Racial/Ethnic Segregation and Immigrants

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Abstract

Racial/ethnic segregation is a prominent social problem in the United States. While most literature focuses on the segregation between whites and blacks, this study tackles the other two major minority groups, Hispanics and Asians, in order to examine racial/ethnic segregation in the context of immigrants. The household survey of the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI) is the primary source of data in this study. I employed ordered logit model and logit model to study residential segregation, social network segregation and employment segregation. It is found that in nearly every aspect immigrants are associated with a higher level of segregation. Duration of stay is associated with residential segregation and employment segregation. However, such an association only exists during the first 25 years following immigration. While language skills clearly matter in segregation among immigrants, the association is much stronger and more prevalent in different types of segregation among Hispanics than among Asians. Further studies are indicated to examine the underlying reasons of the association between immigrants and racial/ethnic segregation.

Introduction

The United States is the most racially-mixed country in the world. Accompanied with diverse racial/ethnic groups is a serious social problem — racial/ethnic segregation, which is one of the sources of inequality among different colors. The majority of literature on racial/ethnic segregation focuses on whites and blacks (Massey and Denton, 1990; Wilson, 1997; Mouw, 2001). However, this would leave the effect of immigrant status unexplored because the proportion of immigrants is very small in these two populations. Such an issue may become more important now because recent immigrants have changed racial/ethnic contours of contemporary society — the 2000 census showed that Hispanics have replaced African Americans as the largest racial/ethnic minority group (The U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). With a continuously steady input of minority immigrants, particularly Hispanics and Asians, it is inevitable to study racial/ethnic segregation within the context of immigrants' segregation.

Charles (2000) in his study on residential segregation in Los Angeles pointed out that Hispanics and Asians' preference for more same-race/ethnicity neighbors "could be related to the relatively large numbers of immigrants among them and the need for parallel cultural institutions during the transition period". It is reasonable to theorize that because of the language barrier and the custom immigrants carry from their original nations they are more likely to seek living and interacting with their own groups, which contributes part to the residential segregation. However, the heterolocalism model proposed by Zelinsky and Lee (1998) points out recent immigrants adopted rather dispersed residential locations while keeping their own cultural distinction. Using the Multi-City Survey of Urban Inequality (MCSUI), this study is conducted to examine residential segregation, social network segregation and employment segregation among immigrants. I focus on two minority groups, Hispanics and Asians, which consist of a large

proportion of immigrants. I also compare two cities, Boston and Los Angeles, which have a relatively larger population of the two minority groups but are varied in the proportion of minorities, nativities of immigrants, and culture.

Three hypotheses were tested in this study:

Hypothesis 1: Compared with their non-immigrant counterparts, minority immigrants are more likely to prefer living in a neighborhood with their own race/ethnicity, which leads at least in part to residential segregation.

Hypothesis 2: Compared with their non-immigrant counterparts, minority immigrants are less likely to have friends and to have friends of other race/ethnicity in the U.S.

Hypothesis 3: Compared with their non-immigrant counterparts, minority immigrants are less likely to use friends of other race/ethnicity as job contacts and to have coworkers of other race/ethnicity at the work locations.

Moreover, numerous studies have documented the distinctive characteristics of contemporary immigrants compared with immigrants of the first half of twentieth century, such as more racially/ethnically mixed and different labor market quality (Alba, 1999; Yang, 1999). Therefore, a more important issue is what characteristics of immigrants are associated with racial/ethnic segregation. I examine two characteristics of immigrants: duration of stay in the U.S. and fluency in spoken English.

Data

The data used in this study are derived from the household survey of the MCSUI, which is designed to examine the driving forces of urban inequality. 8,916 households were drawn randomly to be representative of all households in four major cities: Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, and

Los Angeles. In this study, I used data from component C (demographic and household composition), F (labor market dynamics), G (residential segregation), and H2 (network and social functioning). Because my goal is to examine the effect of immigrants on racial/ethnic segregation, I excluded Atlanta and Detroit, in which there is only a small percentage of immigrants in the population. In addition, I restricted the analyses to Hispanics and Asians because these are the two largest minority groups with a substantial proportion of immigrants. The data in the final analyses contain 2,785 observations (1,695 Hispanics and 1,090 Asians, 2,046 from LA and 739 from Boston).

