mexican households were not typically classed as such for White same-race or Mexican co-ethnic households.

White/Mexican households shared only 44 areas of highest concentration (or 1.8% of all tracts in this analysis, Table 4.5) with Mexican co-ethnic households and only 22 similar areas (0.9% of all tracts, Table 4.5) with White same-race households. Yet, comparison of places of highest concentration of White/Mexican households versus those of Mexican co-ethnic households (see Figure 4.10, map grey shades indicate places of moderate and high concentration for Mexican co-ethnic households, *i.e.*, the top two categories from Figure 4.8), reveals that White/Mexican households appeared to concentrate in tracts that were *adjacent* to or very near centers of highly concentrated Mexican settlement. This tendency is not apparent in their distribution versus that of White same-race households (Figure 4.11). The most highly concentrated areas for White same-race households tended to be in beach communities or suburban cities far away from the region's central cities. The overall distribution of White/Mexican households suggests that they lived in places of White and Mexican residential diversity away from the limitations of poor housing stock, poverty, and crime associated with the most highly concentrated Mexican areas. Yet they also lived closer to the region's city centers and in places that had relatively easy access to Mexican cultural resources.

Neighborhoods and the Reporting of Race in Mixed-Race Households

As I argued in earlier chapters, residence in minority-racialized places might be associated with White/Mexican households whose internal racial identifications are the most different from non-Latino Whites. These places might either have been considered psychologically safer places for "browner" families (*i.e.*, families whose partners and children are racially identified as "other race", the closest approximation to "mestizo" identity on the census questionnaire, see Twine, 1999) or these might be places where local housing markets have "steered" (Yinger, 1995, 1999) or worked to segregate these "browner" households (see

arguments in Chapters 2 and 6). These data and maps provide some quantitative evidence for these assertions because differences in the racial identification of family members in White/Mexican households (see Figures 4.12 and 4.13) were associated with residential location in racially-typified places (places with highest concentration rates for specific household types). Specifically, Mexican partners in White/Mexican households living in places of highest White same-race household concentration, more often reported a "white" racial identity rather than an "other-race" racial identity (76% reported "white" vs. 22% that reported "other race). Reporting of "other-race" occurred much more frequently for White/Mexican households living in places of highest White/Mexican household concentration and highest Mexican co-ethnic household concentration – 37% and 39%, respectively, of Mexican partners in these places reported an "other race" racial identity.

This trend was even more apparent for the reporting of race for children in White/Mexican households. Thirty-one percent of family households living in places of highest White same-race household concentration reported their children's racial identity to be non-Latino white; 60% of families in those places reported their children as having a "white" racial identity *and* Mexican ethnic heritage; and only 6% of White/Mexican households in those same places reported their children as "other race" *and* Mexican. The situation was distinctly different for White/Mexican households that lived in places of highly concentrated Mexican co-ethnic households -- only 22% of White/Mexican households in those areas reported their children as having a non-Latino white racial identity, 54% reported their children as being Mexican-white, and 19% reported their children as Mexican-other race.

It is difficult to determine whether or not household tenure in racially-typified places affected the reporting of racial characteristics because neighborhood locations probably both

reflected apriori household racial identities and affected subsequent reporting of racial identity. However, work by Holloway et al. (forthcoming), suggests that parental reporting of racial identification in children is sensitive to household residential location. They found that mixed-race households were more likely to report young children's racial identifications as similar to that of the minority partner when they lived in places with more neighbors whose reported race was similar to that of the minority partner (versus similar households living in places with more White neighbors). Teasing out the endogenity of racial identifications and place will take detailed qualitative studies that ask questions of changes in racial identity as they may or may not correspond to changes in place. I can only hint at the these relationships here.

Chapter Conclusions

In my literature review, I presented an interpretation of White/Mexican and other White/Latino households as racialized unions capable of complex and paradoxical racial ties and affiliations. I also described these households and their residential choices as being subject to US processes of racial stratification and urban segregation. This chapter revealed empirical support for both these arguments. I find that within the sample of White/Mexican households household-level characteristics are associated with residential locations in differently racialized types of neighborhood spaces – this is especially true with regard to "race", ancestry, and nativity within the White/Mexican household. Outsiders are most likely to visibly identify and racialize White/Mexican households as other, or "foreign" (see Golash-Bosa, 2006) when they have non-native partners and where partners and children are reported as Mexican-"other race." These two types of households do tend to share more residential space with Mexicans when compared to other types of White/Mexican households. They also tend to be somewhat less

frequent types of White/Mexican household pairings, a further indicator of the degree of difference between members of these households and native-born Whites.

The results that I present in this chapter collectively suggest that most White/Mexican households, even those most likely to be discriminated against due to racially-typified phenotypes, live in paradoxical urban space. This paradoxical space is "in-between" space not fully racialized as White or Mexican. It is space locationally (and compositionally) in-between predominantly White beach towns and suburbs and the historically Mexican concentrations of East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights.

In the multiethnic metropolis of Los Angeles, White/Mexican and other White/Latino unions do not always display a loss of ethnic distinctiveness that would be related to residential location in White-dominated urban space. Far more so than Mexican co-ethnic households, White/Mexican mixed-race households tend to share residential areas with Whites. This is further indicative of the cumulative nature of the "double-minority" status of the Mexican co-ethnic households. However, in comparison to White same-race households, White/Mexican households are much more likely to have Mexican neighbors. Even if many White/Mexican households do not share residences in the same residential clusters as Mexicans (unlike most Los Angeles area Mexican residents who are overwhelmingly located in highly concentrated Mexican areas), they do tend to residentially concentrate in places to the east of Los Angeles city and near these clusters of Mexican settlement.

Places of highest White/Mexican household concentration are places that are also within easy driving distance of predominantly Mexican communities. Thus, they could be sites for the practice and everyday renewal (*e.g.* Twine, 1996; Renn, 2000, 2003; Nelson, 1999; Butler, 1993) of Latino identity through both local/residential interactions with other Latinos and frequent

visits to nearby historic centers of Mexican settlement. White/Mexican residential concentrations are in places with comparatively better housing and fewer social ills (*i.e.*, poverty and crime) than some Mexican barrios, but they are also near the still viable commercial and cultural districts of concentrated Mexican settlement. In those nearby places, White/Mexican households could conduct commercial transactions bilingually if not completely in Spanish; celebrate Mexican heritage during both American and Mexican national holidays; and witness contemporary Latino music and art. They could practice and renew "Latinidad" (Flores, 1991) in those places.

Residential locations in places in or near spaces of Mexican concentration are also locations that are associated with the reporting and, possibly, the perpetuation of "other race" racial identities within White/Mexican mixed-race households. Co-residents in these spaces might be politically very aware of their racialized status and, locally, essentialist racial projects (Omi & Winant, 1994) might encourage people in mixed-race households to retain and assert "other race" racial identities – where "other race" in this case is the closest approximation to the Mexican mestizo identity.

Psychologically, these spaces may be safer places for "browner" families. Unfortunately, to the extent that these concentrations are near centers of highly segregated Mexican co-ethnic settlement and to the extent that sometimes the two households groups share residential concentrations, some of these White/Mexican concentrations might also be the material expression of prejudicial and discriminatory housing market forces that spatially constrain White/Mexican households with phenotypes that are more typically mestizo or with last names that are more typically Latino and thus more foreign sounding (e.g., Golash-Boza, 2006; Massey & Denton, 1992; 1993).

By combining these findings about the relationships between White/Mexican household variation and subsequent White/Mexican residential exposures to other racial and ethnic groups, one can speculate that a White/Mexican household would most likely live in places where there are more White neighbors than Mexican or other Latino neighbors when household members are measurably more acculturated to American linguistic norms (*i.e.*, where the household uses English only). They might also live in such "whiter" places when the household has more collective, nation-specific human capital, and where the household economic status is on par or greater than that for White same-race households (*i.e.*, where household members are native-born, where householders own property, have higher education-levels, and earn moderate or high incomes). White/Mexican households that do not share these characteristics would most likely live in places with greater residential exposures to Latinos.

Whether or not White/Mexican households with the same characteristics (socio-economic and demographic) as White same-race households or Mexican co-ethnic households actually do live in places with racial compositions similar to those of either of the other two same-race/co-ethnic households is another matter. I examine this issue in Chapter 5. It is possible that despite household characteristics that are otherwise similar to White same-race or Mexican co-ethnic households, being "mixed-race" still marks some of these White/Mexican households and they might not have residential locations in places with similar racial composition as the other two household types. Specifically, the racialized minority identities within White/Mexican mixed-race households might constrain household location to places with fewer Whites at the same time as they impact household racial preferences for places with more Mexicans or to places that are nearby centers of Mexican concentration. In either case, predictions of residential attainment are shown in Chapter 5 and indicate that WM households do not live in neighborhoods with as great

a percentage of Whites or a concentration of Whites as do comparable White same-race households nor do they live in places with as high a percentage of Mexicans or concentration of Mexicans as do comparable Mexican co-ethnic households.

Table 4.1: Sample Counts & Percentages of Opposite-Sex Households by Race & Ethnicity of Partners. Percentages in parentheses.
** Indicates cell counts suppressed by the Census Bureau Disclosure Review Board.

Racial & Ethnic Group Sample Counts	Non-Latino, White	Non-Latino, Black	Non-Latino, Asian	Non-Latino, Native American	Non-Latino, Other Race	Mexican	Non-Mex. Latino
Non-Latino, White	198,898 (55.1)						
Non-Latino, Black	2,060 (0.6)	15,858 (4.4)					
Non-Latino, Asian	7,153 (2.0)	407 (0.1)	28,856 (8.0)				
Non-Latino, Native American	2,033 (0.6)	**	**	277 (0.1)			
Non-Latino, Other Race	151 (0.0)	**	**	**	261 (0.1)		
Mexican	**15,533 (4.3)**	585 (0.2)	942 (0.3)	396 (0.1)	185 (0.1)	60,569 (16.8)	
Non-Mexican Latino	6,821 (1.9)	436 (0.1)	481 (0.1)	**	82 (0.0)	5,477 (1.5)	13,307 (3.7)

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 confidential long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 4.2 Opposite-Sex Partnerships by Race & Ethnicity & Gender, Columns Represent Percentages of Males (of the Indicated Racial & Ethnic Categories) Partnered to Females (column totals equal 100%)
** Indicates cell counts suppressed by the Census Bureau Disclosure Review Board.

Female Partner's Race & Ethnicity	Non-Latino, White Males	Mexican-Males					
		Mexican (any race)	*White*	*Black*	*Asian*	*Native American*	*Other Race*
non-Latino White	91.30	***10.22***	13.14	2.93	13.71	31.55	7.48
non-Latino Black	0.28	***0.21***	0.13	12.45	0.33	0.25	0.20
non-Latino Asian	2.33	***0.64***	0.53	**	14.05	1.78	0.62
non-Latino Native American	0.46	***0.31***	0.24	0.37	0.67	6.11	0.31
non-Latino 0ther race	0.04	***0.14***	0.03	0.37	**	**	0.24
Mexican-White	2.50	***37.94***	80.63	6.96	8.70	12.47	1.53
Mexican-Back	0.00	***0.28***	0.03	67.03	**	**	0.03
Mexican-Asian	0.02	***0.28***	0.05	0.37	46.82	0.25	0.12
Mexican-Native American	0.04	***0.28***	0.07	**	0.67	29.26	0.16
Mexican-Other Race	1.21	***45.67***	1.39	3.66	8.36	14.25	85.10
All Other	1.83	***4.02***	3.75	5.86	6.69	3.82	4.22

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 confidential long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 4.3 Opposite-Sex Partnerships by Race & Ethnicity & Gender, Columns Represent Percentages of Females (of the Indicated Racial & Ethnic Categories) Partnered to Males (column totals equal 100%)
** Indicate cell counts suppressed by the Census Bureau Disclosure Review Board.

Male Partner's Race & Ethnicity	Non-Latino, White Females	Mexican Females					
		Mexican (any race)	*White*	*Black*	*Asian*	*Native American*	*Other Race*
non-Latino White	93.08	***11.31***	15.93	1.03	12.96	27.11	7.02
non-Latino Black	0.68	***0.59***	0.35	24.83	0.93	0.60	0.63
non-Latino Asian	0.97	***0.67***	0.54	0.69	18.83	1.20	0.62
non-Latino Native American	0.48	***0.24***	0.20	**	0.31	6.63	0.22
non-Latino 0ther race	0.03	***0.12***	0.03	**	**	**	0.20
Mexican-White	2.02	***37.28***	77.66	3.45	5.25	6.93	1.22
Mexican-Back	0.00	***0.29***	0.06	63.10	**	**	0.03
Mexican-Asian	0.02	***0.27***	0.08	0.00	43.21	0.60	0.07
Mexican-Native American	0.06	***0.31***	0.14	0.34	0.31	34.64	0.15
Mexican-Other Race	1.33	***45.35***	1.70	3.45	13.58	18.37	86.04
All Other	1.33	***3.57***	3.31	3.10	4.32	3.92	3.81

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 confidential long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 4.4: Dissimilarity Indices of Residential Distributions for White Same-Race, White/Mexican Mixed-Race, and Mexican Co-Ethnic Households

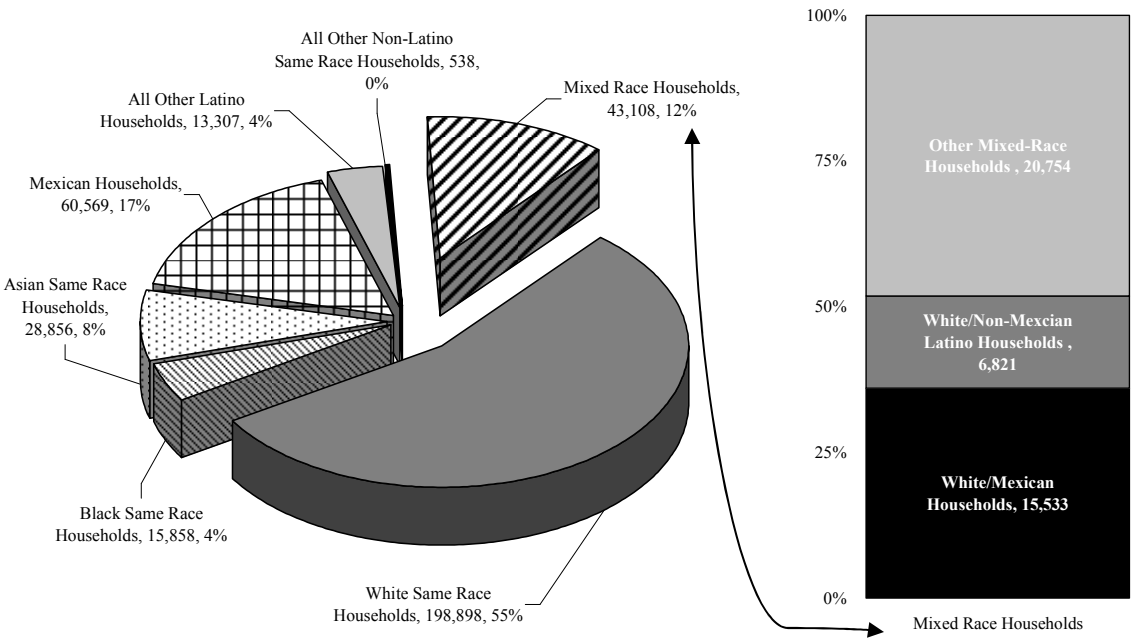
Dissimilarity From:	Non-Latino Whites	Non-Latino Blacks	Non-Latino Asians	Non-Latino Native Americans	Non-Latino Other Races	Mexicans - any race
White same-race	10.9%	71.3%	48.3%	42.5%	65.8%	62.3%
White/Mexican	26.9%	67.5%	46.0%	39.2%	61.1%	49.7%
Mexican co-ethnic	62.6%	62.7%	57.2%	56.3%	56.9%	10.6%

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 confidential long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 4.5: Number and Percent of Places of High Concentration

Household Groups	# of Tracts	% of Tracts
White Households	227	9.5%
White/Mexican Households	257	10.7%
Mexican Co-ethnic Households	455	18.9%
White same-race households & Mexcian Co-ethnic Households	9	0.4%
White same-race households & White/Mexican Mixed-Race Households	22	0.9%
White/Mexican Mixed-Race Households & Mexican Co-Ethnic Households	44	1.8%
All Three Households Together	9	0.4%

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 confidential long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).



Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 confidential long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Figure 4.1: Sample Counts & Percentages of Opposite Sex Households by Race & Ethnicity of Partners

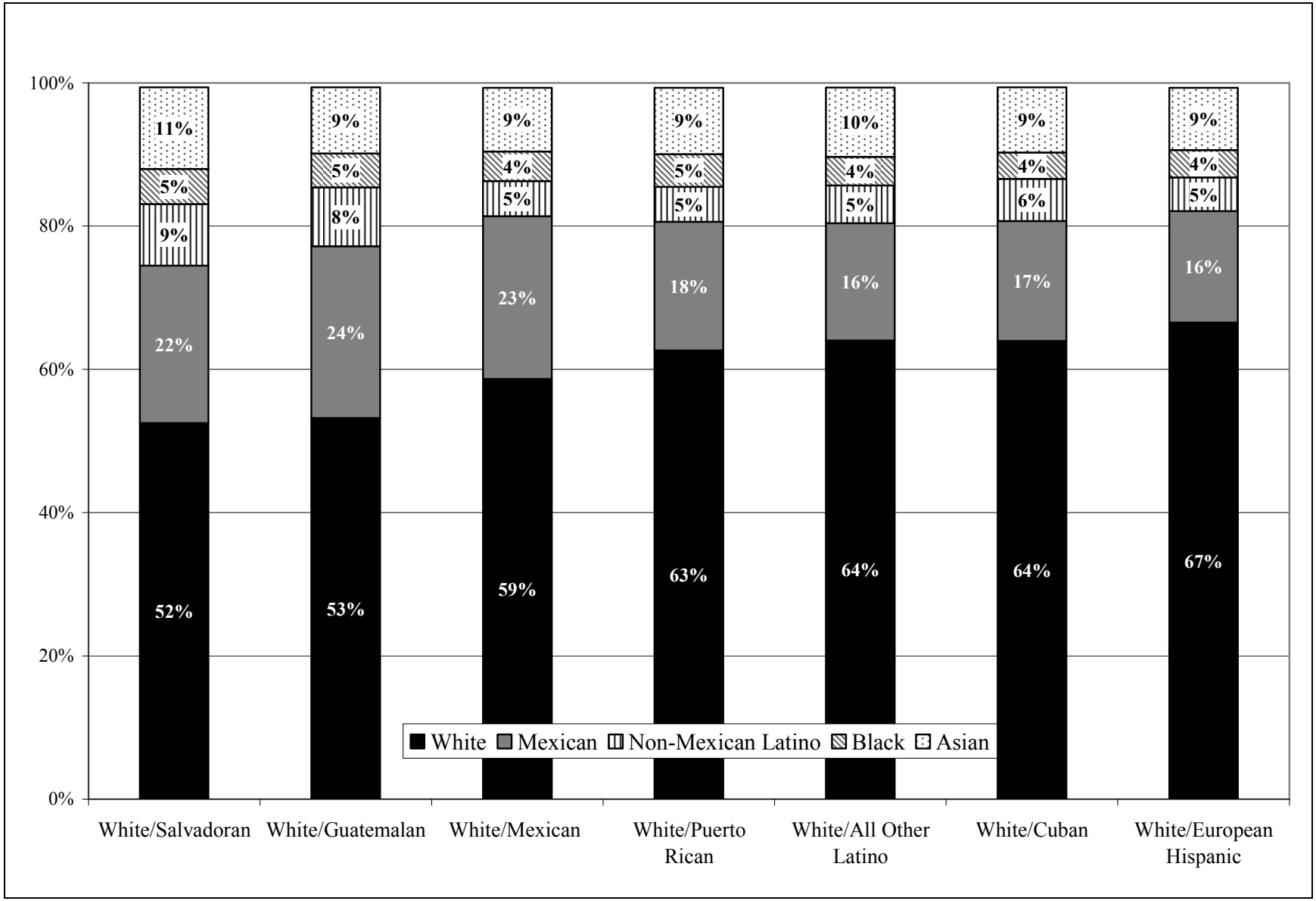


Figure 4.2: The Racial & Ethnic Composition of Typical Neighborhoods for Various White/Latino Household Pairings

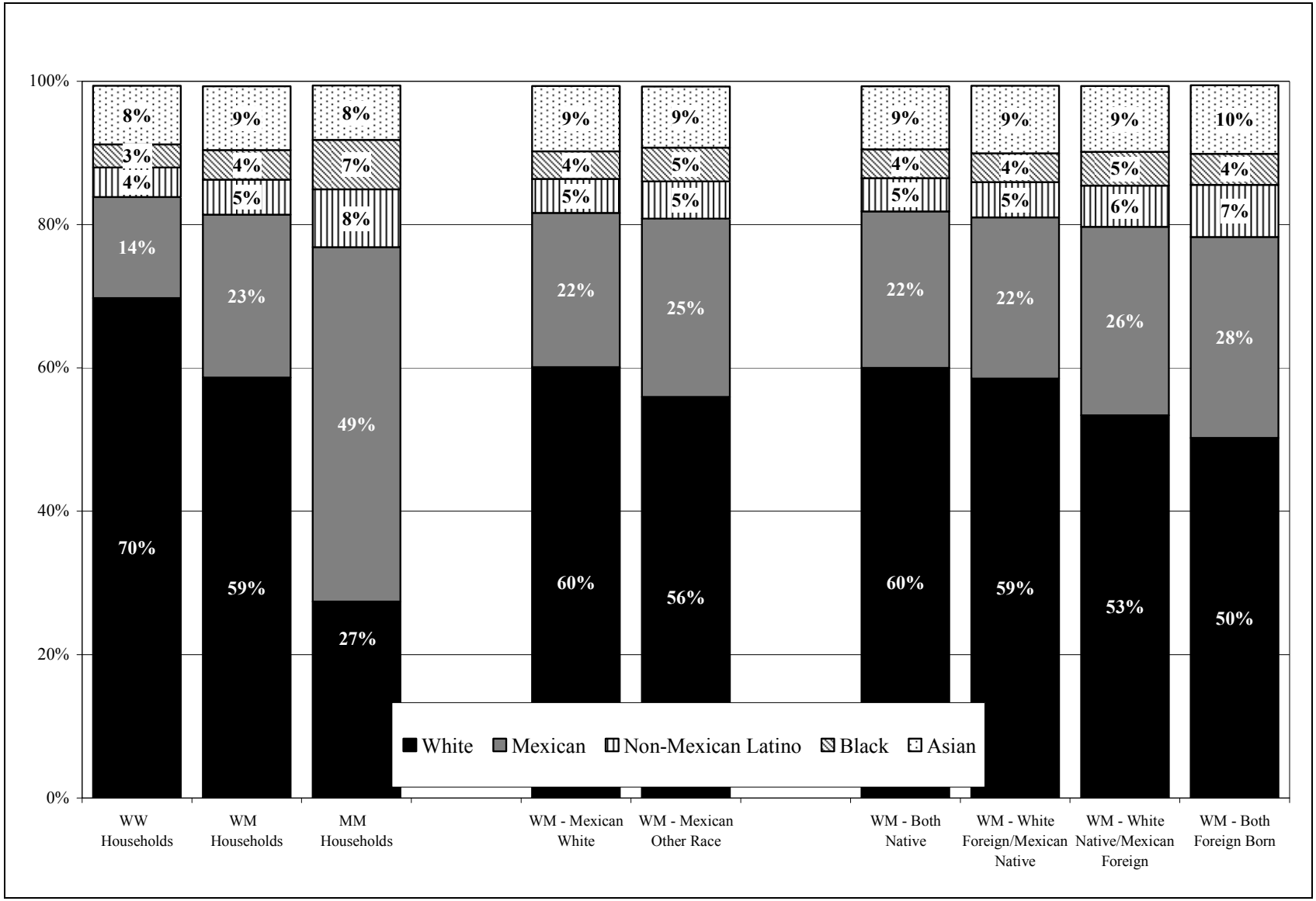


Figure 4.3: The Racial & Ethnic Composition of Typical Neighborhoods for White same-race, White/Mexican, and Mexican Co-ethnic Households by Partners' Racial and Nativity Characteristics

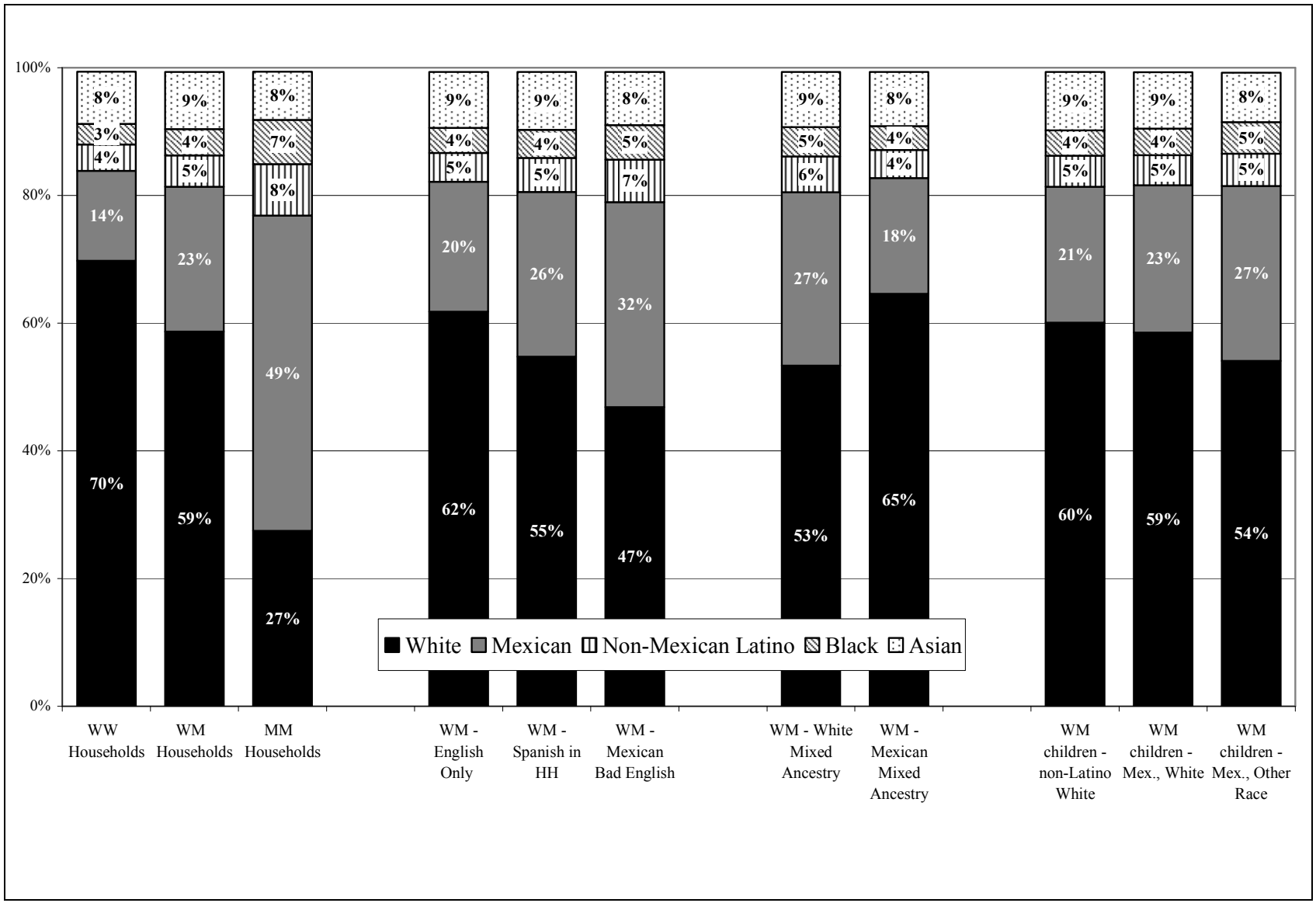


Figure 4.4: The Racial & Ethnic Composition of Typical Neighborhoods for White/Mexican Households by Selected Characteristics of White/Mexican Partners' Language, Ancestry, and Reported Race of Children

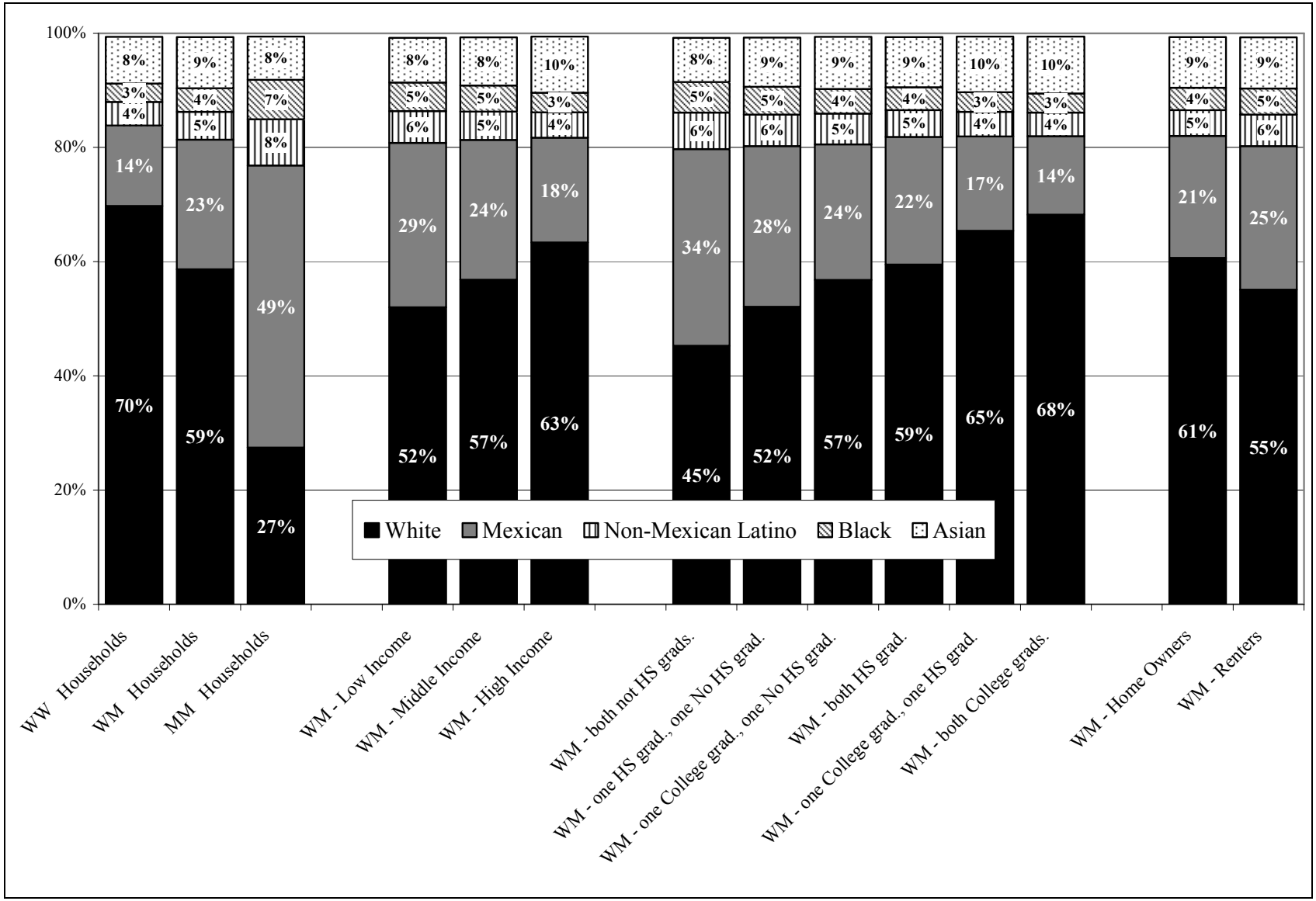


Figure 4.5: The Racial & Ethnic Composition of Typical Neighborhoods for White/Mexican Households by Selected Characteristics of White/Mexican Households' Income Levels, Education Levels, and Home Ownership Status

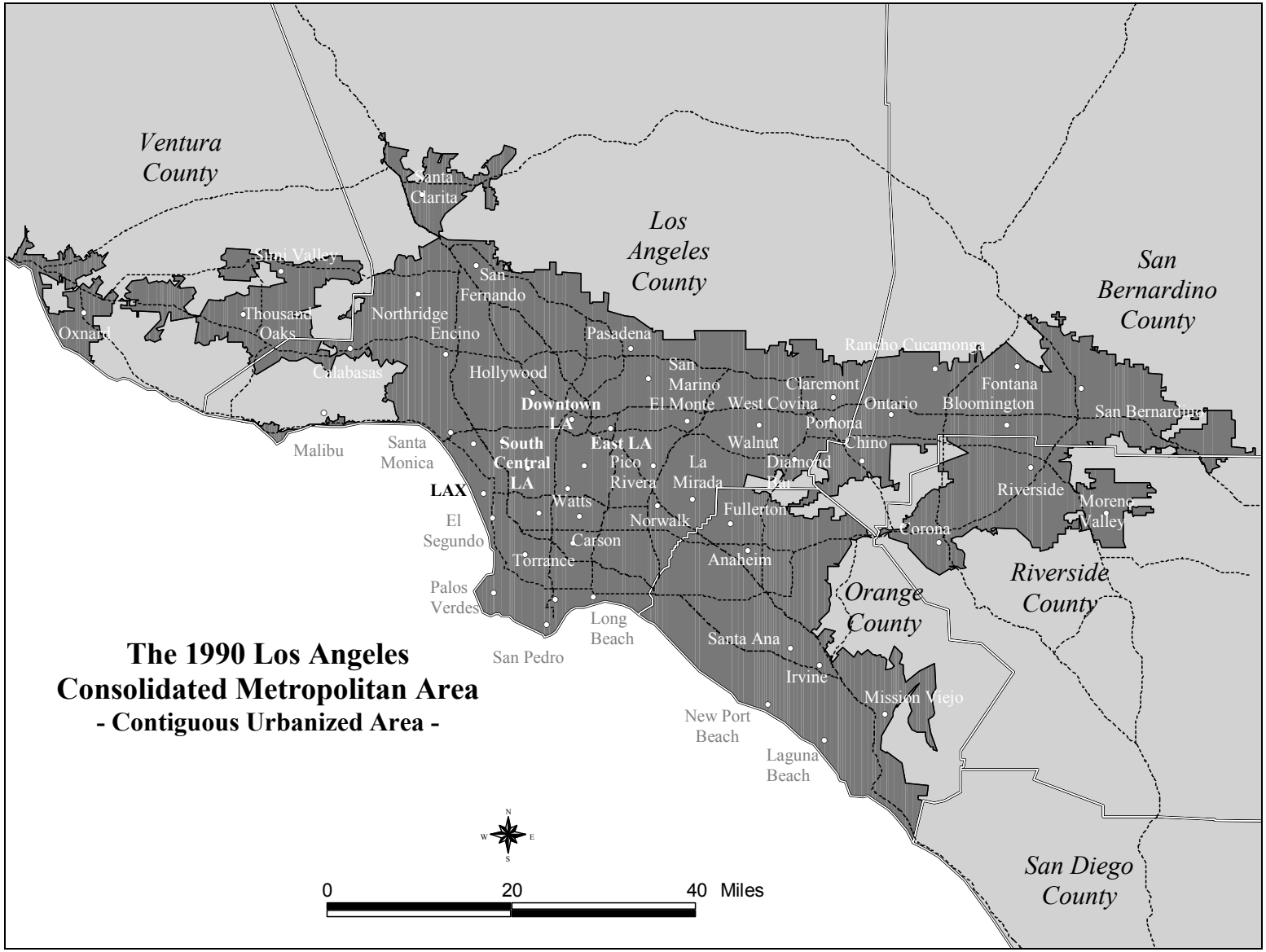


Figure: 4.6 Study Area Map -- Selected Cities in the 1990 Los Angeles Consolidated Metropolitan Area

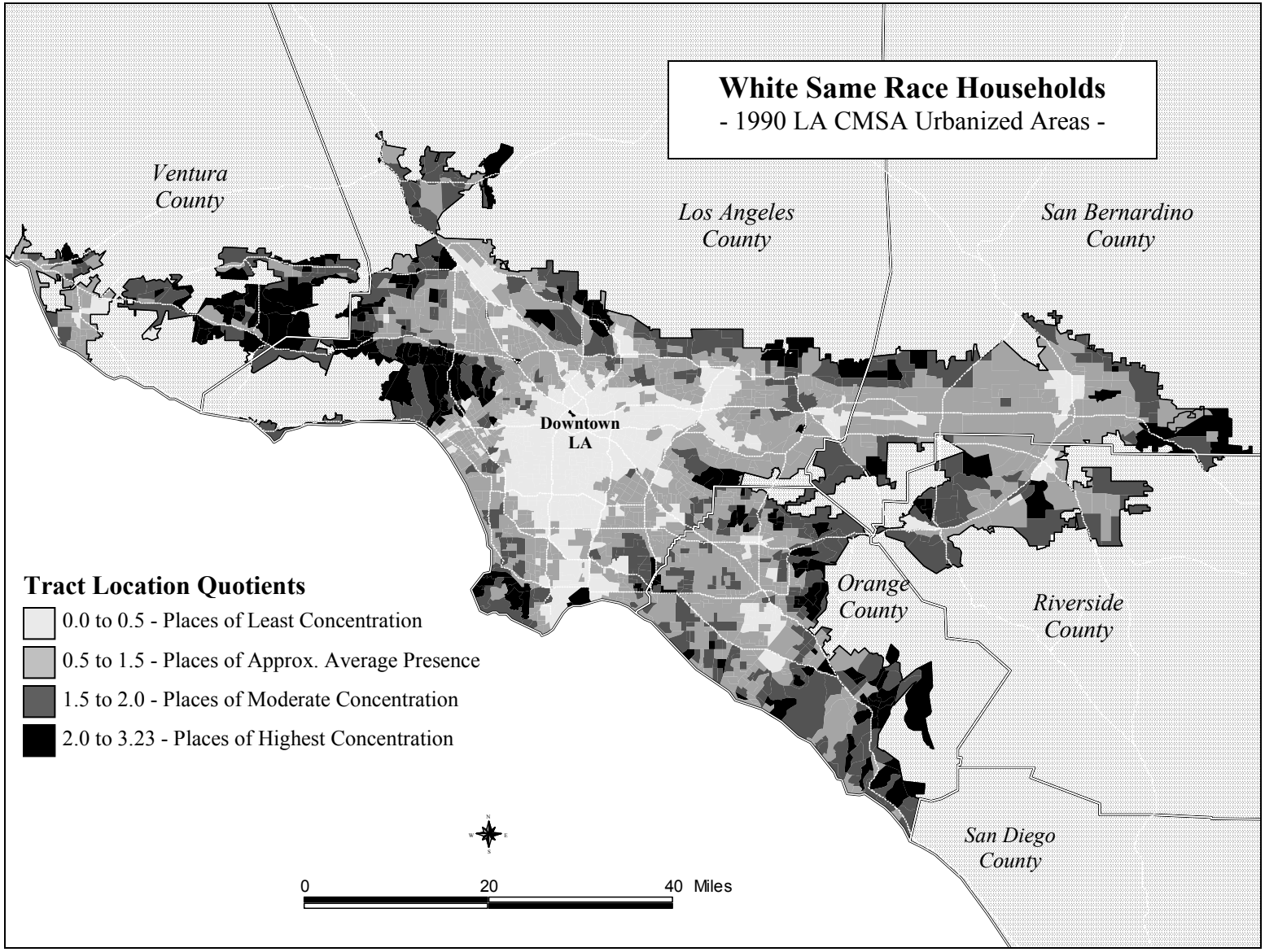


Figure 4.7: 1990 Places of Residential Concentration White Same-Race, Opposite Sex Households

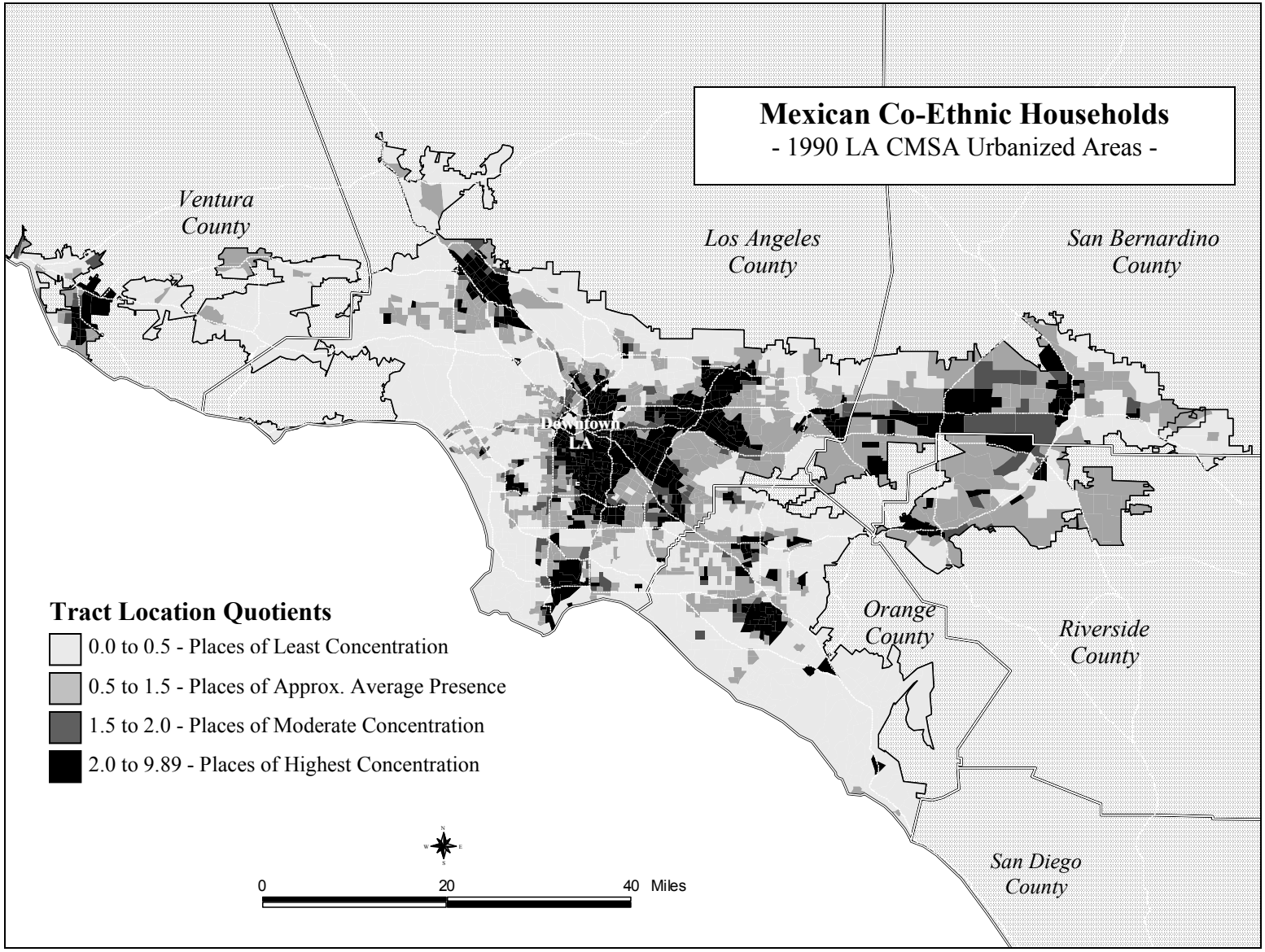


Figure 4.8: 1990 Places of Residential Concentration for Mexican Co-Ethnic, Opposite Sex Households