Dependent Variables

Residential segregation: Residential segregation in my study is defined as tendency to live in a neighborhood with the same race/ethnicity. In the survey, each subject was asked to put in the order of preference a series of 15-household show cards. Residential segregation is measured by the most preferred neighborhood among the show cards. I treat residential segregation as an ordinal variable with five categories (from 1 to 5), corresponding to the preferred neighborhoods with 15, 10, 7, 2, or 0 households of the same race/ethnicity, respectively (see Table 1). Therefore, smaller values in this variable indicate greater preference of living in a neighborhood with the same race/ethnicity.

Social network segregation: The original question in social network asks about up to three persons with whom the respondent had discussed important matters, excluding members in the same household. A follow-up question differentiates the relationships between the respondent and this person, such as friends, co-workers, neighbors, relatives, etc. My primary focus was friends. However, because "friend" has different meanings to different people, I adopted a very

broad definition here, which includes all persons other than relatives. Since almost half respondents in this sample did not have friends, I employed two dummy variables to measure social network. The first dummy variable is "having friends or not", which is determined by both the positive answer to the original social network question and categories other than relatives in the follow-up question. Based on the first variable the second dummy variable is "having friends of other races/ethnicities", which is equal to 1 if at least one friend's race/ethnicity is different from the respondent.

Employment Segregation: Similar to social network segregation, I address this question using two variables as well. Mouw (2001) found that employee referral is as important as geographical segregation in generating employment segregation. If this is true, segregation in friends' referral would lead to subsequent employment segregation. Therefore, I first analyze how the respondent found his/her last or current job. The variable is also coded dichotomously, with 1 indicating a friend of other races/ethnicities helped the respondent to find the job. In order to observe actual racial/ethnic segregation at employment, I use the second dummy variable to measure whether most of the employees who did similar kind of work at the same location are from a different race/ethnicity.

Independent variables:

Main Independent Variables:

Immigrant status is a dummy variable which indicates the respondent is an immigrant. This is the main independent variable in the hypotheses testing. In order to test the differential effect of immigrant status between Hispanics and Asians, an interaction term between immigrant status and Asian was entered in the regressions. Duration of stay in the U.S. enters the

regressions as a spline term with the cut-off point of 25 years. Fluency in spoken English is a categorical variable with the omitted category being "poor".

Covariates:

I also controlled for other demographic characteristics, such as Hispanic/Asian, age, gender, marital status, and education. All these variables are coded as dummies except age and education, which are categorized (see Table 1). Hispanics include all people of Hispanic origin regardless of color. Besides, city dummy (LA) is included in the model. In addition, I included an interaction term of immigrant and Asian in order to test the difference in the effect of immigrant between Hispanics and Asians. Race/ethnicity and city are expected to capture part of cultural factors and macro environment that may have affected segregation. Annual household income is included as a measure of economic status. In the original data this variable was categorized so it could not be normalized by the total number of people in the household. In order to test the goodness of this income variable I compared it with two other categorical variables that measure household wealth: value of assets, such as deposits in the bank, bonds, stocks, or individual retirement accounts, and monthly payment for rent/house mortgage. I did not find the coefficients of immigrant are much different. The income variable is dummied out because of missing values, I chose not to impute it because of the lack of credible information for imputation, and I chose not to use complete case methods so as not to discard entire observations with missing values. In addition to aforementioned variables, I also included dummies of neighbors' race/ethnicity in the show cards when studying residential segregation.

Methods

Descriptive Analyses

Descriptive analysis was conducted to see whether immigrant status is associated with residential segregation, social network segregation, and employment segregation. Z-test was used to test whether the results are statistically significant.

Regression Analyses

Ordered logit model was used to test the first hypothesis because the dependent variable is ordinal. Each covariate was entered the regression independently and then a full model was estimated with all covariates. Logit model with all covariates was used to test the rest of the hypotheses. All models were first analyzed separately within each minority group and then using pooled data. Analytical weights in the original data were used in all regression analyses.

In addition, similar analyses were conducted within immigrants to examine the association between immigrants' characteristics and racial/ethnic segregation.

Results

Descriptive Analyses

General profiles of the variable in this study were described in Table 1. Both weighted and unweighted percentages were reported.