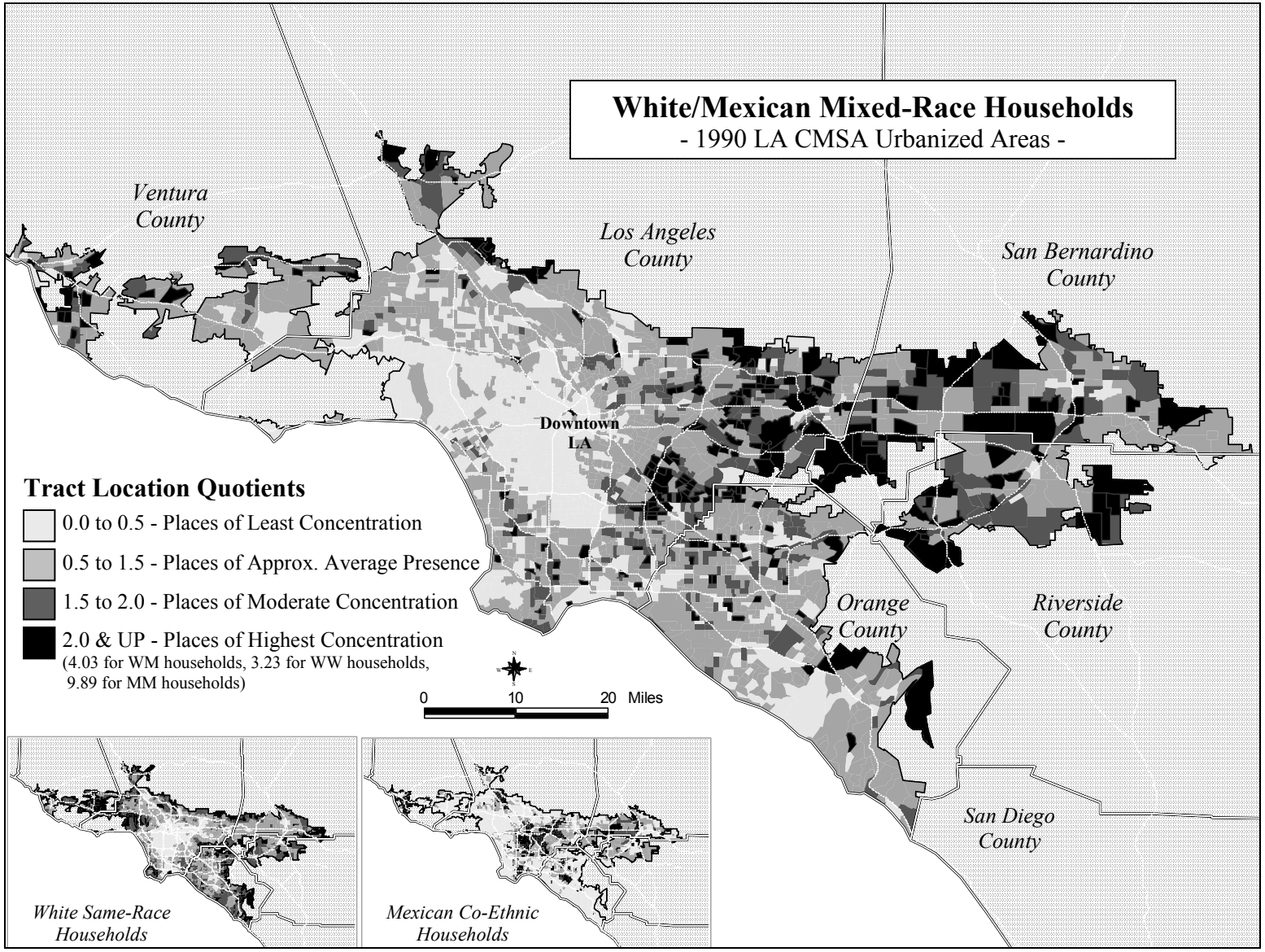


Figure 4.9: 1990 Places of Residential Concentration for White/Mexican Mixed-Race, Opposite Sex Households

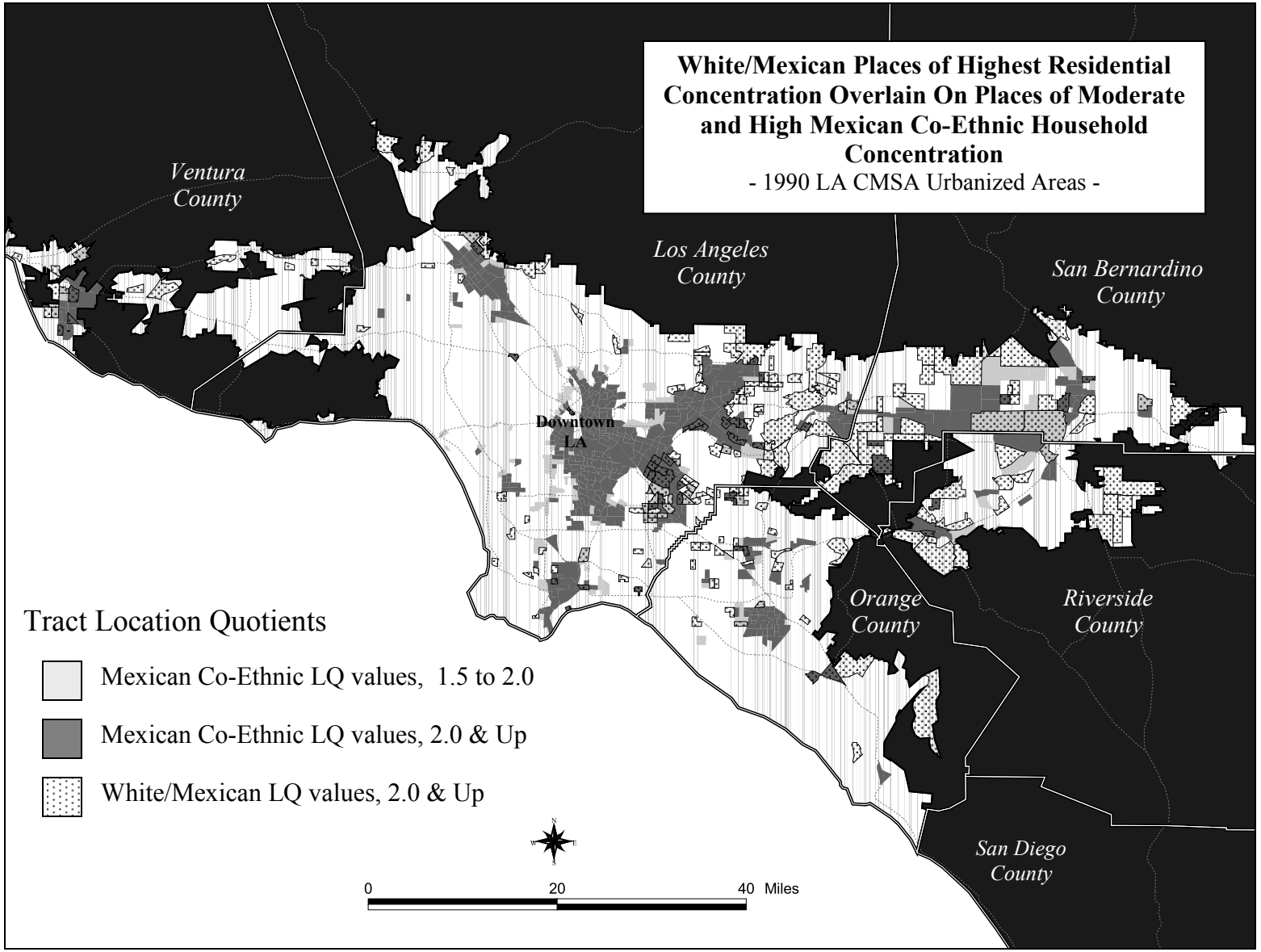


Figure 4.10: Places of Highest White/Mexican Residential Concentration Compared To Those of Places of Moderate and Highest Concentration for Mexican Co-Ethnic Households

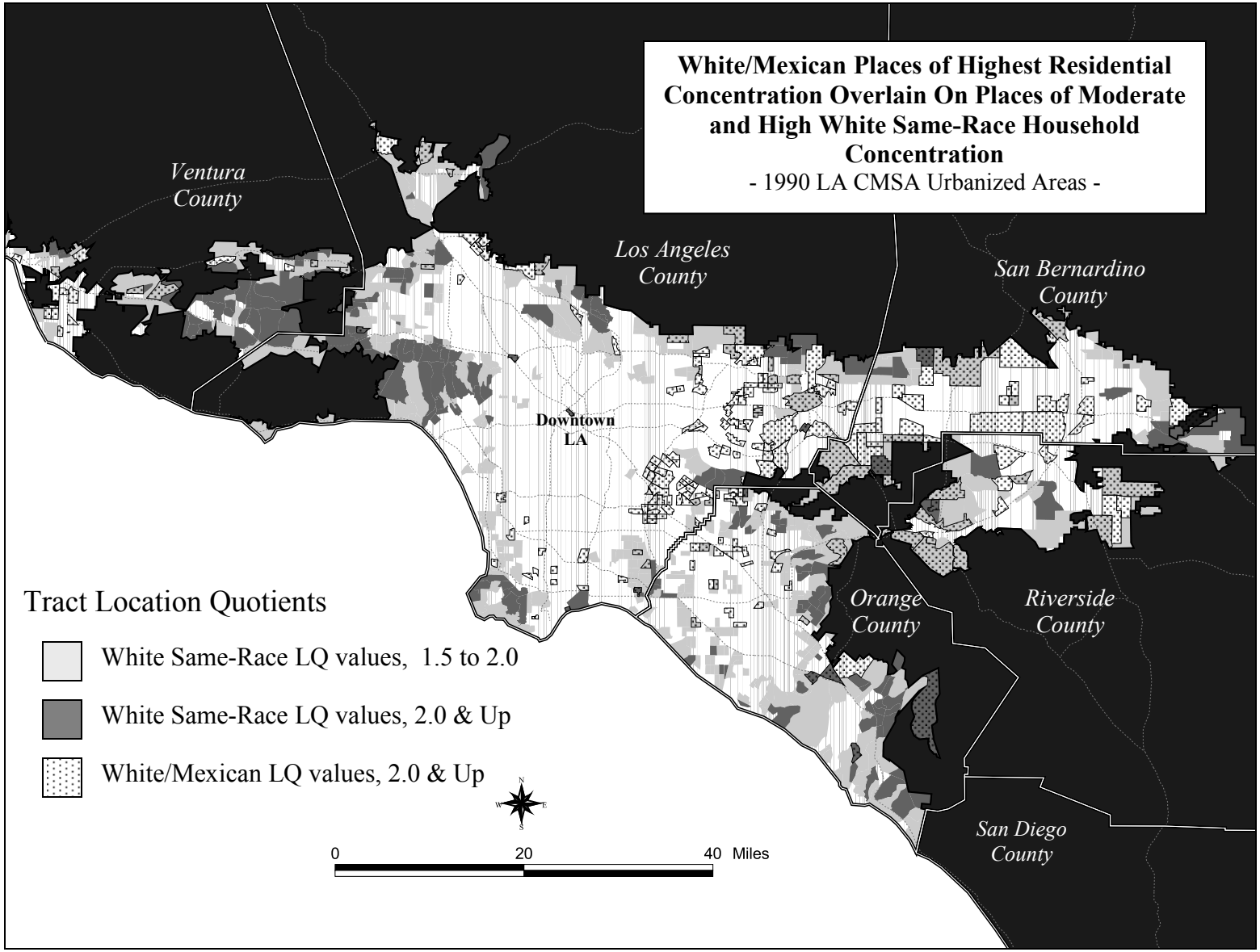


Figure 4.11: Places of Highest White/Mexican Residential Concentration Compared To Those of Places of Moderate and Highest Concentration for White Same-Race Households

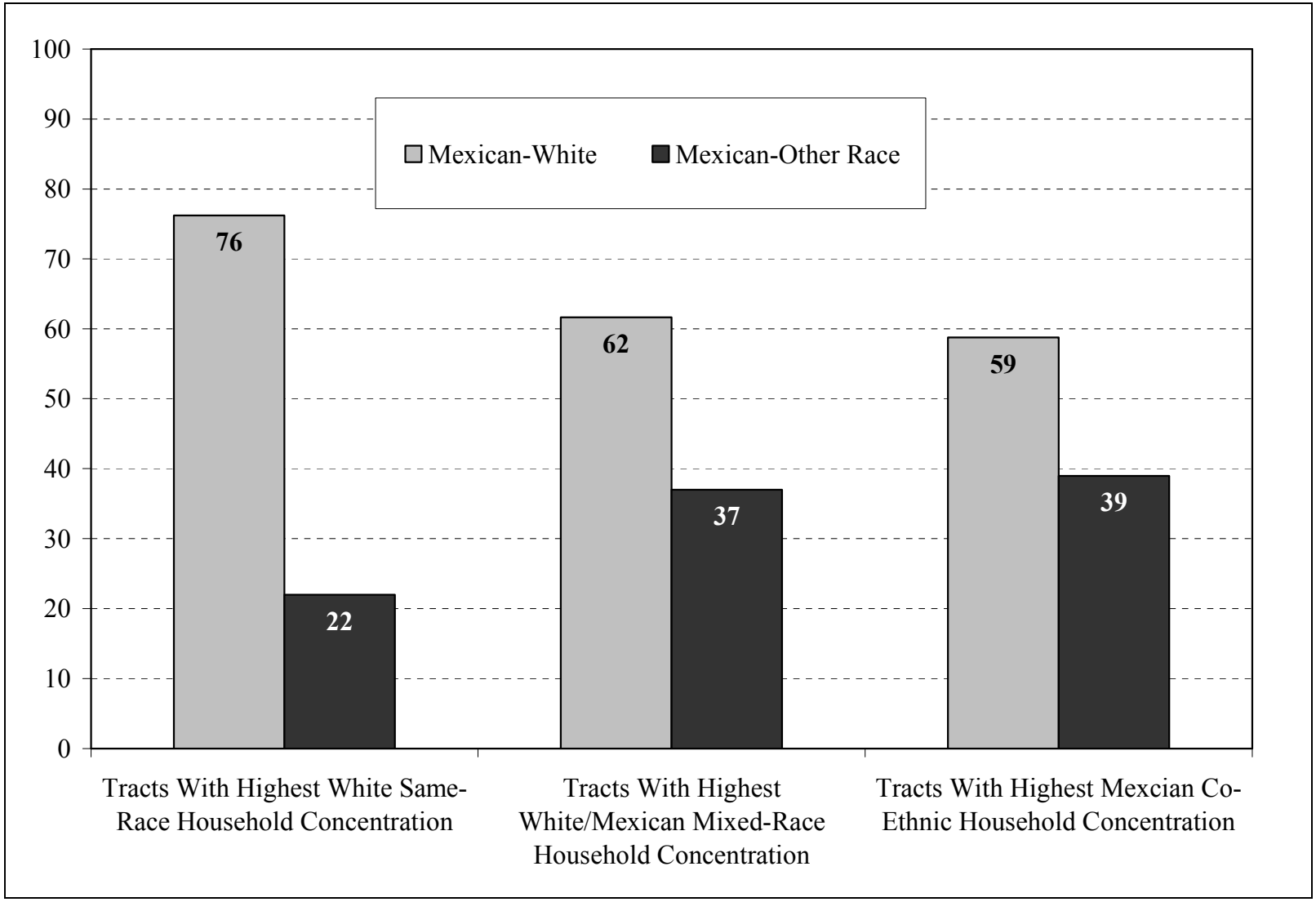


Figure 4.12: Reported Race of the Mexican partner in White/Mexican Households Residing in Places of Highest White Same-Race Household Concentration, Highest White/Mexican Household Concentration, and Highest Mexican Co-Ethnic Household Concentration

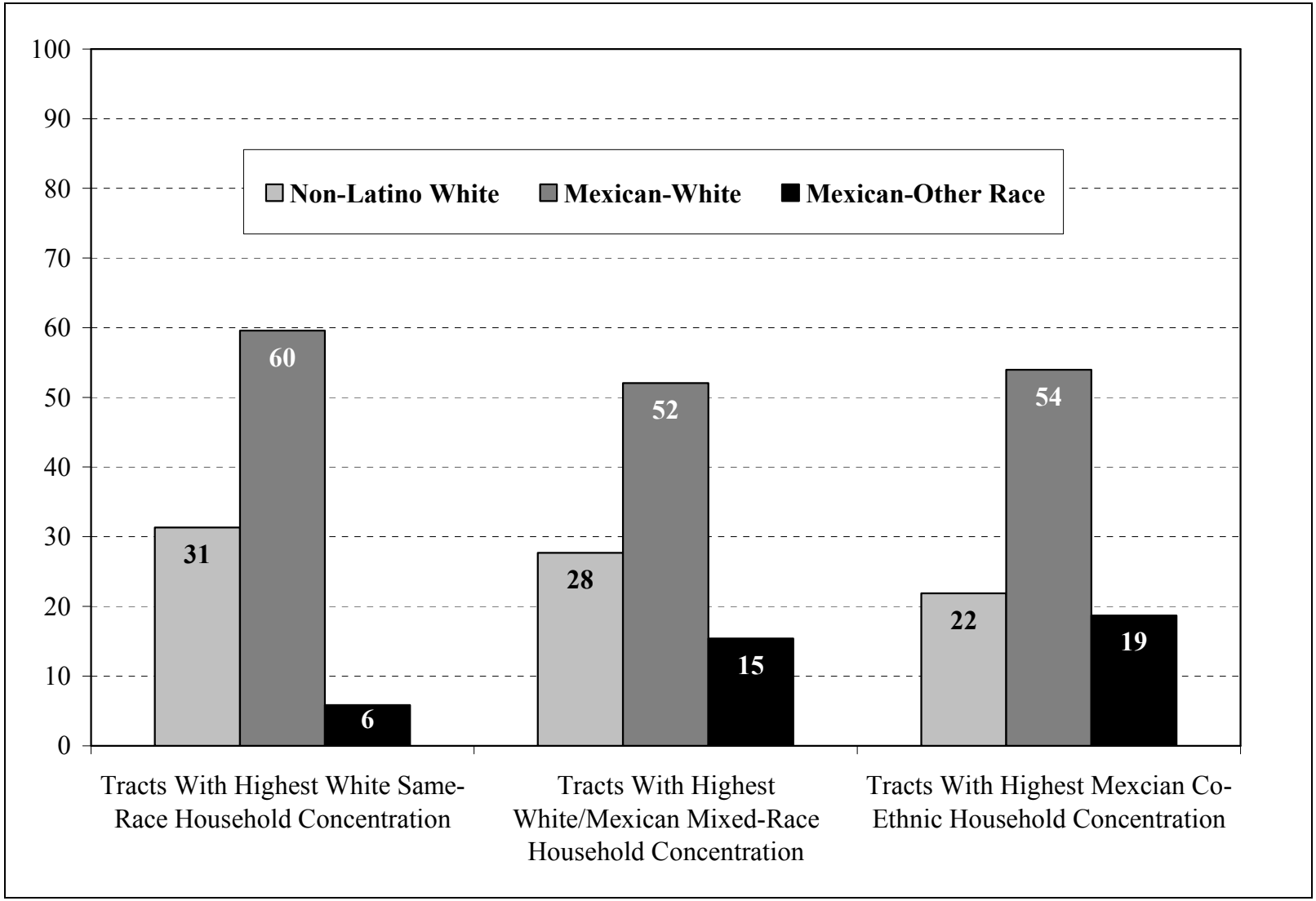


Figure 4.13: Reported Race of Children in White/Mexican Households Residing in Places of Highest White Same-Race Household Concentration, Highest White/Mexican Household Concentration, and Highest Mexican Co-Ethnic Household Concentration

CHAPTER 5

PREDICTING RESIDENTIAL ATTAINMENT FOR WHITE/MEXICAN MIXED-RACE, WHITE SAME-RACE, AND MEXICAN CO-ETHNIC HOUSEHOLDS

Results from Chapter 4 suggest that White/Mexican households locate in urban "in-between space" – places that cannot be described as predominantly White *or* Mexican. Such places are consistent with paradoxical racial and ethnic identities in White/Mexican mixed-race households. This, locational tendency, however, is conditioned by household socio-economic status, nativity status, linguistic acculturation, and the reported race of household members. Notably, household characteristics affected residential exposures to Whites and Mexicans – but not other Los Angeles area racial groups. Though quite valuable in characterizing the types of places where different types of White/Mexican households live, the analyses presented in Chapter 4 lack the ability to establish the independent effects of multiple household-level factors on residential location.

In this chapter, I use multivariate regression to assess the relative importance of selected individual- and household-level characteristics on a set of neighborhood racial outcomes. I use the same model specification to compare the residential attainment of three matched samples of households -- White same-race households, White/Mexican mixed-race households, and Mexican co-ethnic households. I also model the residential attainment of White/Mexican family households with children using an expanded set of explanatory variables (see Chapter 3 for variable descriptions).

My dependent variables of residential attainment include four tract-level measures of racial and ethnic composition: the percent White in tracts, the percent Mexican in tracts, the

tract concentration rate of White same-race households, and the tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic households (concentration rates are measured with location quotients, see Chapter 3). The first two dependent variables capture the racial and ethnic composition of individuals in the household's neighborhood (neighborhoods are approximated with census tracts); the latter two measures describe the racial and ethnic composition of households in the sample household's tract relative to the racial and ethnic composition of similar households in the metropolitan area. People familiar with the Los Angeles area might perceive places with higher group concentration rates for racial groups as "racially-typified" or racially distinctive because the of the abundance of that particular racial group in the area.

Key findings from this chapter indicate that, after accounting for human capital and socio-economic factors, White/Mexican households and Mexican co-ethnic households still exhibit relatively substantial residential disparities from Whites. Theories of racialization and paradoxical household-level racial identifications best explain these continued residential disparities. Other results presented in this chapter are consistent with some aspects of assimilation theory with regard to residential location. Specifically, for all three types of households, increases in human capital and higher socio-economic status are positively related to the presence if Whites in household residential tracts. I explain all of these findings in greater detail throughout in this chapter. However, to begin this analysis, I first describe these four samples of households. I then explain how selected household-level characteristics relate to residence in certain kinds of racially-defined neighborhoods.

Socio-economic and Demographic Variation Between White Same-race, White/Mexican Mixed-Race, and Mexican Co-Ethnic Households

As noted in Chapter 3, the sample of White/Mexican (WM) households includes nearly all of these types of mixed-race households from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form confidential sample from the Los Angeles CMSA (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993). The samples of White same-race households (WW) and Mexican co-ethnic households (MM) were randomly selected so that each sample had 15,474 household-level observations. The fourth sample consists of all households with children under age eighteen (8,858) from the larger sample of White/Mexican households. Table 5.1 shows sample descriptive statistics for the three matched samples. Descriptive statistics for the subset of White/Mexican households with children appear in Table 5.2. Statistics in these tables correspond to the continuous and dummy variables used in the following regression models (all dependent and independent variables are described in Chapter 3). I only discuss the most pertinent of these group characteristics here.

Average Tract Characteristics for Matched Samples

The average racial composition of neighborhoods differed substantially between these three larger samples of households (Table 5.1). White same-race households lived in the "whitest" of places. Their typical neighborhoods were 70% White and those same neighborhoods had an average tract concentration rate of White same-race households of 1.37 (*i.e.,* these places had 1.37 times the metropolitan share of White same-race households).

White/Mexican households lived in slightly less "white" places; their typical neighborhoods were 59% White and the average tract concentration rate of White same-race households in those places was 1.14. White/Mexican households also lived in tracts with a percent Mexican population that averaged seven percentage-points higher than that for White

same-race households. On average, White/Mexican households lived in neighborhoods with tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households that were nearly even with the metropolitan share of Mexican co-ethnic households.

In contrast to both of these groups, Mexican co-ethnic households lived in the most racially-concentrated places. Their residential tracts averaged 28% White versus 49% Mexican and the average tract concentration rate of Mexicans was very high and 2.63 times the metropolitan share. Conversely, for Mexican co-ethnic households, the average tract concentration rate of White same-race households was only 0.54 times that household's metropolitan share.

Group Household Characteristics

The three samples were also generally very different in terms of their average household characteristics (Table 5.1). Marriage was the norm for most of the couples in these three samples; yet they married at different rates. White/Mexican households had slightly fewer married couples – about twelve percent of White/Mexican households were partnered versus six percent of White same-race and seven percent of Mexican co-ethnic households. This is consistent with the literature that suggests that mixed-race households tend to cohabitate slightly more often than same-race households. Mixing race in households formally through marriage is more often criticized by extended family members than simple cohabitations (e.g., Root, 1992; Johnson & Warren, 1994; Garcia & Rivera, 1999).

Only 38% of White same-race households had children present (Table 5.1) and this contrasts quite strongly with both White/Mexican and Mexican co-ethnic households; 57% of White/Mexican and 74% of Mexican co-ethnic households had children present. For both of the latter two groups, age and stage in the family life-cycle account for a portion of this difference

from White same-race households. Many more White/Mexican and Mexican co-ethnic households would have been in their child-bearing years versus White same-race households. Men in White same-race households were about ten years older, on average, than men in White/Mexican or Mexican co-ethnic households. For Mexican co-ethnic households, the much larger percentage of households with children was probably also due to the greater fertility rate of Latina females. Mexican co-ethnic households also had the highest average number of people present in the household (5.12). These households often had more children and probably more extended family members and co-ethnic friends and kin residing in their households than either White/Mexican mixed-race households or White same-race households.

Higher female fertility probably also affected the labor force participation of Latinas in Mexican co-ethnic households (Table 5.1). Though they worked at about the same rate as women in White same-race households, they tended to work fewer hours per week than either of the two other types of households. Interestingly, at 69%, White/Mexican households had the highest female labor force participation rate; over 13 percentage-points higher than White same-race households and 18 percentage-points higher than Mexican co-ethnic households. It is not clear why this might be the case, but, it is possible that working women would tend to meet more heterogeneous groups of people through work and these workforce connections might have made it more likely that they would partner cross-racially.

White/Mexican households had average measures of SES characteristics that where between those of White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. Of the three sets of households, White same-race households had the highest average household incomes ($66,019 in 1989). White/Mexican households earned about $10,000 less and Mexican co-ethnic households earned about $30,000 less than White same-race households. The average household income for

Mexican co-ethnic households was only $36,794 and concentrated poverty was thus a fact of life for many of the Mexican co-ethnic households in this sample. Not surprisingly, with so little average income, slightly less than half (48%) of all Mexican households owned homes. Many more White/Mexican and White same-race households owned homes (64% and 77% respectively). Additionally, lack of education characterized most Mexican co-ethnic households; 55% of these households were partnerships where neither partner had a high school degree. In contrast, only about six percent and seven percent of White same-race and White/Mexican mixed-race households were partnerships where neither partner graduated high school. Six percent of White same-race households were couples where both partners had bachelors degrees and this was the highest percentage out of all four of the groups.

Bilingualism characterized most Mexican co-ethnic households and many White/Mexican mixed-race households. Only seven percent of Mexican co-ethnic households reported English as the only household language; 57% of White/Mexican households reported similarly. In contrast, 86% of White same-race households reported English as the only household language. Spanish language retention in the Mexican community is very likely due to the fact the 62% of Mexican co-ethnic households included two foreign-born partners and another 14% included one foreign-born partner.

Residential mobility characterized many of the households in all four samples. However, White same-race households had the highest percentage of residential stability with over 52% of this group being in the same tract of residence since 1985. White/Mexican households tended to be the most residentially mobile and, though 38% of these households stayed put after 1985, 45% made residential moves within the Los Angeles CMSA between1985 and 1990. Mexican

co-ethnic households moved in the Los Angeles CMSA at a similar rate. Between 12% and 19% of all three groups moved to the Los Angeles area from regions outside the CMSA after 1985.

White/Mexicans Households With Children

Average tract racial and ethnic characteristics for the subset of White/Mexican households with children were similar to those of the larger group. Comparison of group statistics for White/Mexican households with children (Table 5.2) indicate that these households had general characteristics, in terms of income, homeownership, nativity, linguistic acculturation, gender paring, reported race of partners, partner's ancestry (these latter three are not shown for the larger sample of White/Mexican households in Table 5.1), and residential mobility that were very similar to those of White/Mexican households in general. Thus, the following description of partner's race and ancestry in White/Mexican households with children apply similarly to the larger sample. Here, I only discuss those household characteristics not previously mentioned in reference to the larger sample. In the models, characteristics that I describe below were only used as measurements in the expanded models for White/Mexican households with children. I focus my discussion on family member racial and ancestral characteristics for this sample.

Sixty percent of White/Mexican households with children had Mexican partners that reported a White racial identity, thirty-eight percent reported an "Other Race" racial identity, and two percent reported either a Black, Asian, or Native American racial identity. Nine percent of White/Mexican households with children had a White partner who reported that one or both of his or her ancestors came from places *outside* of North America, Europe, the former USSR, Australia, and New Zealand. This statistic is a very coarse measure of the racial/ethnic background of White partners and I include it here and as a dummy variable in the model of

residential attainment for households with children because these might be people/parents with non-white/non-European racial and ethnic mixing somewhere back in their family tree. They may even be people whose ancestors came from Mexico but who do not consider themselves to have any Mexican ethnic ties at the time of the census.

Conversely, about 12% of White/Mexican households with children had a Mexican partner/parent whose ancestors *did* come from North America, Europe, the former USSR, Australia, and New Zealand. Again this is a very coarse measure of the racial/ethnic background of the minority partner. He or she might have racial/ethnic mixing with someone of White European background in his or her family tree. These types of people may even be first or second generation children of White/Mexican mixed-race households.

Nearly half (47%) of all White/Mexican households reported their children as Mexican-white versus some other racial and ethnic designation. About one quarter of these households reported their children is non-Latino "white" and thirteen percent reported their children as Mexican-other race. Otherwise nearly 5% reported biological children's racial and ethnic identities as something other than the previous three identifications (most of these were Latino, with national heritage unspecified). Nearly 11% of the sample households had children who were not biological to one or both parents. Obviously, many White/Mexican households where blended families with step and adopted children. Within these households, racial negotiations between family members might be more crucial than those between children who share biological heritage with at least one or both parents.

In summary, there was considerable variation in SES and demographic characteristics between three groups of households. Without accounting for co-variation between these household-level characteristics, one would be tempted to describe variation in the racial

composition of these three household's typical residential areas as simply being a result of human capital, demographic, and socio-economic differences between the different sets of household. However, given the data I use here, I move beyond the characteristics of groups and use multivariate regressions to establish the independent effects of household-level characteristics on residential attainment. In the next section, I compare models of residential attainment for the three primary types of households.

Comparing the Residential Attainment of White Same-Race Households, White/Mexican Mixed-Race Households, and Mexican Co-Ethnic Households

Expectations

The unique value of estimating the following comparative sets of residential attainment models lies in using them to predict residential attainment for each of these three types of households given otherwise similar household characteristics. According to general guidelines from racialization theory and feminist theories of difference, I expect that, because of their unique racial characteristics (*i.e*. that they are households composed of at least one minority racial group member), the samples of White/Mexican and Mexican co-ethnic households will be associated with predicted residences in places with fewer Whites and more Mexicans than White same-race households. I also expect that, because of the White/Mexican household's mixed-race status and, thus, its potential for multi-faceted racial ties and affiliations, White/Mexican households will have predicted residence in "whiter" areas than comparable Mexican co-ethnic households. In these initial models, White/Mexican households are a mixed, majority-minority group type of partnership, Mexican co-ethnic households are a double-minority type of partnership, and White same-race households are a double-majority group type of partnership. Among all sample groups, I thus expect Mexican co-ethnic households to share the least amount

of residential space with Whites because this household also shares the most social distance from Whites.

In terms of individual parameter estimates, I do not expect the residential attainment models for the three matched samples of White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households to reveal predictors of residential attainment that are substantially different in sign and direction from most individual-level analyses of spatial attainment of Mexicans versus Whites (*e.g.,* Logan et. al, 1996; Alba & Logan, 1993). To the extent that "whiter" residential areas are highly correlated with increasing costs of housing in tracts (White & Sassler, 2000), I expect to see that unit increases in household-level human capital and socio-economic characteristics are positively related to increases in the presence of Whites in tracts and negatively associated with increases in Mexicans in tracts. Mexican co-ethnic households with higher human capital characteristics could afford to buy into "whiter" (and perhaps nicer and safer) places; so too could White/Mexican households and White same-race households.

Racial barriers to White residential areas would be higher for these two minority-partnered households and having higher SES characteristics might be more of a necessary factor for these households in accounting for their residence in places with more Whites. Because they already possess racial privilege, such factors might not need to work as powerfully for White same-race householders in their residential attainment to "whiter" places.

Also, given my earlier discussion in Chapter 2 about location-specific human capital, I expect American nativity to be positively associated with increases in Whites in tracts and negatively related to similar measures for Mexicans. Among family structure characteristics, I expect that households with more family members and where the female partner works more frequently (in terms of hours worked per week) will also have a negative association with the

presence of Whites in tracts versus a positive one with Mexicans. Such households would not necessarily have acculturated to modern American norms of smaller family sizes and female labor force participation. Also, higher numbers of people in households may also signal that these are households that must support a larger number of non-nuclear, co-ethnic kin (possibly unemployed recent immigrants) and the pressures of providing residence for kin and friends might then exert economic leveling outcomes on the whole group (see Sanders & Nee, 1987) and, yet again, lessening the household's chances of living in "whiter" areas.

For all households, I expect the presence of children to be positively associated with increases in the tract percentages and clustering of Whites and negatively associated with the same tract measures of Mexicans. Having children may initiate family moves to neighborhoods with more single-family residences and better schools. Again, these are highly correlated with "whiter" places. Households with active and retired military service members will be positively associated with higher tract percentages and clustering of Whites (given that the racial composition of the US military has historically been White, despite more recent recruiting from minority populations, Segal & Segal, 2004). Minorities that are retired military may also be socially-networked to "whiter" communities than minorities without such experience. Finally, partners that are in school (versus not in school), will be negatively associated with tract percentages and clustering of Whites and positively related to residence in places with more Mexicans. People taking classes may live in places that are closer to diverse campuses.

As noted earlier, teasing out the exact cause of these expected residential disparities between White same-race, White/Mexican , and Mexican co-ethnic is impossible with quantitative data that I use here. However, according to racialization theory and feminist ideas of difference, White/Mexican household residence in places that are not as completely "white" as

those of White same-race households nor as thoroughly "Mexican" as Mexican co-ethnic households may signal a self-conscious within-household notion of the paradoxical – *i.e.,* both White *and* Mexican -- family identity. As such, residential location in White-Mexican "in-between" (Holloway et al., 2005) space may indicate residential choice and racial preferences. However, it may not. It may also signal that members of this household have been racialized similarly to those in Mexican co-ethnic households and as such their housing choices might have been constrained.

Model Fit Statistics

All regression equations had the same basic model specification of twenty-three independent variables for each of the threes samples (see Table 3.2, Chapter 3) – including household-level measures of human capital and socio-economic-status, nativity status, family structure, military service, and school attendance. The models presented here were developed because they best capture theories of residential attainment (given the available data).

Because my purpose in these series of models was to explicitly compare the residential attainment processes of White/Mexican households with those of White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households, I limited the analysis for all three groups of households to household characteristics that could be measured consistently across groups. Thus, I did not include a full suite of racial characteristics within White/Mexican and Mexican co-ethnic households as explanatory variables. Using household-level racial characteristics might have been a useful choice if I was simply studying the residential location of White/Mexican mixed-race households or Mexican co-ethnic households. Later in this analysis, I utilize household racial characteristics in an expanded model for the subset of White/Mexican family households with children. However, in the matched set of models, there would have been nothing to report

for White same-race households. Thus, in these first series of models, simply reporting "Mexican" is considered to be a general marker of racial identity and White/Mexican households are a mixed, majority-minority group type of partnership, Mexican co-ethnic households are a double-minority group type of partnership, and White same-race households are a double-majority group type of partnership. Table 5.3 reveals model fit statistics for these regressions.

All models in Table 5.3 are significant at a probability level of less than 0.05 and they are each a substantial improvement over a null model of no relationship between the 23 independent variables and the four measures of residential attainment. Comparison of fit statistics in Table 5.3 indicate that this model specification was a better predictor for some types of residential attainment over others. Specifically, the models of tract concentration rates of White same-race households (LQWW) have the highest R-square values across all three samples. For the sample of White same-race households, the model accounts for 13.8% of the variability in the tract concentration rates of White same-race households. For the sample of White/Mexican households, it accounts for 14.7% of the variability in the tract concentration rates of White same-race households. For the sample of Mexican co-ethnic households, it accounts for 19.29% of the variability in tract concentration rates of White same-race households. Given that I use the same independent variables in all three models, I interpret these results to mean that the independent variables I use here are most helpful in predicting residential attainment for Mexican co-ethnic households in places of concentration for White same-race households and that they are also helpful, but slightly less so, in predicting that same type of attainment for White/Mexican and White same-race households. For these later two types of households, perhaps family member "Whiteness" allows entrée into these places with higher concentration

rates for White same-race households in a manner that operates independently of the household demographic and structural characteristics that I measure here.

Some of the other models also had decent model fit statistics. For the sample of Mexican co-ethnic households, the model accounts for 17.43% of the variability in tract percentage of Whites. However, model R-square values on the models of tract percent White were considerably lower for the other two samples of households. Across the board for each of the other models, model R-square values hovered between a low of 7.3% (for the sample of White same-race households and the model predicting tract concentration rates of Mexican same race households) and a high of 11.34% (for the sample of White/Mexican households and the regression on tract percent White). For those samples and dependent variables with lower R square values, I suggest that racial and ethnic barriers unaccounted for within these models and idiosyncratic household-level residential desires alter residential attainment processes. Given the US system of racial stratification, apart from all the other variables that I use here in these models, White same-race households are in the best position to translate residential desires into specific residential outcomes. The lower R-square values for the models of the same dependent variable for the samples of White same-race households versus those of other groups hint at this possibility.

I explored the ability of this model to account for few additional measures of residential attainment – specifically tract entropy as a measure of tract racial diversity and tract concentration rates of White/Mexican households to examine the possibility that they cluster. Table 5.2 does not show these other model fit statistics because R-square values for the sample of White/Mexican households and these two dependent variables were uniformly low (even though F statistics did indicate that the models were statistically significant improvements over

the null). For the White/Mexican sample, the model accounted for only 3.3% of the variability in tract entropy and 6.2% of the variability in the tract concentration rates of White/Mexican households. Models of tract concentration rates of White/Mexican households were a decent fit only for the sample of Mexican co-ethnic households. This model was significant at a probability level of less than 0.05 and accounted for 16.1% of the variability in tract concentration rates of White/Mexican households.

Tables 5.4 and 5.5 reveal parameter estimates for each sample and each measure of residential attainment. Table 5.4 presents coefficients of the regressions on tract percent White (%W) and tract concentration rates of White same-race households (LQWW). Table 5.4 presents the coefficients for the regressions on tract percent Mexican and tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households. To simplify the display, standard errors are excluded from presentation but are available upon request. As noted earlier in Chapter 3, all models used robust error estimation to account for clustering within tracts. Thus, significance calculations for these parameter estimates reflect conservative error estimate[12]. In both tables, coefficients shaded in gray were statistically significant at a probability value of 0.05 and coefficients noted with an asterisk were also statistically significant, but slightly less so, with a probability value of less than 0.10. Coefficients in bold face font highlight a negative relationship between the dependent and independent variables.

[12] All variables across all models and samples were tested for their degree of multicollinearity with other independent variables. There was very little observed mutlicollinearity in these regressions. In the samples of White same-race households and White/Mexican households, only the variable "one partner has > ed level" had variance inflation factor (VIF) statistics greater than greater than 4.0. For the White same-race sample the VIF was 5.14 and for White/Mexican households the factor was 4.27. The sample for Mexican co-ethnic households had no multicollinearity issues at all. With such relatively minor multicollinearity issues, the basic model specification was not altered.

Interpreting the Model Constants

Constants in all of these models refer to the estimated residential attainment of: married households with children; that rented; where both partners did not have a high school degrees; where English was not the only household language; that were residentially stable after 1985; where both partners were US born; when the female partner worked; where neither partner was enrolled in school; where neither partner currently or previously served in the military; and where household incomes, persons per unit, age of the male partner, and hours worked by the female partner were all equivalent to sample averages. Under these constant conditions, tract percent White (Table 5.4) is the highest for the sample of White same-race households (at 58%) and lowest for Mexican co-ethnic households (at 24%). White/Mexican households have tract percentages in between those of the other two groups (at 42%). Not surprisingly, under these conditions of very low educational attainment, predicted tract concentration rates of White same-race households reflect very low values. Households with the characteristics of the constant live in places that have White same-race household concentration rates that are between 0.88 (for the WW sample), 0.68 (for the White/Mexican sample), and 0.42 (for the MM sample) times less the metropolitan proportion of Whites.

These patterns were reversed in regressions of tract percent Mexican (Table 5.5) and tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households. White same-race households have very low predictions for these two dependent variables (22% for tract percent Mexican and 0.92 for the tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic households); Mexican co-ethnic households have very high predictions (54% for tract percent Mexican and 2.87 for the tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic households). However, like the models of the two other measures of

residential attainment, White/Mexican households have predicted residential attainment values that were situated between the predicted values for the other two samples.

Accounting for the Whiteness of Neighborhoods

Increases in neighborhood "Whiteness" (either in terms of tract percent White or the concentration rates of White same-race households) are related to increases in household-level human capital characteristics and other SES measures for all samples. Specifically, models of tract percent White and tract concentrations rates of White same-race households (Table 5.4) indicate that, independent of other measures, unit *increases* in household-levels of human capital, English only language use, income, and other measures of socio-economic status are *positively* associated with changes in these two dependent variables. Not surprisingly, income levels higher than average and speaking English-only in the household (versus also speaking an additional language) are associated with increases in residence in Whiter spaces. However, even after controlling for income levels and language use, household-level educational measures were very powerful in accounting for the changes in the White racial compositions of tracts. The only exception to this trend was for the sample of Mexican co-ethnic households. There were so few households in the sample where both partners had a graduate degree that robust estimation reports a very high error for this household's coefficient. However, the direction of the parameter estimate was still positive like those across the rest of the samples. Specifically, having dual bachelors degrees (versus neither partner having graduated high school) increases the tract percent White by 10.57 percentage-points, 13.56 percentage-points, and 11.17 percentage-points respectively for White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican-co-ethnic households.

Interestingly though, at higher education levels, it seems that White/Mexican households have better returns for increasing education that either White same-race households or Mexican co-ethnic households (Table 5.4). For example, having dual bachelors or graduate degrees accounts for a greater positive change in the tract percent White and the white tract concentration rate of White/Mexican households than for White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households (according to t tests[13] these differences in coefficients are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ as well). It is not entirely clear why this would be the case regarding the comparison of White/Mexican parameter estimates to those for White same-race households with similar high levels of education. It may be that some White same-race households were socialized in college and graduate schools to desire residence in slightly more diverse places than White same-race households with lower educational backgrounds – thus slightly lowering the relationship of those variables to tract Whiteness for the White same-race sample.

It is possible that White/Mexican households would have more racial markers of group affiliation that would offer them better ability to translate educational achievements and neighborhood racial preferences into residence in "whiter" places. With a lower initial y-intercept, these households would still live in places that are slightly more diverse than similar White same-race households but less diverse than similar Mexican co-ethnic households. While returns to education are also large for Mexican co-ethnic households, it is likely that racialized social barriers to residential location for this double-minority household more thoroughly hinder educational processes of spatial integration to "whiter" places.

[13] The statistical significance of differences between coefficients across equations is assessed by the following t-test formula: $t = b_1 - b_2 \Big/ \sqrt{SE_1^2 + SE_2^2}$

Homeownership (versus renting) results in residence in "whiter" areas for all samples (Table 5.4). However, across samples White/Mexican and White same-race households have greater residential returns for homeownership than do Mexican co-ethnic households and the coefficients for these two groups are significantly larger in the model that predicts tract percent White. However, though also positive and significant in terms of unit increases in the dependent measure of tract concentration rates of White same-race households, the coefficient for this sample of Mexican co-ethnic households does not work as powerfully as it does for the other two types of households.

Other coefficients in Table 5.4 suggest that residential moves (either within the Los Angeles CMSA or to the area from without, versus being residentially stable) are associated with large unit increases in the two dependent variables of tract Whiteness. This is true for all samples. However, for White/Mexican and Mexican co-ethnic households these coefficients are significantly larger than those for the sample of White same-race households (t-tests indicate statistically significant differences, at $p < 0.05$). In Los Angeles, some places with lower tract percent White and lower tract concentration rates of White same-race households are associated with poverty, crime, and poor housing quality (see Allen & Turner, 1997). Recent in-movers have the luxury of avoiding segregated and minority areas, whereas, residentially stable households made housing choices in an earlier period.

After accounting for human capital, linguistic ability, and other socio-economic variables, the foreign-birth of one or more partners (versus both partners being US-born) negatively impacts residential location in places with higher percentages or tract concentration rates of White same-race households for all samples except White same-race households (Table 5.4). Having one partner foreign-born versus both being US-born accounts for a 1.87

percentage-point decrease in the tract percent White and a 0.05 unit decrease in the tract concentration rate of White same-race households. White/Mexican households where both partners are foreign-born are even more likely not to live with many White neighbors. Comparison of the parameter estimates (Table 5.4) associated with these variables for White/Mexican households with those for Mexican co-ethnic households suggest that cultural barriers to residence with Whites (in tracts with greater percentages of Whites or tracts with higher concentration rates for White same-race households) are far greater for Mexican co-ethnic households when one family member is foreign-born and much, much greater for families where both partners are foreign-born. In Mexican co-ethnic households, when both partners are foreign-born, there is a 8.98 percentage-point decrease in the tract percent White and a 0.19 unit decrease in the tract concentration rate of White same-race households.

The coefficient for one partner foreign-born in the sample of White same-race households in the regression on tract percent White is the only model of White tract characteristics where this parameter changes sign and becomes positive. Being in a White same-race household where one family member is foreign born results in a 1.17 percentage-point increase in that household's tract percent White. However, this coefficient is not significant in predicting the residential location of White same-race households to places of concentration for Whites. In fact, White same-race households where both partners are foreign-born are less likely to live in tracts with higher concentration rates for White same-race households. It is thus very likely that tracts with higher concentration rates for White same-race households are also tracts with higher concentration rates of the US-born.

In comparison to the previous measures of household variation, family structural variables seem to exert less collective influence of household residential location. Most are still

relatively strong and significant but some fall out of statistical significance in across samples. Increases in tract percent White are associated with older than average White same-race households (Table 5.4). For all households, increases in the number of people per household are statistically significant and negatively associated with tract percent White. The same relationship is true for this variable and tract concentration rates of White same-race households but the parameter estimate is only significant for the samples of White/Mexican and Mexican co-ethnic households.

Across all samples, being a married-couple household (versus a co-habitating partnership) results in increases in the tract concentration rate of White same-race households (Table 5.4). Additionally, households with children (versus households without children) are associated with residence in "whiter" places. Coefficients for this variable are positive and statistically significant with regard to their relationship to tract percent White and tract concentration rates of White same-race households (most at $p < 0.05$, but one at $p < 0.10$, Table 5.4).

For White same-race households, additional hours worked beyond the group average are statistically significant and *negatively* associated with tract percent White and tract concentration rates of White same-race households (Table 5.4). The same general relationships are true for White/Mexican households but the coefficient becomes statistically insignificant for the sample of Mexican co-ethnic households. I infer from these results that "whiter" places are also places where, if wives and female partners work, they work fewer hours per week than women in households in more diverse places. Both same-race and mixed-race households with White female partners that have to work full time might be less like White households were the female partner is not in the labor force or only works part-time. For households with White partners,

perhaps residential location and social entrée into "whiter" neighborhoods is contingent upon having the social status of a more traditional type of female home-maker.

Measures of military service and school attendance also inconsistently influence the Whiteness of residential attainment across the three sets of households. It seems that having one partner in school (versus neither partner being in school) negatively impacts residential location to both "whiter" *and* more Mexican places. Perhaps these types of households are located in more residentially diverse places (places that also include Asians and Blacks). The coefficient for both partners being in school (versus neither partner being in school) was statistically significant only for Mexican co-ethnic households. The variable relates to tract percent White and tract concentration rates of White same-race households in a negative manner (Table 5.4).

Finally, across all samples, households with active or current military personnel (versus households with no current or prior military service) are positively associated with neighborhood Whiteness (Table 5.4). This figure is unsurprising given that most current military personnel are White (despite the military having recruited heavily in recent years from minorities) and an even greater percentage of previous military personnel are White (Segal & Segal, 2004). In Los Angeles, it is also unsurprising since, the largest ethnic groups apart from Whites are Latinos and many of these Latinos are immigrants and have not served in the US military (non-US citizens do serve in the military but not often). Thus, communities near military bases and households that live near them tend to sometimes be a bit "whiter" and as well as more native-born. This finding is a bit counter-intuitive to the literature on mixed-race mixing that discusses greater incidences of mixed-rate partnerships in military service personnel (Root, 1992). It maybe that the higher likelihood of occurrence of these partnerships has had more to do with the lack of

minority-to-minority partnership opportunities for military personnel that are on or near bases rather than the actual diversity of military bases and their nearby communities.

Accounting for the Neighborhood Brownness

In contrast to the above measures and predictions of the Whiteness of residential locations, *increases* in household-levels of education, income, language use, and residential mobility are associated with *decreases* in neighborhood "Brownness" (or Mexican Latinidad). In comparison to the two measures of the Whiteness of residential attainment, nearly all of the parameter estimates of education, language use, income, and residential mobility discussed in preceding paragraphs change sign and thus direction with regard to their effects on dependent variables that measure presence of Mexicans in tracts. Most of these parameter estimates are still significant as well.

Education variables are very powerful predictors for all samples when residential attainment is measured in terms of tract percent Mexican and tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households (Table 5.5). For White same-race households, being a household where both partners have a bachelors degree (rather than being a household without a high school degree) results in a decrease of 0.43 in the tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households. For White/Mexican households, this unit change is even larger and the coefficient for this sample is -0.71. And, finally, for Mexican co-ethnic households the value of this coefficient is -0.77 – indicating a substantial reduction in the tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic households. Obtaining a bachelor's degree would thus be a very important avenue for residential mobility beyond the Latino barrio.

In models of Brownness, the effect of homeownership sometimes loses significance across households and/or exhibits unexpected changes in sign (Table 5.5). For White same-race

households, homeownership versus renting is not a statistically significant measure of tract percent Mexican. However, though relatively weak (the coefficient is 0.04), it does significantly indicate a positive relationship with the tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households. This is unexpected given that there is also a powerful positive relationship for that coefficient on the dependent variable of tract concentration rates of White same-race households. This may be an indication that there are a few neighborhoods where both White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households concentrate and own homes. Some might describe these places as diverse but, in reality, in multiethnic/multiracial Los Angeles, their neighborhoods are probably racially polarized into White and Brown – Blacks and Asians would very likely be absent from these places. Exposure indices presented in Chapter 4 suggest this possibility. Lastly, for the sample of White same-race households, speaking English as the only household language loses statistical significance in predicting the tract percent or tract concentration rates of Mexicans. It is very likely these White same-race households are monolingual where ever they are.

As before, in contrast to the above measures of the Whiteness of residential location, regressions on tract percent Mexican and tract concentrations rates for Mexican co-ethnic households (Table 5.5) indicate that, independent of other measures, the foreign-birth of one or more partners (versus both partners being US-born) *positively* impacts residential location to places with greater levels of Brownness for all samples except White same-race households. These parameters are positive but not statistically significant for White/Mexican households. They are significant and relatively powerful predictors for Mexican co-ethnic households. For instance, being a household where one partner is foreign-born versus both being US-born results in a 3.77 percentage-point increase in these household's tract percent Mexican. This relationship is even more powerful when both partners are foreign-born (the coefficient for both partners

being foreign-born 5.42). Positive unit changes in these variables for the sample of Mexican co-ethnic households are also associated with substantial increases in tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households. Again the relationship is especially strong for Mexican co-ethnic households where both partners are foreign-born – being such a household accounts for a 0.35 unit increase in the tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic households.

Martial status is not a significant predictor of the Brownness of residential attainment (Table 5.5). However, some other family structure characteristics are significantly related to presence of Mexicans in tracts. Specifically, older White same-race and White/Mexican mixed-race households (as indicated by the male partner's age) are negatively associated with residence in places with more Mexicans (Table 5.5). Across all samples, households with children are also associated with residential locations with fewer Mexicans. Conversely, greater than average increases in the number of people per household, for all samples, operates in a positive manner with regard to tract percent Mexican and tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households (Table 5.5). These relationships are not surprising given what we know about social networking and immigrant crowding in households with co-ethnic friends and kin in places of high Mexican co-ethnic concentration. And, whether or not a female partner works is not generally statistically significant for most samples in predicting the racial composition of residential location. However, for some White same-race and White/Mexican mixed-race, above average increases in the number of hours a female partner works per week is statistically associated with residential attainment in places with more Mexicans.

Current military service is very negatively related to residential locations with more Mexicans (Table 5.5). For the sample of Mexican co-ethnic households, this variable was a very strong predictor and Mexican co-ethnic households where one or both partners served in the

military lived in places with a 15.29 percentage-point reduction in their tract percent Mexican. White/Mexican households of military service members similarly saw a seven percentage-point reduction in their tract percent Mexican. Finally, for Mexican co-ethnic households, having both partners enrolled in school relates to the tract percent Mexican and tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households in a positive manner. Such households might be located near some the central city and suburban community colleges and technical schools that service large numbers of Latino students.

Predicting Residence in Whiter Places

The following series of predicted attainment diagrams (Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3) utilize the models and parameter estimates in Table 5.4 to predict the Whiteness of residential location for selected types of these three samples of households. I chose to portray predicted tract percent White because percentage changes are easier to convey than changes in tract concentration rates; graphics depicting tract concentration rates of White same-race households show nearly exactly the same patterns. Because these three sets of households seem to live in places along a racial continuum that is more or less White and Mexican (as evidenced in calculations of exposure indices from Chapter 4), greater or lesser predictions of Whiteness can often be interpreted relative to leftover residential exposures to Mexicans (tract Brownness). Similar diagrams of tract Brownness are not shown here because they simply present a mirror image of the diagrams for predicted Whiteness. Acquiring a higher education, becoming more like other Americans through the adoption of English in the household, acquiring cultural capital indirectly through US nativity, and becoming a homeowner are all key factors in assimilation theories about minority and ethnic residential location with Whites in suburbs (e.g., Massy, 1985; Gordon, 1964; Alba et al., 1999; Logan et al., 1996). Additionally, according to this study, residential

moves are positively associated with residence in "whiter" places. Thus, in these following three figures, I present some relatively "best case" scenarios for the potential for residential integration of these three households with Whites.

Figure 5.1 depicts predicted location according to household education levels and, except as noted in the figure, all of these households are alike. All are renters, all are married, all have female partners who work, all households have children, all are U.S. born, and all use English as the only household language. Values for continuous variables for all samples equal their mean value in White/Mexican households. Several things are immediately obvious in Figure 5.1. One, (in this and all graphics that follow in this paper), predictions indicate that White/Mexican households have tract Whiteness characteristics that are far greater than those of Mexican co-ethnic households; yet still substantially lower than those of White same-race households. Two, at higher levels of education the gap lessens between these households' predicted tract percent White, but none of these similar types of households ever exhibit parity with the other sets of households with regard to the Whiteness of their neighborhoods. For instance, even after achieving a graduate-level of education, Mexican co-ethnic households are predicted to live in neighborhoods that are nearly twenty-sex percentage-points less White than predictions for White same-race households and about nineteen percentage-points less White than predictions for White/Mexican mixed-race households. Very clearly, for Mexican co-ethnic and White/Mexican mixed-race households, achieving educational parity with Whites does not mean achieving residential parity Whites.

Figures 5.2 portrays the Whiteness of residential location according to selected variations in homeownership-status and residential mobility (people in the same housing unit in 1989 as in1985 and movers within the CMSA after 1985). In this figure, all household-level

parameters were kept constant across all samples – *both partners have bachelors degrees*, all are married couples, both partners are US-born, all have female partners who work, all have children, and English is the only language in all households. Like before, predictions for all three samples use values of continuous variables equal to their mean value in White/Mexican households.

Under these conditions of equality, especially in terms of income levels, education levels, and nativity, assumptions from straight-line assimilation theory postulate that these households would have equal residential geographies and it is immediately obvious in Figure 5.2 that they do not. In these predictions, White same-race households never live in places that are less than 70% White. Relative to both White same-race households and White/Mexican households and regardless of homeownership-status or residential mobility-status, Mexican co-ethnic households live in places that have far fewer percentages of Whites. White/Mexican households have tract percentages of Whites that are along a continuum in-between those of the other two groups in the analysis.

White/Mexican households are not as segregated from Whites as Mexican co-ethnic households. Yet, they do not share the same residential geographies as comparable White same-race households. In these two figures, these predicted patterns are most acute for residentially stable households (people at the same housing unit in 1989 as in 1985) and renters. In Figure 5.2, White/Mexican residentially stable, renting households are predicted to live in places where 62% of there neighbors are White and this figure is both eight percentage-points lower than the tract percent White for White same-race households and nearly twenty percentage-points higher than the tract percent White for Mexican co-ethnic households. When households are homeowners and when they have the regional information and resources that make possible local

moves, tract percent White are higher for all these three households, but the same basic patterns remain.

When I begin to relax assumptions about household nativity status and English language ability we again see these basic patterns, but greater between-group differences emerge. Figure 5.3 reveals predicted location according to selected variations in partner nativity status and household language use. Like the previous two graphics, all other household-level parameters were kept constant across all samples – both partners have bachelors degrees, all are married couples, all are homeowners, all have female partners who work, all households have children, and all households moved within the CMSA between1985 and 1990. Predictions for all three samples use values of continuous variables equal to their mean value in White/Mexican households.

Amongst all these types of households, households where both partners are foreign-born and bilingual are predicted to share the least amount of residential space with Whites. Additionally, even after all other household characteristics are equal, Mexican co-ethnic households that are bilingual and foreign-born are predicted to live in places where only 41% of their neighbors are White while comparable White/Mexican households are predicted to live in places where 61% of their neighbors are White and comparable White same-race households are predicted to live in places where nearly 73% of their neighbors are White. White/Mexican households do not seem to share as great a difference from White same-race households due to foreign-birth and bilingualism, they still, however, are not residentially distributed equally with White same-race households.

According to assimilation theories, home ownership, equal education levels, equal US nativity, and similar language use, should result in relatively equal residential distributions for

otherwise similar households, this is still not the case for the household-types at the top of Figure 5.3. The predicted White racial composition of tracts of residence for each of the three households (all of which share the above characteristics of home-ownership, nativity, and English use) have indeed become more similar (especially between White/Mexican and White same-race households), but they are still not equal. Mexican co-ethnic households share considerably less residential space with Whites than one would expect given US birth, English language use, homeownership, and so on.

Residential Attainment and White/Mexican Household's with Children

Model Fit Statistics

I present below the results of models of the same four dependent variables for a smaller sample of White/Mexican household with children. Subdividing the larger sample of White/Mexican households in this manner allows me to use family member racial and ancestral characteristics (among others) for an expanded model specification that: 1) better predicts residential attainment (see Chapter 3, Tables 3.2 and 3.3) for a description of the variables shown in the upcoming table of parameter estimates) and 2) isolates the independent effects of family member racial identifications on residential location.

Table 5.6 reveals model fit statistics using this expanded model specification on models of all the four dependent measures of residential location for White/Mexican mixed-race households. All models are statistically significant at a probability level of less than 0.05. Thus, they are all a substantial improvement over a null model of no relationship between the 37 independent variables and the four measures of residential attainment. Similar to models using the larger sample of White/Mexican households, comparison of these R-square values suggest that this model specification explained the most variability in the tract concentration rates of

White same-race households (the model accounts for 17.2% of the variability in this dependent variable) and the least amount of variability in the tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households (it only accounted for 10.8% in this dependent variable). This final model specification includes measures of children's racial identifications and the addition of these four variables provided statistically significant explanatory power over regressions using models that only included partner's racial characteristics but excluded those of children. These regression estimates all explain more variability in the dependent variables than a simpler model used on the subset of White/Mexican family households.

Parameter Estimates

Constants for the models in Table 5.7 vary with these dependent variables of residential attainment in a manner similar to those associated with the larger sample of White/Mexican households. However, across all models, residential characteristics reflected in the constant begin with slightly higher percentages and concentration rates of Whites in tracts and slightly lower percentages and concentrations rates for Mexicans in tracts. Thus, these models indicate that White/Mexican family households with children live in places with a greater White presence than do White/Mexican households in general, especially those without children. Residential moves to safer places with better school districts, *etc*. (all places correlated with more White residents) may be related child bearing in mixed-race households. Also, in general, coefficients for the models using this subset of White/Mexican family households with children indicate that independent variables in this expanded model that were similar to those used in the previous models generally have the same type of relationships to residential attainment (Table 5.6). Higher household-level human capital characteristics and socio-economic status, US nativity, and residential moves are all associated with household residence in "whiter" places with fewer

Mexicans. This discussion focuses on the effects of those coefficients that were not estimated in previous models and I start by examining the effects of family member racial characteristics.

Coefficients for variables which account for the racial characteristics of family members suggest that, even within the White/Mexican household, markers of racial difference associated with racially-distinctive, non-white phenotypes also work to divide and separate these households into places apart from White individuals and White same-race households. First, in regressions on the two measures of tract "Whiteness", there are very large but statistically insignificant parameter estimates that indicate negative relationships between the reporting of the Mexican partner's racial identity as Black or Asian versus White (the reference category) and tract percent White and tract concentration rates of White same-race households. In this sample, the cell counts for these types of households are very small and robust error estimation made these parameter estimates statistically insignificant in these models. In a larger sample of households, I would probably find that these variables are significant and negatively related to the tract percent and tract concentration rates of White same-race households. Massey, 1985, Alba and Logan, 1993, Logan et al., 1996, and Alba et al., 2000 have all found that black Hispanics are less likely to obtain suburban residence than White Hispanics.

More than a third of all White/Mexican households included a Mexican partner whose reported race was "other race" (38%) – likely a indication of mestizo racial identity – and the parameter estimate for this coefficient was negative and statistically significant for the regressions on the Whiteness of tracts. Aside from all other household-level characteristics, being a mixed-race household where the Mexican partner reports an "other race" (versus a "white") racial identity accounts for a 1.72 percentage-point reduction in the household's tract percent White and a 0.04 unit reduction in the household's tract concentration rate of White

same-race households. The relationship works in the opposite manner in regressions on tract percent Mexican, household's with an "other race" partner live in slightly more Mexican places.

In most models, the reported race of children operates in statistically significant manner and independently of the reported race of the Mexican partner. In general, reporting children's races as something other than non-Latino white (the reference category) is associated with household residence in places that are less White and more Mexican. Specifically, households where children's races are reported as "other race" versus "non-Latino, white" have residential locations that have a 1.72 percentage-point reduction in the tract percent White, a 2.52 percentage point increase in the tract percent Mexican, and a 0.13 unit increase in the tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic households. There is also a negative relationship between this dummy variable and tract concentration rates of White same-race households but it is statistically insignificant. The reporting of children as Mexican-white (also versus non-Latino White) is only significant for households in regard to the percent Mexican of their tracts and such households are associated with a 0.89 percentage-point increase in tract percent Mexican. The dummy variable "children, biological, all else" captured a myriad number of other potential racial and ethnic classifications for children in these households. Most of these were some kind of reporting of Latino identity, other than Mexican, or again Black and Asian identities for those very few households with these types of partners (White/Mexican households with Black or Asian partners were only 2% of the sample, Table 5.2). Though not significant, the direction of these parameter estimates is as expected and not reporting children's race and ethnicity as non-Latino White results in reduced residential exposure to Whites and increased residential exposure to Mexicans.

Finally, blended family households -- households where children may not be biological to one or both parents, *i.e.,* adopted, step, or children not biological to the female partner (given Census reporting of the number of children ever born to the female respondent) – appear to live in places that are "whiter" than those households where children are biological and reported as non-Latino White. Being such household accounts for a 5.05 percentage-point increase in the tract percent White, a 0.14 unit increase in the tract concentration rates of White same-race households, 2.96 percentage point decrease in the tract percent Mexican, and a 0.16 unit decrease in the tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households. I have no clear theories why this should be the case but, perhaps in the case of families with adopted children, such families are socially networked more thoroughly into White communities, communities for whom adoption is a more common social practice. These households might thus be predisposed to residence in those types of places given these social connections.

Beyond racial characteristics, household language use and English language facility, family member ancestry, and family nativity status, also effect residential location. Not surprisingly, a 3.07 percentage-point increase in the tract percent Mexican and a 0.18 unit increase in the tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic households are associated with the use of Spanish in White/Mexican households. Households that speak Spanish at home live in tracts with fewer Whites. For these households, speaking Spanish would increase family comfort levels in social interactions with Spanish speaking neighbors in local communities with more Latinos. Households without this ability might be more comfortable elsewhere and in places with a greater presence of non-Latino Whites. Beyond simple use of Spanish in the household, households marked by the Mexican partner's poor fluency in English often share less residential space with Whites. There are only a few such households in this sample (2.26%) so

error estimates are increased, yet the coefficients for this variable in relation to tract percent Mexican and tract concentration rates of Mexicans are positive and significant at a probability level of less than 0.10. Households were the Mexican partner speaks English poorly are associated with a 2.91 percentage-point increase in those households' tract percent Mexican and a 0.19 unit increase in those households' tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households.

Family member ancestry characteristics also seem to alter residential geographies. Households where the White partner may have non-white ancestral ties (as indicated by the variable White partner, mixed ancestry) are predicted to live in places with fewer Whites and more Mexicans. These households have a tract percent White that is 2.76 percentage-points lower, a tract concentration rate of White same-race households that is 0.06 units lower, a tract percent Mexican that is 2.75 percentage-points higher, and a tract concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnics that is 0.16 units higher than White/Mexican households whose White partner may not have non-white ancestry. If the Mexican partner potentially has non-Latino White ancestry (indicated by the variable Mexican partner, mixed ancestry), these relationships are reversed and they are also very effective predictors for household residential attainment to places with more Whites and fewer Mexicans. Consistent with assimilation theory, this might be an indicator that some households do blend into, maritally and spatially, with White America through racial mixing in families. The partner's retention of the Mexican ethnic identifier, however, suggests that not all ethnic identifications and ties are lost through this generational and spatial mixing with Whites.

Additionally, consistent with previous analyses, the foreign-birth (versus US-birth) of family members independently accounts for residential attainment in places with fewer tract

percentages of Whites and concentrations of White same-race households. The race of the foreign-born partner (in households where only one is foreign-born) appears to make little difference with regard to residence in less White places and all variables that capture the effect of foreign-birth are significant and negatively related to the White characteristics of tracts. And, finally, variables that account for the Mexican partner's decade of US immigration, show no significant relationship to household residential attainment. After accounting for other household-level characteristics, the Mexican partner's cohort of immigration thus seems to matter little to the residential location of these households.

Predicting Residential Location for White/Mexican Family Households

In Table 5.8, I use the parameter estimates in Table 5.7 to predict residential location for six different types of White/Mexican family households. In examples A through F, all households are alike except for differences explained in the table – all are married, home-owning households where both partners have a bachelors degree, where the household moved within the CMSA after 1985, and where the male partner is White. Again, because, I have chosen example households that all have markers of higher socio-economic status, I present "best case" scenarios for residential location with Whites.

In this table, example A describes households with markers of racial and ethnic difference that are most publicly distinguishable from those of White same-race households. Example F describes households that would probably be the least publicly distinguishable from White same-race households. Clearly, households similar to example A share residential space with fewer Whites than households similar to example F. Households like example A also share more residential space with Mexicans than household similar to example F. Essentially, after accounting for other household variation, households with more markers of racial difference

from Whites (*i.e.*, bilingualism, mestizo racial affiliations, foreign-birth, and White partners with complex racial ancestries) have lower predicted tract percent White and tract concentration rates of White same-race households than households without these distinctive and divisive markers. These racially different households also have higher predicted tract percent Mexican and tract concentration rates of Mexican co-ethnic households.

These examples indicate that, even within White/Mexican households, markers of racial difference and foreign-birth thus separate the residential geographies of White/Mexican households from other types of White/Mexican mixed-race households *and* from White same-race households and Mexican co-ethnic households. White/Mexican mixed-race households with visual and linguistic markers of racial "otherness" and "foreign-birth" might experience more discriminatory residential constraints to their housing choices than White/Mexican mixed-race households without these social cues of difference. They also might be more cognizant of White racism (see Golash-Boza, 2006) and thus more inclined to choose residence in "browner" places, places with more Mexicans. These residential areas might also be places where family member racial and ethnic affiliations are less distinctively different from those of their neighbors. For all groups of White/Mexican households, their residential spaces would thus potentially reflect racialized, idiosyncratic, paradoxical, and multiple household-level racial and ethnic identities. Minority and ethnic residential "assimilation" into areas similar to those of White same-race households cannot be assumed on the basis of intermarriage with White partners. Collective household-level identities make such assumptions empirically and theoretically invalid.

Chapter Conclusions

The regression analysis presented in this chapter suggests three primary findings. One, consistent with some aspects of assimilation theory, for all sets of households, increases in human capital and immigrant acculturation measures are strongly and positively associated with increases in tract percentages and concentrations of Whites; they are also strongly and negatively associated with decreases in tract percentages and concentrations of Mexicans. However, these regression estimates and tract predictions also show the weaknesses of assimilation theories. Specifically, after specifying similar household-level characteristics for each sample, model estimations predict that White/Mexican households and Mexican co-ethnic households do not reside in places that are racially comparable to places were White same-race households reside – they generally have smaller tract percentages and tract concentration rates of White same-race households than places where White same-race households reside. Assimilation theories alone cannot account for the residential disparities between these three types of households – other, non-economic, non-acculturative forces also work to socially divide and spatially separate White/Mexican mixed-race, White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. I attribute these forces to: a) US processes of racial stratification that work to separate those with visible marks of foreignness and non-white phenotype from those without such features (e.g., Omi & Winant, 1994; Golash-Boza, 2006), and b) processes of racialized residential preferences that are, in some cases, attributable to paradoxical racial identities (Rose, 1993; Mahtani, 2001) and multifaceted racial ties and affiliations existing within White/Mexican mixed-race households.

Additionally, after accounting for numerous other measures of household variation, the reported racial characteristics of family members in White/Mexican households are indeed independently related to residential location. Specifically, family households where family

members report an "other race" racial classification are less often attaining residence in either places with a higher percentage of Whites or areas with higher concentration rates for White same-race households. For all sets of households, these differences in the racial composition of residence are very likely a result of the racialized and minority nature of White/Mexican households and Mexican co-ethnic households. For White/Mexican households, however, residential location in places with more predicted percentages and concentrations of Mexicans (than White same-race households) and less predicted percentages and concentrations of Whites (than Mexican co-ethnic households) also suggests that these households might be choosing residence in places that best mirror the multifaceted, "in-between" nature of household racial identities.

Table 5.1: Selected Descriptive Statistics for Samples of White same-race (WW), White/Mexican mixed-race (WM), and Mexican Co-Ethnic (MM) Households

SAMPLE DESCRIPTIVES	Samples for Comparative Modeling		
	WW	**WM**	**MM**
Sample Size (N)	15,474	15,474	15,474
Average Tract Characteristics of Dependent Variables			
Average Tract Diversity (Entropy Measure)	0.43	0.48	0.45
Average Percent White in Tract	70%	59%	28%
Average Percent Mexican in Tract	14%	23%	49%
Average Tract Concentration Rate for WW households (LQWW)	1.37	1.14	0.54
Average Tract Concentration Rate for MM households (LQMM)	0.54	0.98	2.63
Average Tract Concentration Rate for WM households (LQWM)	1.14	1.48	0.98
Household Characteristics of Sample Groups			
Percent Married Households	94%	88%	93%
Percent with Children	38%	57%	74%
Average Age of the Male Partner	49.29	39.94	40.38
Average Household Income	66,019	56,335	36,794
Percent Female Partner in the Labor Force	56%	69%	51%
Average Hours Worked by the Female Partner	19.22	23.55	16.28
Average Number of People Per Household	3.02	3.49	5.12
Percent Homeowners	77%	64%	48%
Percent of Households Where Both Partners Have No High School Degree	6%	7%	55%
Percent of Households Where Both Partners Have a High School Degree	10%	11%	7%
Percent of Households Where Both Partners Have at Least Some College	17%	20%	5%
Percent of Households Where Both Partner's Have Bachelor's Degree	6%	3%	0.3%
Percent of Households Where Both Partner's Have A Graduate Degree	3%	1%	0.2%
Percent of Households Where Both Partner's Ed. > High School but not equal	57%	57%	33%
Percent Where English is the Only Household Language	86%	54%	7%
Percent Where One Partner is Foreign Born	7%	20%	14%
Percent Where Both Partners are Foreign Born	7%	2%	62%
Percent of Households that have been residentially stable since 1985	52%	38%	44%
Percent of Households that Moved within the CMSA after 1985	30%	45%	44%
Percent of Households that Moved to the CMSA from elsewhere after 1985	19%	17%	12%
Percent of Households with 1 or both partners in school	11%	16%	15%
Percent of Households with active military service	1%	1%	0.2%
Percent of Households with previous military service	45%	35%	13%

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 5.2: Selected Descriptive Statistics for the Sample of White/Mexican family households with Children.

SAMPLE DESCRIPTIVES	WM with Children < 18 years old
Sample Size (N)	8,858
Average Tract Characteristics of Dependent Variables	
Average Tract Diversity (Entropy Measure)	0.49
Average Percent White in Tract	58%
Average Percent Mexican in Tract	23%
Average Tract Concentration Rate for WW households (LQWW)	1.16
Average Tract Concentration Rate for MM households (LQMM)	1.01
Average Tract Concentration Rate for WM households (LQWM)	1.53
Household Characteristics of Sample Groups	
Percent Married Households	93%
Percent White Male/Mexican Female	51%
Percent Mexican Partner reporting "white" race	60%
Percent Mexcian Partner reporting "other race"	38%
Percent Mexican Partner reporting Asian/Pacific Isl., Black, or Amer. Indian	2%
Percent White Partner with Mixed Ancestry (see description in text)	9%
Percent Mexcian Partner with Mixed Ancestry (see description in text)	12%
Percent with Children	100%
Percent Households Reporting Children's Race as Non-Latino "white"	24%
Percent Households Reporting Children's Race as Mexcian-"white"	47%
Percent Households Reporting Children's Race as Mexican-"other race"	13%
Percent Households Reporting Children as biological and race anything else	5%
Percent Households with Children not Biological to both Parents	11%
Average Age of the Male Partner	36.24
Average Household Income	54,718
Percent Female Partner in the Labor Force	66%
Average Hours Worked by the Female Partner	21.63
Average Number of People Per Household	4.22
Percent Homeowners	63%
Percent of Households Where Both Partners Have No High School Degree	6%
Percent of Households Where Both Partners Have a High School Degree	12%
Percent of Households Where Both Partners Have at Least Some College	21%
Percent of Households Where Both Partner's Have Bachelor's Degree	3%
Percent of Households Where Both Partner's Have A Graduate Degree	1%
Percent of Households Where Both Partner's Ed. > High School but not equal	57%
Percent Where Spanish is also a Household Language	43%
Percent Where One Partner is Foreign Born	20%
Percent Where the Mexican Partner is Foreign Born	17%
Percent Where the White Partner is Foreign Born	3%
Percent Where Both Partners are Foreign Born	2%
Percent of Households that have been residentially stable since 1985	35%
Percent of Households that Moved within the CMSA after 1985	48%
Percent of Households that Moved to the CMSA from elsewhere after 1985	18%
Percent of Households with 1 or both partners in school	15%
Percent of Households with active military service	1%
Percent of Households with previous military service	29%

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 5.3: Model Fit Statistics for Basic Comparative OLS Models of White same-race (WW), White/Mexican mixed-race (WM), and Mexican co-ethnic (MM) Households

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	**WW**	**WM**	**MM**	**WW**	**WM**	**MM**
Dependent Variable	***% W***	***% W***	***% W***	***% M***	***% M***	***% M***
F statistic (df=23)	28.70	36.69	55.74	35.01	36.81	31.09
# of clusters in robust error calc.	2,109	2,230	1,985	2,109	2,230	1,985
Probability of F	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
R^2	0.0848	0.1134	0.1743	0.0927	0.1115	0.1073
N	15,474	15,474	15,474	15,474	15,474	15,474
Dependent Variable	***LOWW***	***LOWW***	***LOWW***	***LOMM***	***LOMM***	***LOMM***
F statistic (df=23)	46.67	47.09	54.05	27.39	27.82	24.79
# of clusters in robust error calc.	2,109	2,230	1,985	2,109	2,230	1,985
Probability of F	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
R^2	0.1381	0.1477	0.1929	0.0739	0.0979	0.0967
N	15,474	15,474	15,474	15,474	15,474	15,474

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 5.4: Parameter Estimates for %W and LQ WW for Comparative WW, WM, and MM OLS regressions. Note: grey cells indicate sig. @ .05; * indicates sig. @ .10; bold highlights a negative relationship with the dependent variable.

SAMPLE		WW	WM	MM	WW	WM	MM
Dependent Variable		% W	% W	% W	LQ WW	LQ WW	LQ WW
		coeff.	coeff.	coeff.	coeff.	coeff.	coeff.
Human Capital & SES	*household income (in ten thousands)*	1.0450	1.4054	1.4963	0.0236	0.0301	0.0323
	household income squared	**-0.0226**	**-0.0278**	**-0.0389**	**-0.0005**	**-0.0006**	**-0.0008**
	homeowner	2.1897	3.1368	3.8848	0.2538	0.2110	0.1331
	high school	4.6396	6.7898	4.6347	0.0958	0.1333	0.0755
	some college	7.8912	10.3298	7.4698	0.1451	0.1826	0.1449
	bachelors degree	10.5775	13.5580	11.1738	0.1718	0.2056	0.2032
	graduate degree	8.6761	12.3733	6.4636	0.1117	0.1697	0.0519
	one partner has > ed. level	7.6609	8.7897	3.7249	0.1467	0.1500	0.0631
	English only in household	1.7421	4.7603	5.2172	0.0645	0.1000	0.1025
	recent within CMSA movers	2.1798	3.6185	4.4953	0.0366	0.0858	0.0940
	recent long distance movers	4.8918	9.0222	15.6930	0.1268	0.2317	0.3321
Nativity Status	*one partner foreign-born*	1.1705	**-1.8707**	**-4.0946**	**-0.0006**	**-0.0528**	**-0.0808**
	both foreign-born	**-0.3285**	**-3.8362**	**-8.9818**	**-0.0653**	**-0.1187**	**-0.1945**
Family Structure	*# people in household*	**-1.2252**	**-1.7548**	**-1.2821**	0.0066	**-0.0176**	**-0.0228**
	male partner's age	0.1099	0.0133	0.0020	0.0007	**-0.0001**	0.0003
	married couple household	**-0.3530**	0.0552	1.0002	0.0605	0.0292	0.0288
	children present	2.6371	2.1284	* 0.9969	0.0654	0.0641	0.0413
	female in labor force	0.1945	**-0.4501**	**-0.2696**	**-0.0027**	**-0.007**	0.0036
	females # work hours	**-0.0481**	**-0.0390**	0.0067	**-0.001**	**-0.0012**	**-0.0000**
Military Service & School Attend.	*one partner in school*	0.4392	**-0.1835**	**-0.8272**	**-0.0026**	* **-0.0204**	**-0.0189**
	both in school	**-1.5490**	**-0.2805**	**-3.1118**	**-0.0185**	**-0.0170**	**-0.0751**
	one or both partners in active military	**-1.4779**	2.4244	11.0383	0.1460	0.1978	0.3760
	one or both partners previously in military	**-0.8545**	0.2141	2.1228	0.0236	0.0233	0.0461
	constant	57.9251	42.3696	24.3574	0.8809	0.687	0.426

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 5.5: Parameter Estimates for %M and LQMM for Comparative WW, WM, and MM OLS regressions. Note: grey cells indicate sig. @ .05; * indicates sig. @ .10; bold highlights a negative relationship with the dependent variable.

SAMPLE		WW	WM	MM	WW	WM	MM
Dependent Variable		% M	% M	% M	LQ MM	LQ MM	LQ MM
		coeff.	coeff.	coeff.	coeff.	coeff.	coeff.
Human Capital & SES	*household income (in ten thousands)*	**-0.8715**	**-1.3435**	**-1.1594**	**-0.041**	**-0.0700**	**-0.0710**
	household income squared	0.0201	0.0297	* 0.0143	0.0010	0.0016	0.0008
	homeowner	**-0.0924**	**-0.9789**	**-2.4564**	0.0402	0.0035	**-0.0226**
	high school	**-3.6667**	**-5.908**	**-4.6567**	**-0.2017**	**-0.3635**	**-0.3262**
	some college	**-6.1637**	**-9.1496**	**-7.944**	**-0.3335**	**-0.55**	**-0.5306**
	bachelors degree	**-8.491**	**-12.6477**	**-10.7953**	**-0.4378**	**-0.7176**	**-0.7697**
	graduate degree	**-7.7255**	**-12.3065**	**-7.0312**	**-0.4091**	**-0.7204**	* **-0.4710**
	one partner has > ed. level	**-6.0444**	**-8.1975**	**-3.6403**	**-0.3171**	**-0.4953**	**-0.2443**
	English only in household	**-0.3135**	**-3.8448**	**-4.6564**	**-0.0176**	**-0.2166**	**-0.2877**
	recent within CMSA movers	**-0.9585**	**-2.3016**	**-5.2948**	**-0.0598**	**-0.1360**	**-0.3496**
	recent long distance movers	**-2.409**	**-5.5953**	**-13.48238**	**-0.1262**	**-0.2980**	**-0.8790**
Nativity Status	*one partner foreign-born*	**-1.1829**	0.5905	3.7745	**-0.0549**	0.0406	0.2456
	both foreign-born	**-2.4633**	1.1742	5.4220	**-0.1266**	0.1100	0.3581
Family Structure	*# people in household*	0.9245	1.6672	1.1819	0.0550	0.1029	0.0827
	male partner's age	**-0.0782**	**-0.0403**	0.0325	**-0.0036**	**-0.0012**	0.0017
	married couple household	* **-0.9046**	0.0028	**-1.1354**	**-0.0366**	0.0105	**-0.0429**
	children present	**-1.8598**	**-1.9239**	* **-1.0800**	**-0.0952**	**-0.1106**	**-0.0669**
	female in labor force	**-0.7465**	0.3670	1.1494	**-0.0327**	0.0188	0.0809
	females # work hours	0.0363	0.0265	**-0.0145**	0.0017	0.0012	**-0.0011**
Military Service & School Attend.	*one partner in school*	* **-0.6445**	**-0.0931**	**-0.8737**	* **-0.0336**	**-0.0151**	**-0.0608**
	both in school	* 1.6058	**-0.382**	2.6641	0.0695	**-0.0248**	0.1809
	one or both partners in active military	**-2.8511**	**-7.0057**	**-15.2963**	**-0.0813**	**-0.2857**	**-0.6774**
	one or both partners previously in military	0.824	**-0.2449**	**-2.5654**	0.0441	**-0.0208**	**-0.1527**
	constant	22.2227	35.5425	54.4223	0.9224	1.6961	2.87

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 5.6: Model Fit Statistics for WM Households with Children, Final Expanded Model

White/Mexican Family Households -Model Fit Statistics-	Dependent Variables			
	%W	LQWW	%M	LQMM
F Statistic	18.69	25.02	19.42	14.82
Degrees of Freedom	37	37	37	37
# of clusters in robust error calculation	1970	1970	1970	1970
Probability of F	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
R-squared	0.1325	0.1726	0.1274	0.1085
N	8,858	8,858	8,858	8,858
change in F stat. over model w/o child's race (df = 4)	4.05	4.22	4.61	3.62
sig. of change in F statistic	0.0029	0.0021	0.001	0.006

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 5.7: Parameter Estimates for OLS regressions for WM Households with Children, Final Expanded Models. Note: grey cells indicate sig. @ .05; * indicates sig. @ .10; bold indicates a negative relationship with the dependent variable. Additional parameter estimates of military service & school attendance and standard errors for all variables are omitted from presentation but are available upon request to the author.

Indpendent Variables		Dependent Variables			
		% W coeff.	LQWW coeff.	% M coeff.	LQMM coeff.
Family Race Age Sex & Work Characteristics	*white male*	**-0.1416**	**-0.0019**	**-0.1105**	**-0.0009**
	Mexican - Black	**-8.8841**	**-0.1727**	9.7289	0.9278
	Mexican - Asian	**-1.6265**	**-0.0246**	2.3007	0.0812
	Mexican - Native American	**-0.1592**	0.0219	0.0378	**-0.0011**
	Mexican - Other Race	**-1.7023**	**-0.0401**	1.0420	0.0455
	children, Mexican -white	**-0.8429**	**-0.0134**	0.8908	* 0.0455
	children, Mexican-other race	**-1.7233**	**-0.0282**	2.5243	0.1279
	children, biological, all else	**-0.0492**	**-0.0043**	0.3333	0.0156
	children, non-biological to both parents	5.0541	0.1352	**-2.9645**	**-0.1628**
	White partner, mixed ancestory	**-2.7639**	**-0.0508**	2.7451	0.1681
	Mexican partner, mixed ancestory	3.9582	0.0841	**-3.0490**	**-0.1740**
	Spanish spoken in the household	**-3.6009**	**-0.0764**	3.0752	0.1794
	# people in household	**-1.7328**	**-0.0201**	1.6410	0.1029
	male partner's age	0.1247	0.0025	**-0.1220**	**-0.0054**
	married couple household	1.9636	0.0559	**-1.6237**	**-0.0573**
	female in labor force	**-0.3109**	**-0.0089**	0.2877	0.0193
	females # work hours	**-0.0461**	**-0.0014**	0.0366	* 0.0017
Human Capital & SES Characteristics	*household income (in ten thousands)*	1.3647	0.0307	**-1.2791**	**-0.0673**
	household income squared	**-0.0314**	**-0.0007**	0.0285	0.0016
	homeowner	3.3030	0.1871	**-1.3520**	**-0.0202**
	high school	4.8811	0.1014	**-4.3165**	**-0.2863**
	some college	8.3657	0.1554	**-7.5100**	**-0.4848**
	bachelors degree	11.7835	0.2294	**-11.5321**	**-0.6758**
	graduate degree	10.5868	0.1425	**-11.1225**	**-0.6935**
	one partner has > ed. level	6.9032	0.1226	**-6.5467**	**-0.4213**
	recent within CMSA movers	3.6264	0.0886	**-2.2742**	**-0.1324**
	recent long distance movers	8.7928	0.2354	**-5.4267**	**-0.2856**
	Mex. speaks English poorly or not at all	**-3.7978**	**-0.0841**	* 2.9112	* 0.1899
Nativity Status	*White partner, foreign-born*	**-2.9879**	**-0.0616**	0.7505	0.0754
	Mexican partner, foreign-born	**-2.6544**	**-0.0680**	1.2352	0.0739
	Mexican immigrated in the 70's	0.6430	0.0127	**-0.8416**	**-0.0690**
	Mexican immigrated in the 80's	0.7943	0.0051	**-1.3065**	**-0.0929**
	both foreign-born	**-4.0949**	**-0.1339**	**1.5490**	0.1416
	constant	48.1729	0.8560	30.9910	1.4396

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

Table 5.8: Household Types A-F, Selected Types of WM Household and Their Residential Attainment, Measured in Terms of Tract % White, Tract %Mexican, and Tract Concentration Rates for Whites and Mexicans

Selected Types of WM Households Note: unless otherwise indicated below all households are married, homeowning households where both partners have a bachelors degree, where the household moved within the CMSA after 1985, and where the male partner is "White"	**Predicted % White**	**Predicted LQ WW**	**Predicted % Mexican**	**Predicted LQ MM**
A: White partner mixed ancestry, Mex.- "other race", both are foreign born, bilingual household, children reported as Mex. - "other race"	54.51	1.08	25.32	1.23
B: Neither partner has mixed ancestry, Mex. - "other race", Mex. is foreign born, bilingual household, children reported as Mex. - "other race"	58.72	1.19	22.26	1.00
C: Neither partner has mixed ancestry, Mex. - "other race", both are native born, bilingual household, child reported as Mex. - "other race"	61.37	1.26	21.03	0.92
D: Neither partner has mixed ancestry, Mex. - "white", both are native born, bilingual household, children reported as Mex. - "white"	64.80	1.32	18.35	0.80
E: Neither partner has mixed ancestry, Mex. - "white", both are native born, English monolingual household, children reported as Mex. - "white"	68.40	1.39	15.28	0.62
F: Minority partner has mixed ancestry, Mexican - "white", both are native born, English monolingual household, children reported as non-Latino White	72.35	1.49	11.34	0.40

Source: Sample data from the 1990 1-in-6 long-form sample (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993).

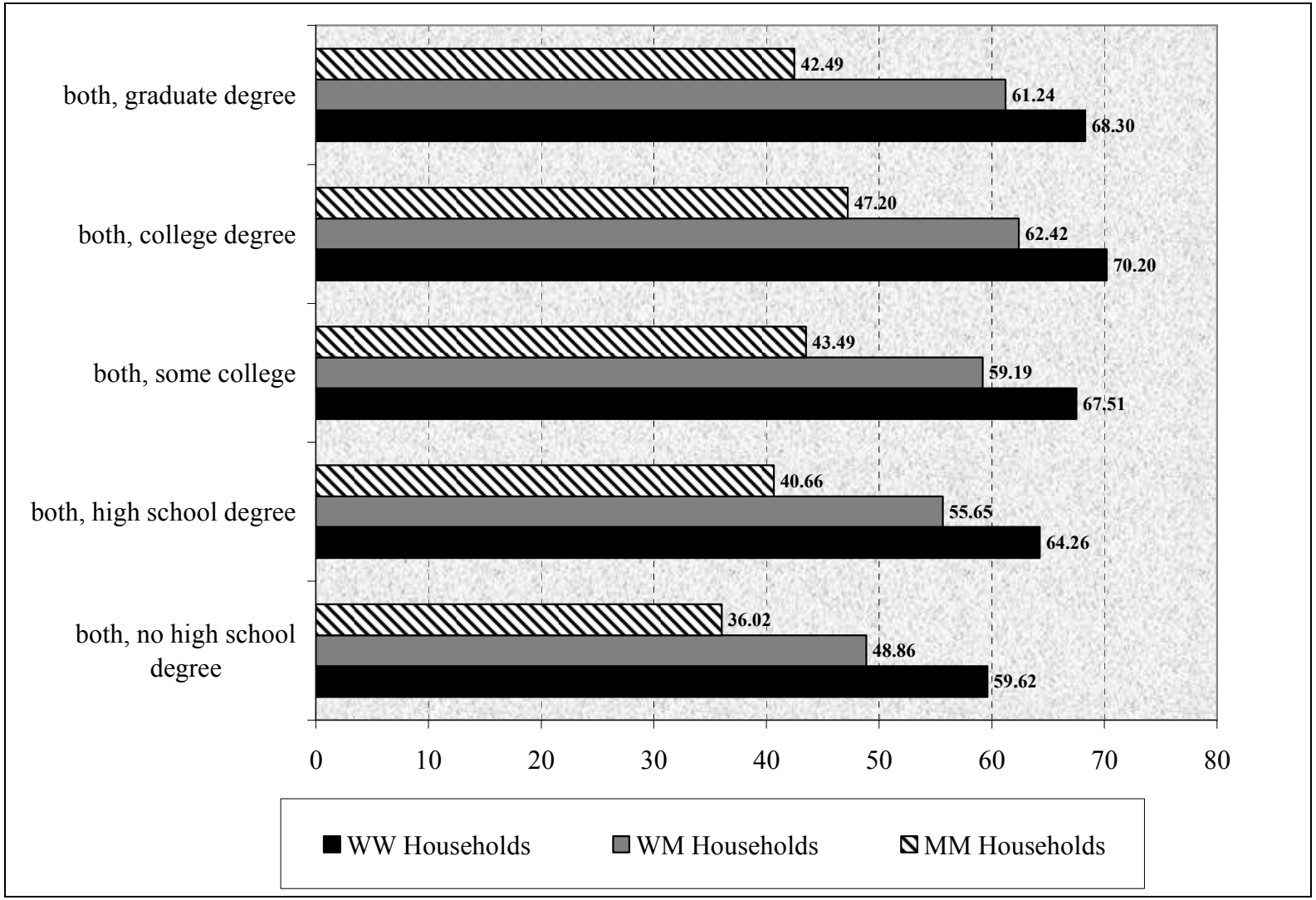


Figure 5.1: Predicted Tract Percent White (%W) by Household Education Levels. Except as noted above, households for all three sample groups are exactly the same: both partners in all households are renters, all are married couple households, all have female partners who work, all households have children, all are US-born, and English is the only household language. Predictions for all three samples use values of continuous variables equal to their mean value in WM households.

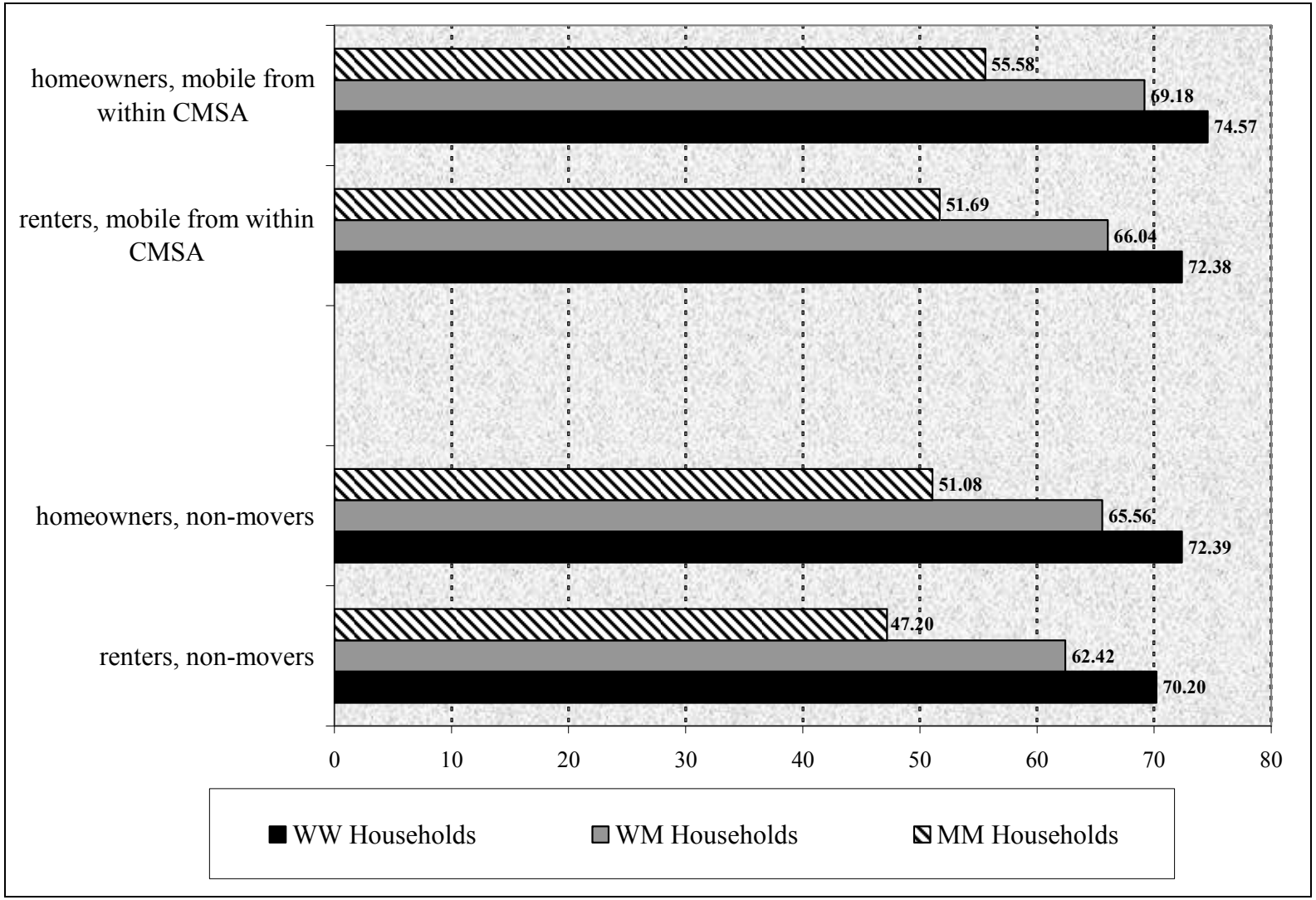


Figure 5.2: Predicted Tract Percent White (%W) by Homeownership and Residential Mobility. Except as noted above, households for all three sample groups are exactly the same: both partners in all households have a bachelor's degree, all are married couple households, all have female partners who work, all households have children, all are US-born, and English is the only household language. Predictions for all three samples use values of continuous variables equal to their mean value in WM households.

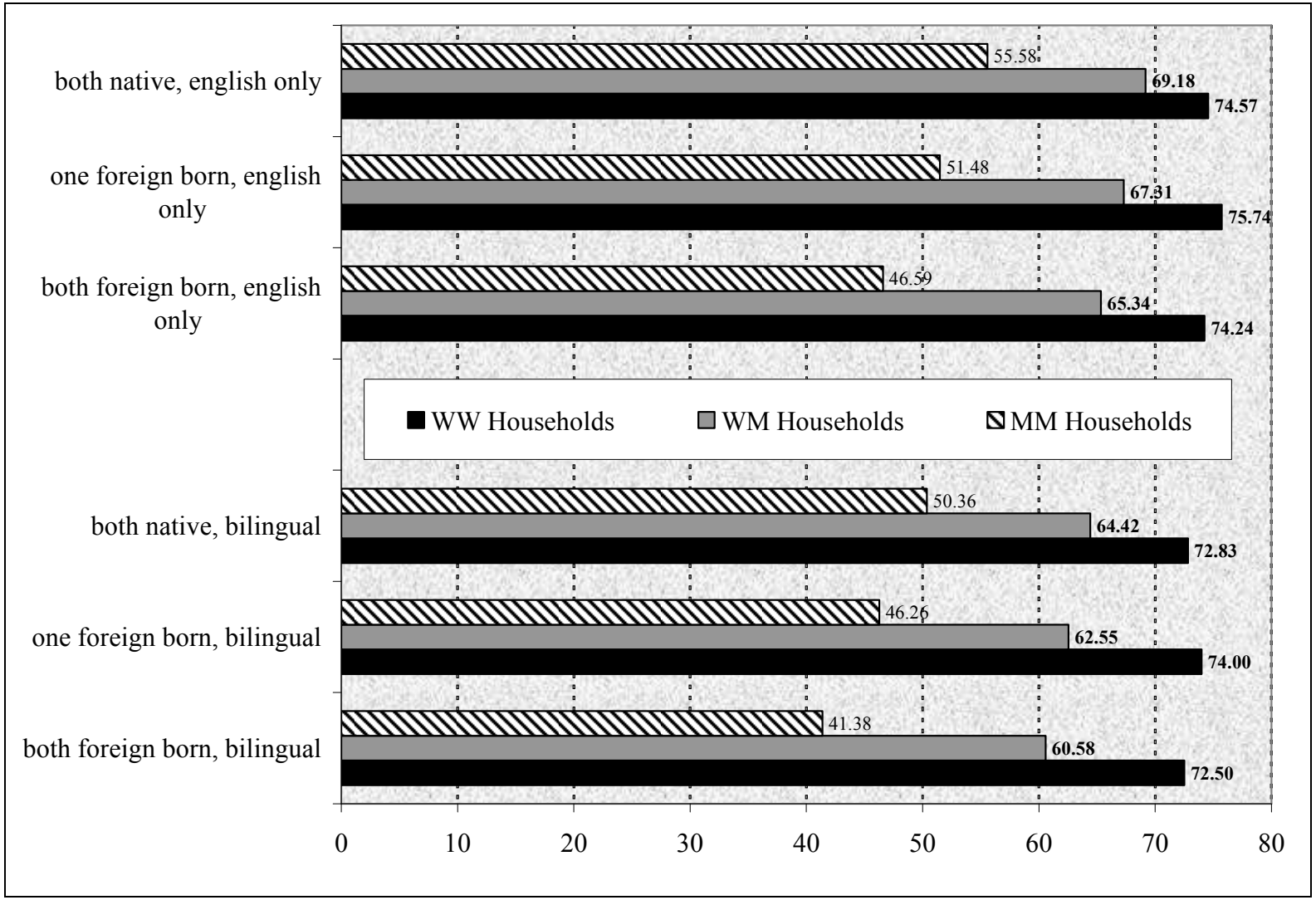


Figure 5.3: Predicted Tract Percent White (%W) by Nativity Status and Language Use. Except as noted above, households for all three groups are exactly the same: both partners have a bachelor's degree, all are married couple households, all have female partners who work, all households have children, English is the only household language, and all moved within the CMSA. Predictions for all three samples use values of continuous variables equal to their mean value in WM households.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

There were over 1.6 million White/Latino opposite-sex households in the United States in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003b). Regrettably, despite this substantial number of households, prior research has focused too little attention on the activities of these types of households. Almost no previous research examined how these mixed-race households managed segregated urban socio-spatial contexts – societies and cities that are marked according to the racial and ethnic affiliations of single-race/single-ethnic groups. Thus, the primary purpose of this project was to understand the relationships between urban residential locations and household-level characteristics of White/Mexican mixed-race households – nationally the most numerous type of White/Latino households.

The study area location for this analysis was multiethnic Los Angeles -- a very socially and spatially segregated place where Whites and Latinos (and other groups) are divided socially, economically, and residentially. In 1990, over 4.3% of all households in the Los Angeles region were White/Mexican mixed-race households (6.2% were White/Latino households in general). Unfortunately, despite being roughly equivalent in number to Black same-race households, such Los Angeles area households have been and still are generally ignored as "agents of urban transformation" (Buzar et al., 2005, p. 413).

This project problematized White/Mexican households as a consequential site for the formation of racial identities, a collective unit subject to prejudicial forces of urban segregation, and a unit whose residential locations are reflective of complex racial ties and affiliations. In this effort to understand the residential settlement of White/Mexican households, I documented

the typical racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods for White/Mexican households. I mapped their intra-metropolitan residential concentrations. I evaluated racial identifications with regard to the racial composition of household residential locations. I investigated household-level characteristics that relate to the racial composition of White/Mexican residential attainment. Most importantly, I compared the residential geographies of White/Mexican households versus those White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households -- counterpart households from both partner's racial and ethnic groups.

Unlike previous work by geographers, I examined these mixed-race household-level residential locations with regard to racialization theory and feminist and cultural studies notions of difference; not simply "race-blind" theories about individual-level ethnic assimilation. Given the unique project data set (the full 1-in-6 confidential sample from the long form census for the Los Angeles Consolidated Metropolitan Area) and given my unique conceptual framework, I presented an analysis of White/Mexican residential geographies that is unusual in its ability to compare household-to-household settlement geographies for different types of households across intra-urban settings. Because of data availability restrictions, most previous work on residential attainment was limited to very coarse analyses of residential locations to central-cities or suburbs. Such work made assumptions about neighborhood racial attainment that were quite spurious given the coarsely-scaled nature of the geographic areas in question.

The key empirical finding from this dissertation is that neighborhood racial compositions and intra-urban residential geographies of White/Mexican households are "in-between" those of comparable White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. White/Mexican households typically have a mix of both White, Mexican, and Other Latino neighbors. Exposure indices suggest that White/Mexican households generally live in places where their neighborhood racial

composition is 59% White, 23% Mexican, 5% Non-Mexican Latino, and 13% other (Black, Asian, Native American, or non-Latino Other race). Neighborhood proportions for Whites and Mexicans differ for White-same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. In contrast to White same-race households, White/Mexican households have more Mexican and Other Latino neighbors; relative to Mexican co-ethnic households, White/Mexican households have many more White neighbors. Residential attainment models find that, even after controlling for numerous household-level factors not accounted for in exposure calculations, White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households that are otherwise equivalent to White/Mexican households do *not* share the same racially-defined residential space as White/Mexican households. The pattern of "in-betweenness" in the racial composition of neighborhoods remains consistent.

This pattern also typifies comparisons of household residential distributions as well. White/Mexican mixed-race households live in and nearby Mexican residential concentrations more often than White same-race households. They also live closer to White residential concentrations than do Mexican co-ethnic households. They do not typically share the same areas of residential concentrations as either of the two other households.

In the next few sections, I summarize a few other key findings from Chapters 4 and 5, discuss how racialized and paradoxical residential preferences and discrimination in labor and housing markets may work to create these White/Mexican geographies of "in-betweeness". I also discuss the theoretical implications of these findings for studies of racial formation in mixed-race households and project limitations and contributions for understanding processes of urban segregation.

Summarizing Locations in "In-Between" Space

According to my conceptual framework, White/Mexican and other White/Latino households are "racialized" and "paradoxical" unions. They are racialized unions subject to forces of US racial stratification which affect racially-based place stratification. They are also paradoxical unions with household identities that are *both* Mexican *and* White. Thus, White/Mexican households are far from being ethnically- and racially-equivalent to Whites or to Mexicans (as different variants of assimilation theories presume given their focus on "assimilative" endpoints). Instead, they are constitutive of complex racial ties and affiliations that shape residential preferences for the racial composition of neighborhoods. This dissertation provides empirical support for these theoretical assertions.

Both exposure indices and household residential attainment models indicate variations in household-level characteristics are associated with residential locations in differently racialized types of neighborhood spaces – this is especially true with regard to "race", ancestry, and nativity within the White/Mexican household. Households with visible and linguistic markers of "otherness" from Whites – family members with browner skin, darker hair and eyes (potentially indicated by racial identifications that are reported as "other race") and families with limited linguistic acculturation to English and/or foreign-born family members – generally have more Mexican neighbors than households without these characteristics. Additionally, households with non-native partners and where family members report "other race" racial classifications tended to be somewhat less frequent types of White/Mexican household pairings, a further indicator of the degree of difference between members of these households and native-born Whites.

Collectively, White/Mexican households, even those that are not likely to be as discriminated against due to racially-typified phenotypes or other markers of "foreignness" *(i.e.*,

Mexican partners and family members that are native-born, that speak English well, and that report Mexican-"white" racial identities) also live in paradoxical urban space. This paradoxical space is "in-between" space neither fully racialized as White nor Mexican. The places where they concentrate tend to be towards the east of the city of Los Angeles and include suburban cities (*e.g.,* West Covina, Diamond Bar, Chino Hills, Bloomington, Fontana, and Anaheim) that are locationally and compositionally (in terms of racial composition) in-between the racially-clustered tracts of Latino-dominated central cities and White-dominated suburbs. In Los Angeles, "in-between spaces" exist apart from the "whiter" beach towns (like Santa Monica, Malibu, Laguna Beach) and suburbs (like Thousand Oaks and Encino) and the "browner" Mexican concentrations in East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights.

White/Mexican mixed-race households tend to share residential areas with Whites far more so than Mexican co-ethnic households share space with Whites. Perhaps this is because White/Mexican households partially share in a measure of the racial privilege afforded to Whites, members of the most racially-dominant social group (Omi & Winant, 1994). With two minority-raced members, Mexican co-ethnic households would not share even a portion of this privilege and Mexican co-ethnic households are the most segregated of the three groups. The average concentration rate of Mexican co-ethnic household across neighborhoods is 2.63 times their metropolitan proportion and many Mexican co-ethnic households live in neighborhoods that have nearly ten times their metropolitan proportion. White/Mexican households, in contrast, are not nearly as concentrated (their average residential concentration rate was only 1.48 times their metropolitan proportion). White/Mexican households, therefore, do share more residential space with Whites than do Mexican co-ethnic households.

However, in comparison to White same-race households, White/Mexican households are much more likely to have Mexican neighbors. Even if many White/Mexican households do not share residences in the same highly-concentrated residential clusters as Mexicans, they do tend to residentially concentrate in places *near* these clusters of Mexican settlement. Places where White/Mexican households disproportionately concentrate are places that are within easy driving distance of predominantly Mexican communities. Thus, they could be sites for the practice and everyday renewal (e.g. Twine, 1996; Renn, 2000, 2003; Nelson, 1999; Butler, 1993) of Latino identity through both local/residential interactions with other Latinos *and* frequent visits to nearby historic centers of Mexican settlement. These locations are in places with comparatively better housing and fewer social ills than some Mexican barrios, but they are also near the commercial and cultural districts of concentrated Mexican settlement. In these nearby places, White/Mexican households could conduct commercial transactions bilingually if not completely in Spanish; celebrate Mexican heritage during both American and Mexican national holidays; and witness contemporary Latino music and art. In other words, these are places that provide nearby opportunities for the practice and performance of household- and individual-level Latino identities.

Residential locations in places in or near spaces of Mexican concentration are also locations that are associated with the reporting, and possibly the perpetuation, of "other race" racial identities within White/Mexican mixed-race households. Co-residents in these spaces might be politically very aware of their racialized status and, locally, essentialist racial projects (Omi & Winant, 1994) might encourage people in mixed-race households to retain and assert "other race" racial identities – where "other race" in this case was the closest approximation to the Mexican mestizo identity on the Census questionnaire. People in White/Mexican households

that live in the "whitest" of residential areas (*i.e*., Malibu, Laguna Beach, Palos Verdes, *etc*.) are much less often reporting "other race" racial identities for family members.

Residence in "browner" spaces – places with more Mexicans – might be psychologically safer for "browner" families. These would be places where families might experience less racism from non-Latino Whites. Unfortunately, to the extent that these concentrations are near centers of highly segregated Mexican co-ethnic settlement and to the extent that sometimes the two household groups share residential concentrations, some of these White/Mexican concentrations might also be the material expression of prejudicial and discriminatory housing market forces that spatially constrain White/Mexican households with phenotypes that are more typically mestizo or with last names and other markers of identity that are more typically Latino and thus more foreign sounding (e.g., Golash-Boza, 2006; Massey & Denton, 1992; 1993).

Untangling the impact of household-level characteristics on residential location is difficult with purely descriptive analyses. Thus, I also estimated residential attainment models for matched samples of White same-race, White/Mexican mixed-race, and Mexican co-ethnic households. I also estimated models for a subset of White/Mexican family households with children. Because I was interested in the racial composition of residence rather than more economic class-based concepts of residential attainment, I measured neighborhood residential attainment with four tract-level racial and ethnic characteristics: the percent White and percent Mexican of individuals and the tract concentration rate for White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. The first two dependent variables captured the racial and ethnic composition of individuals in the household's neighborhood; the latter two measures described the racial and ethnic composition of households in tracts relative to the racial and ethnic composition of similar households in the metropolitan area. Places with higher tract concentrations for White or

Mexican households can be thought of as racially/ethnically defined territories for those two household-types.

Obviously, because I use standard Census-collected information in this dissertation, the data I use for residential attainment modeling omitted some pertinent household information about family members – their skin colors, their school boundaries, their neighborhood family affiliations, their worship locations, their desires about types of housing, their desires about neighborhood types, their experiences with discrimination, *etc*. All of these factors impact household-level residential decisions. However, even potentially poorly-specified (because of these omissions) and, therefore, somewhat flawed, the matched residential attainment models that I presented in Chapter 5 were uniformly-constructed across all regressions using the three samples households.

For those household-level characteristics that I could evaluate, I did find some limited support for expectations of residential location based on assimilation theories. Residential predictions based on model estimates offer substantial support for expectations about household residential locations from racialization theory and feminist notions of difference. Consistent with assimilation theory, for all sets of households, increases in human capital and immigrant acculturation are strongly associated with increases in the presence of Whites in tracts; they are also strongly associated with decreases in presence of Mexicans in tracts. However, regression estimates and tract predictions also show the weaknesses of assimilation theories. Specifically, after specifying similar household-level characteristics for each sample of households, models predict that White/Mexican households and Mexican co-ethnic households do not reside in places that are racially equivalent to places where comparable White same-race households reside – the neighborhoods for the two minority samples generally have less White presence than

places where White same-race households reside. Importantly, Mexican co-ethnic households at all education levels are far less like to have as great a number of White neighbors as similar White/Mexican households.

Additionally, after accounting for numerous other measures of household variation, the reported racial characteristics of family members in White/Mexican households with children are indeed independently-related to residential location. Specifically, family households where family members report an "other race" racial classification are less often attaining residence either in places with a higher percentage of Whites or in areas with higher concentration rates for White same-race households. Model parameter estimates indicate that households that report Mexican partners' and children's racial identifications as Mexican-"black" would be very likely to live in places with even less White presence. The parameter estimates for the variable "Mexican-black" was not significant in my models of residential attainment, but this is very likely due to robust error estimation and the very small proportion of such mixed-race White/Mexican households in the Los Angeles sample. Stratifying markers of "blackness" in White/Mexican households would probably be very significant in larger samples.

How Does White/Mexican "In-Between" Space Occur?

Assimilation theories alone simply cannot account for the residential disparities between these three types of households – other non-economic, non-acculturative forces also work to socially divide and spatially separate White/Mexican mixed-race, White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. I attribute these forces to: a) US processes of racial stratification that work to separate those with visible marks of foreignness and non-white phenotype from those without such features (e.g., Omi & Winant, 1994; Golash-Boza, 2006), and b) processes of racialized residential preferences that are, in some cases, attributable to the paradoxical identities

(Rose, 1993; Mahtani, 2001) and multifaceted racial ties and affiliations existing within White/Mexican mixed-race households. For all sets of households, differences in the predicted White racial composition of residence are very likely a result of the racialized and minority nature of White/Mexican and Mexican-co-ethnic households and the privileged majority group status of White same-race households. For White/Mexican households the patterns revealed in my analysis suggest that they might be choosing residence in places that best mirror the multifaceted nature of household-level racial identities.

Race and Residential Preferences

Household-level racial and ethnic identities (amongst other markers of difference) very likely affect household-level residential decision-making. Indeed evidence reported throughout this dissertation suggests this possibility. Households with Mexican "other race" partners live in places with about five percentage- points fewer White neighbors than White/Mexican households with Mexican "white" partners. Note also that even White/Mexican households with Mexican-white family members (the most "like white" household type) typically live in neighborhoods with about ten percentage points fewer White neighbors than White same-race households. The reporting of a Mexican-white racial identity for family members may also represent a racial classification that is different from non-Latino White, especially if the household is very aware of mestizo ancestry or if they have experienced racial prejudice because of darker skin color (Rodriguez, 2002).

Households with foreign-born Mexican partners, where the household is bilingual, where the Mexican partner speaks poor English, and where the White partner reports ancestral origins that are potentially "non-white" are also households that live in neighborhoods with less White presence and an far greater Mexican presence than White/Mexican households without these

characteristics. All the above characteristics would be household-level markers of foreignness that serve to racially "other" White/Mexican households as well (Golash-boza, 2006) and encourage nativist notions of superiority from Whites (Allen, 2002).

Awareness of this "othering" may lead households to seek residence in places that they could afford, that serve the needs, desires, and values of individual family members, *and* that match family member positions along the color-line. Thus, "fitting-in" with the racial schema of neighborhoods might be a residential goal for some households. I illustrate this residential practice of "fitting-in" with a portion of an interview that I held in September, 2004 in Los Angeles with a 33 year-old lady named Anna. A portion of our conversation appears below.

> Margaret: So, did you buy a condo or a house?
>
> Anna: We bought a condo, we could never have afforded a house. It's too expensive. So, where else did we consider… it would have been nice to move to Echo Park or Los Feliz or Silverlake, those again were like, predominantly Mexican. Los Feliz is like in the middle [moderately diverse] I think now and even Silverlake is too, but that was something that we definitely thought it was important…but definitely we rank our criteria…
>
> Margaret: Like a calculus?
>
> Anna: Yeah. Like, "What is your top five?" It has to have some kind of balcony. Some place where you can step outside. Even if you never do, at least you have the option. It has to have laundry. Laundry was top thing for me although that didn't happen. Diversity. Diversity was in the top five. It has to be a diverse neighborhood. I cannot just live in some Whitey, isolated hole.
>
> Margaret: When you say diversity, do you specifically mean some Mexican diversity as well? I mean, could you just move to an Asian community here in Los Angeles. I mean predominantly Asian.
>
> Anna: No
>
> Margaret: You mean like all different types.
>
> Anna: I mean like all different types, but I would also move into a predominantly Latino neighborhood. Absolutely. I would have no problem with that. Nor would my husband. For him… he loves all things Mexican that's for sure

> …. but I don't think I would ever live in an all Asian neighborhood. I feel pretty sensitive about, you know, people. I never would move into an all black neighborhood either cause I think, sometimes, people are living in an enclave for a reason. Whether it's for them, their since of community, or their sense of "Here, I'm at home" and, you know, I think gentrification is not a good thing. ***So, I wouldn't want to feel that, I'm moving into this neighborhood, and my husband and I are both different from people around us. Whereas, in moving into a Latino neighborhood, I would never feel that way.*** You know, but in an Asian neighborhood I would. I wouldn't want people to feel now you have a foreigner living next door to you, put your customs that, you know, you do, away because I don't want to see that. You know what I mean. I would never think that but I wouldn't want other people to feel that way.

Anna and her partner very clearly try to match neighborhood and family-member racial characteristics in their residential decision-making. They were also clearly were aware of the racially-typified nature of some Los Angeles places. Places like Los Feliz and Echo Park have plenty of middle class residential situations but also a large percentage of Latinos and other non-white households. They eventually bought a condo in the north part of Culver City, between the White beach cities, Black South Central Los Angeles, and Latino East Los Angeles. According to Anna, they want to live in places where they do not seem different form their neighbors – where they seem to belong. Earlier in the conversation, Anna claimed that her racial identification was "Mexican-American" (and for her this was both a racial and ethnic affiliation) and that her husband was just "plain White" – but as she stated later, "with a [love] for all things Mexican". These household-level identities clearly impacted their residential decision-making calculus.

With regard to the relationship between residence and the reported racial characteristics of children, other qualitative evidence suggests that some racialized contextual interactions rooted in neighborhoods may compel mixed-race families to move. Twine (1999) studied the parenting decisions of White birth mothers of biracial (White and Afro-Caribbean descent)

children. She found that some mothers moved their families to racially diverse neighborhoods when they perceived White racist attitudes towards their children in more segregated places. Some White/Mexican families may similarly prefer to live closer to Mexican settlements if they perceive White racism against Latinos to be particularly strong. These areas might be considered emotionally safe because they may foster close minority-group relations that offer a source of strength and resiliency against future encounters with White discrimination. These places might also allow children to learn about both aspects of their racial and cultural heritages.

Parental desire to live in or be close to minority areas may be stronger if their children have typical mestizo phenotypic features (i.e., dark hair, eyes, and skin). Concern about matching children's appearance with neighborhood racial composition may develop gradually over the life-course of the family. Families without children are likely less sensitive to prejudicial neighbors than families with children. The onset of child-birth may initiate residential moves to more racially- or ethnically-mixed areas (Root, 1992). Yet, concern for children's educational needs may conflict with concern for their emotional needs. For example, to the extent that better school systems are associated with higher socioeconomic status and correlated with wealthy, White-American suburban neighborhoods, White/Mexican couples with school-age children may choose to live in White residential areas.

Discrimination in Housing and Labor Markets

Findings from studies about Latino-White residential disparities may also help explain the residential attainment findings that I present here and in Chapters 4 and 5. Some researchers, like Shelling (1971) and Clark (1992), insist that own-group racial and ethnic preferences explain segregation patterns for both Whites and minorities. Still other researchers insist US processes of racial stratification result in group and place stratification processes that

contribute to continued segregation. For instance, in an analysis of the LASUI, Los Angeles Survey of Urban Inequality, Zubrinsky and Bobo (1996) found that Blacks and Latinos both perceive "whiter" places to be hostile to their residential presence and that those "whiter" places were where housing market discrimination operated to the disadvantage of their groups. These perceptions of racial prejudice occur even though Blacks and Latinos sometimes espouse preferences for and have the financial ability to afford living in "whiter" places and even when members of both groups have a very clear understanding of regional housing possibilities and associated neighborhood racial profiles. In the same study, White preferences with regard to neighborhood racial profiles indicated that, though most households were not opposed to few minorities in their residential areas (*i.e.*, very moderate integration) Whites still preferred to have a majority of White neighbors, followed by a clear rank-ordering of preferences for Asian, then Latino, and lastly Black neighbors. All non-black groups seemed to desire residence in places with very few Blacks.

Other researchers have sought to examine the effect that housing market discrimination has on the residential chances of Latinos. Discrimination (unequal treatment according to racial, ethnic, or gender classifications) can occur in mortgage lending (Holloway, 1998), provision of home owner's insurance, and in housing transactions through outright racial or ethnic exclusion by prejudiced real estate agents, developers, or landlords (Yinger, 1995, 1999). It also occurs in more subtle ways through racial or ethnic steering (guiding potential home owners or renters to neighborhoods that are in accordance with their skin color or ethnicity) and harassment by neighbors (Galster, 1998; Yinger, 1995, 1999). Reasons for discrimination include real estate agent prejudice, perceptions of customer prejudice -- such that agents steer clients to areas where other members of their particular racial or ethnic group live -- and agent expectations about the

potential for people in certain neighborhoods to hold racial and ethnic prejudices about their client's race or ethnicity (Yinger, 1995, 1999).

Although discrimination has little chance of being proven beyond a reasonable doubt, fair housing audits have found substantial differences between the treatment of home applicants who are otherwise alike in every way except that of ethnicity or race. African- and Latino-Americans have experienced the most disparate treatment in these types of audits (Galster, 1998; Yinger, 1995). Massey, for instance, has completed a great body of research residential segregation and, among his findings, there is evidence of discrimination in the housing market. According to Massey, "Black and racially mixed Hispanics display higher levels of residential segregation than white Hispanics…. Race therefore divides Hispanics geographically on the basis of skin color …"(Massey 1993, 459) Moreover his findings are supported by several other authors, Massey cites work from Bane and Jargowsky when he specifies several Puerto Rican communities in New York as being particular concentrations of poverty were a "distinctively Puerto Rican underclass" as emerged. It is significant for Massey and Jargowsky that Puerto Ricans, by a large percentage (47%), identify themselves as black or racially mixed (Massey 1993, 459). Massey also notes research by Yinger in "that [housing markets] in the United States rewarded Hispanics differently on the basis of skin color…[and that] the probability of experiencing housing discrimination increases steadily as skin color darkens…"(Massey 1993, 456).

Because mixed-race relationships are subject to such strong societal condemnation, it is highly likely that they are also subject to institutional and private discrimination in the housing market. In addition to being given less access to information about housing opportunities (through agent steering or prejudice), such couples may find it harder to get approved for

housing loans and home owner's insurance. Also, to the extent that residential location is subject to a couple's relative socioeconomic level, mixed-race couples may find that they are limited in their housing choice by statistical discrimination with regard to: their ability to repay loans, provide for adequate home maintenance, and influence the racial/ethnic and moral character of certain neighborhoods. White/Mexican households with experience of racism may designate the White partner as the primary face-to-face, or phone contact when shopping for housing. This may be especially true if they are shopping with a White realtor and desire housing in Whiter neighborhoods.

Discrimination may also serve to limit White/Mexican household locations indirectly through workforce racism that impacts Latinos in labor markets. There is a considerable evidence that suggest that racism towards Latinos is especially prevalent in job markets, and that regardless of educational or skill qualifications, they are often funneled into lowerpaying types of service sector jobs (Raijman & Tienda, 1999; Stolzenburg & Tienda, 1997; Tienda, 1995; Hudson, 2002). Stolzenburg and Tienda (1997) write that:

> language minorities with the observed characteristics typical of minority group members earn considerably less than non-minorities with those same characteristics, but language minorities with the observed characteristics typical of non-minority group members suffer little or no disadvantage compared to non-minorities with similar characteristics.

In other words, if a person is identified as a Latino on the basis skin color, behavior, or speech pattern, that person may experience more discrimination than others who may more closely resemble the White majority. In essence, some darker-skinned Latinos experience higher wage penalties than lighter-skinned Latinos. Allen (2002) adds that while racism towards Latinos occurs against those with these more mestizo features, it is also "combined with an attitude of cultural and economic superiority toward even lighter-skinned Mexicans" (p. 703)

such that Whites and Mexicans in Los Angeles often regard each other with mistrust and suspicion. Workforce racism potentially explains lower household incomes for Mexican co-ethnic households and White/Mexican mixed-race households versus White same-race households. Lower incomes affect residential buying power thus preventing residence to some better types of neighborhoods (often these are "whiter" neighborhoods as well). For households with Latino partners, segregation into Latino-dominated work places and occupations/industries might limit the variety of residential information available to the household through social networks that originate with the Latino partner's workforce acquaintanceship.

Race and the Development and Performance of Identities in Neighborhoods

Though White/Mexican households live across a range of differently racialized spaces, the project indicates that many may have experienced family life in urban "in-between" space. Paradoxical households *and* neighborhood locations are two interrelated contextual sites where socialization occurs that impacts racial and ethnic identity formation (cites…..) and performance (the practice of identity, cites……) in mixed-race households. Unfortunately, given the dominance of the assimilation paradigm, a paradigm that does not examine mixed-race households and their residential trajectories after household formation, the influence of neighborhoods on racial identities within mixed-race households is only weakly understood.

Geographers provide only a little information about racial identity formation and performance within households and neighborhoods and much of the following discussion comes from sociology and family studies. Burton and Jarret (2000) recently reviewed the family studies and urban geography literature and they found two types of ways in which neighborhoods have typically been examined in relation to child and family development: frameworks that

associate problems in child development with neighborhood factors and frameworks that consider the neighborhood in all of its dimensions.

The first of these two types of frameworks includes analyses that link neighborhood resources *(i.e.* the accessibility of amenities and negative or positive social influences) and collective socialization (ability of the neighborhood to provide role models for behavior) with problematic child outcomes such as criminal behavior or weak attachments to school and labor markets (Jencks and Mayer, 1990). These types of analyses are less useful here because the development of identity in context is not the same as a problematic outcome.

Other frameworks that focus less on behavior and more on neighborhood influences on perception (Burton & Jaret, 2000). Burton, Price-Spratlen, and Spencer (1997) describe four other approaches to measuring neighborhood influences along other dimensions: neighborhood as a physical site, perception, network, and culture (Burton & Jaret, 2000). Consideration of the neighborhood as a physical site involves analyses of both its socio-economic characteristics and its physical quality as it is defined in geographic space. This type of approach is typical of the container view of neighborhoods. Studies of perceived neighborhoods rely on "individuals' personal evaluations of the boundaries, risks, social milieu, and quality of the geographic areas they define as their neighborhood" (Burton & Jaret, 2000, p. 1117). Perceiver gender, race, age, etc. may vary the meaning and interpretation of these neighborhoods (Hanson & Pratt, 1995). Network approaches consider neighborhood influences in relation to the types and availability of interpersonal linkages. Different neighborhood contexts offer different opportunities for interpersonal relations. And, finally, viewing the neighborhood as a culture places emphasis upon the "symbolic meanings, including actions, beliefs, language, gossip, and rituals of daily life in a geographic space" (Burton & Jaret, 2000, p. 1117).

Viewing neighborhoods both as containers that create or constrain opportunities for certain social networks to develop and as stages for cultural practice leads me to consider that neighborhood choice and neighborhood life is a potent site for both household and child identity performance (Rose, 1993; Butler, 1993; Mahtani, 2002) and subsequent identity change and development.

As noted earlier, the context of household life affects the household's ability to actively perform/practice identity. Residence in or near "in-between" neighborhoods with a mix of both Whites and Latinos, would very likely offer numerous opportunities for White/Mexican mixed-race households to socialize with people from both partner's cultural heritages. Among other things this could mean celebrating both American and Mexican national holidays, hearing performances of Latin music as well as American, and speaking both Spanish and English in their interactions with neighbors. For example, the household could attend Cinco de Mayo, El Dia de La Raza (America's Columbus Day), and El Dia de La Muerte (Nov. 1, Mexico's Day of the Dead) as well as Independence Day, Halloween, St. Patrick's Day, and Thanksgiving celebrations all in the same community. Places without this mix of race and ethnicity would not offer as many opportunities for mixed-race households to practice an identity consistent with both aspects of the family's cultural heritage.

Child development theorists consistently note the effect of neighborhoods (as well as schools*, etc*.) on the development of children's racial and ethnic identities (Bronfrenbrenner, 1979, .Burton & Jaret 2000; Roer-Strier &Rosenthal, 2001). Opportunities for socialization occur in neighborhoods and children learn much about who they are and what that means in terms of practice (*i.e*. what Latinos "do" or what Anglos "do") by observing the activities of other adults and children in their immediate surroundings. From family studies, we have

information that in single-race/single-ethnic minority children, residence in certain settings can provoke racial identity salience or social resiliency. Identity Salience refers to the consistency and strength across various social settings of a person's racial or ethnic identity. It usually increases when children grow up in segregated neighborhoods (Jaret & Reitzes, 1999; Harris, 1995). Social resiliency refers to the ability of people to withstand hardships or disappointments and is usually enhanced if a person's neighborhood affords opportunities for sustained interactions with others from their same racial or ethnic group (Hollingsworth, 1997; Harris, 1995; Miller, 1999; and Klein and White 1996). For children from White/Mexican mixed-race households, identity salience may arise just by virtue of constantly being in the minority (wherever they go) and acquiring social resiliency may require that they live in a place where they have positive, daily interactions with people from both sides of their heritage (Root, 1992).

Twine (1996) is one of the few scholars that has linked neighborhood social interaction and contextual variation in neighborhoods to identity formation. In a study of young Anglo/African-American, biracial women, Twine found residential history to be an important variable in the construction and modification of personal racial identity. The women in her study had grown up in White, upper and middle class suburbia and when they were children they self-identified with white, middle-class consumer culture. They identified with neither the poor nor with Black minorities and they did not see themselves as being substantially different from their white peers. As teenagers some of this confidence began to erode because they noticed differences in their own dating activity as compared to those of single-race White girls. Ultimately though, this failed to significantly change their own understanding of their assumed White or race-neutral identity. As young adults, however, they moved away from the all-white suburbs to the University of California at Berkley (UCB) -- a much more racially diverse and

more race conscious environment. In this new, more politically-charged environment, their claims of white identity were challenged and their long-held views of their own identity began to unravel. Eventually, almost all of the women adopted a non-white, biracial, or black identity after moving and interacting in this new residential and cultural community. Faced with changes in their residential environment, with associated changes in the composition of their social interactions, and with the evolution of an adult understanding of the racial and ethnic distinctions (Hirshfeld, 1995), the young women's racial identities changed because of their involvement in new social and spatial activities (Twine, 1996). Renn has found similar findings about shifts in racial and ethnic identification for mixed-race college students as they change social contexts (Renn, 2000, 2003).

In the above research, the performance of White identity in suburbia was associated with act of consumption. White people bought certain things. Children from White/Mexican families would likely also learn how to "be" both from family and neighborhood interactions as well as those that occur in their family. Thus, if their neighborhoods offer them a chance to practice Mexican or Latino cultural *and* consumptive traditions, then the children may develop personal identities that emphasize their Latin heritage. Without neighborhood opportunities to enact their Mexican heritage, it is likely that they would not identify highly with Mexican or Latino culture.

Though limited, some research indicates that different residential and social contexts are associated with the development of different racial identities in children from similar types of mixed-race households. Wilson (1987) found in her research on British multiracial adolescents that the racial and ethnic composition of adolescents' residential communities affected their racial self-identification. Children from mixed-race families more frequently identified themselves as multiracial if they lived in racially diverse communities and more frequently

identified with a single racial group if they lived in racially non-diverse areas.

In Los Angeles, because the majority of children in White/Mexican households live in "in-between" space, many will likely retain affiliation with their Mexican and Latino backgrounds. This affiliation will not simply be "symbolic" (Gans, 1979) given that they have numerous opportunities to practice "Latindad" (Flores, 1991) in places in or nearby their neighborhoods. In other words, Mexican partnerships with Whites will not necessarily result in a loss of ethnic and racial distinctiveness for the Mexican partner nor will children in White/Mexican mixed-race households somehow completely miss out on acculturation to Mexican communities as well as White communities.

Additional Project Limitations and Contributions for Studies of Urban Segregation

Though unique, my analysis of White/Mexican mixed-race households and their urban "in-between" space is subject to certain limitations. One, it is limited by my reliance on quantitative data (data that is now 17 years old) to speculate about the residential geographies of these mixed-race households and their same-race/co-ethnic counterparts. The age of the data is the lesser of the two problems. Preliminary non-disclosed analysis of Census 2000 data suggests that the "in-between" pattern of residential distribution and neighborhood racial composition still characterizes 2000 year Los Angeles area residential geographies for White/Mexican mixed-race households.

More generally this work is also a bit limited because quantitative data from census questionnaires cannot speak to the *meaning(s)* that household's attribute to residential locations. I have no information about feelings, none about religion, none about skin-color, none about experiences with discriminations, *etc*. All are aspects of household-level decision making that are unaccounted for in this analysis. Detailed qualitative work, like my interview with Anna, is

necessary in order to humanize this comprehensive spatial analysis and explore aspects of household- and individual-level difference that cannot be or are not quantified in census datasets.

I use feminist and cultural studies notions of difference in this work and much of this literature is very critical of the broadly, sweeping generalizations and categorizations that typify most quantitative analyses – including this one. I appreciate many of these criticisms, but I argue that generalizations and similar obfuscating categorizations typify qualitative research as well. Generalization is the problem of any communication, scientific or otherwise. Unlike most qualitative work that is more narrowly-focused and limited in scope, I am able to make some general comparisons between the empirical reality of White/Mexican household-level residential geographies versus those of comparable White same-race and Mexican co-ethnic households. Accounting for all of the multivariate factors that affect household residential settlement is not possible with either qualitative or quantitative methods, but the exposure indices, maps, and statistical models that I used here are efficient ways to compare the geographies of these three sets of related household-types. These descriptive and statistical analyses broadly situate White/Mexican households within intra-urban residential contexts and they will provide contextual information for future discussions of individual-level/household-level/neighborhood-level racial-mixing with other sorts of data, including interview work. They also provide structure to begin comparative work with other types of mixed-race households in Los Angeles, for analyses of all types of mixed-race households in other urban areas, and for speculating about the interactions of mixed-race households with social groups organized at other contextual scales (*i.e.*, school districts, cyberspace communities, *etc.*)

My theoretical marriage of racialization theory with feminist ideas of difference for the purpose of understanding residential attainment is an important contribution to quantitative

studies of urban segregation. Most quantitative studies of mixed-race partnerships still rely on variants of ethnic assimilation theory to explain the residential locations of *individuals.* Assimilation theory is inadequate to the task of explaining mixed-race residential location because: it fails to fully acknowledge the power of US racial distinctions that transform Latino ethnic identities into racialized identities; it assumes assimilative "endpoints" of racial and ethnic identity through marriage with Whites when in fact there may be none; it assumes that White partners' do not share in the racialization of household members; and generally fails to problematize mixing, ethnic, racial or otherwise as household scales.

The race-blind and household-blind foci of assimilation studies give us only a blurry and incomplete picture of the process of racial mixing in urban areas. Yes, a Latino's partnership with a White person may lead to an increased likelihood for the Latino to have suburban residence with more Whites. However, this does not mean that the Latino's mixed-race household will share the same residential space as a comparable White same-race household. The research I presented here is among the first to compare household-to-household residential geographies through matched residential attainment models and via maps of residential concentration. In these and other analyses, I find that White/Mexican households typically reside in neighborhood spaces that are reflective of the household's complex and paradoxical identity – an identity that can be both White and Mexican, not always or simply, one or the other. Racial distinctions still mark mixed-race households in their post-union residential trajectories. With the conceptual framework that I advanced here, I was able to conceive of the White/Mexican household as an agent of urban change, a reactor to racialized experiences in cities, and a site in the formation of racialized identities. Urban segregation studies that use a similar framework will advance our understanding about how racialized social-scapes and

racialized landscapes transform through, and in reaction to, racial and ethnic mixing in households.

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