Figure 1 shows the neighborhood preference among Hispanics and Asians. Immigrant status aside, over 60% of Hispanics and 70% of Asians prefer a neighborhood with at least two-thirds households of their own race/ethnicity. However, compared with non-immigrants, the proportion of immigrants who chose exclusively same-race/ethnicity neighborhoods is doubled. I further analyzed the underlying reasons why the respondents made their choices. The number one reason provided by Hispanic immigrants is "wants to be with own racial/ethnic group" (32.87%), compared with only 25.69% among Hispanic non-immigrants (z-score=-3.68,

p<0.001). Whether Hispanics or Asians, the number one reason among non-immigrants is "living with different people" (45.84% Hispanics and 58.62% Asians). It is also the top reason chosen by Asian immigrants (37.12%). Though it seems that residential segregation among Asians is more obvious than among Hispanics, only 26.26% of Asian immigrants expressed that they wanted to be with their own racial group.

Social network segregation was illustrated in Figure 2a and Figure 2b. In both groups, a higher percentage of non-immigrants have friends (59.52% vs. 52.22% among Hispanics, z-score=2.63, p<0.01; 62.34% vs. 37.12% among Asians, z-score=4.94, p<0.0001). Among those who said that they had at least one friend, the difference is even bigger between non-immigrants and immigrants regarding whether having friends of other races/ethnicities. 51.68% Hispanic non-immigrants had at least one friend of other races/ethnicities, compared with 21.52% among immigrants (z-score=8.32, p<0.0001). The difference is comparable among Asian population (59.48% vs. 28.26%, z-score=4.64, p<0.0001).

Figure 3a reveals that most Hispanics and Asians used friends of the same race/ethnicity as job contacts regardless of their immigration status. The proportion of immigrants who got help from the same-race/ethnicity friend is consistently higher than that of non-immigrants. However, such difference is only significant among Hispanics (z-score=-6.51, p<0.0001). The difference in actual segregation at work location is much bigger in both groups. 52.64% of Hispanic non-immigrants have most coworkers of the same race/ethnicity while the number rises to 78.93% in Hispanic immigrants (z-score=-9.02, p<0.0001). As for Asians, the percentage is 26.83% among non-immigrants and 50.62% among immigrants (z-score=-3.76, p<0.001).

Residential Segregation

As expected, nearly in all the models immigrant dummy variable has a significantly negative coefficient (Table 2 to Table 4). The coefficients of immigrant are rather consistent within each subgroup analyses when only one covariate was added in the model. However, the numbers decreased substantially in the full model but they are still statistically significant. In addition, I observed bigger coefficients of immigrant in the Asian models (Table 3) than in the Hispanic ones (Table 2). However, such difference is not significant in the pooled model (Table 4). Compared with those aged 30-50, the younger groups are more likely to prefer segregation, so is the older group among Asians. Female and marital status are not significant when the two groups were analyzed separately but being female is more likely to live in an integrated neighborhood in the pooled regression. Only Hispanics with less than high school education have significantly different preference from the high-school group. Family income does seem to have some effect: the wealthier people are, the more likely they prefer an integrated neighborhood. Such finding is consistent in all three full models. Though the missing observations do not seem to bias the results in the Hispanic models, the coefficients of missing dummy are significant in both Asian models and the pooled model. In general, those who did not report their family income are more likely to prefer integration compared with those who did. Of all the variables, neighborhoods' race/ethnicity has the strongest effects. In all subgroup analyses, races other than white are less desirable. Interestingly, while Hispanics view Asians as more preferable than blacks, Asians view Hispanics less so. Finally, in all full models there is a sign of higher level of residential segregation in LA than in Boston. Such regional effect is stronger among Hispanics than Asians.

Social Network Segregation

To study social network segregation, I first examined whether immigrants are different in having any friends. I found that immigrant status alone does not seem to play an important role, except in the subgroup analysis of Asians (Table 5). The result shows that Asian non-immigrants are significantly more likely to have friends than immigrants. If only immigrants are compared, Hispanics are less likely to have friends than Asians. Age and marital status are only significant in Asian group as well. The highest age group (50-100) among Asians is less likely to have friends than those who are 30 to 50 years old. Being married also has a strong negative effect on having friends. Female has a significant coefficient in both subgroup analyses and the pooled model but with different signs. While in the Hispanic model and the pooled model being female reduces the probability of having friends, the finding is opposite among Asians. Of all the education variables, only having less than high school education is significant. Most of the income variables enter the regressions with a positive sign. In both subgroups and the pooled model, wealthier people are more likely to have friends. However, in the Hispanic model and the pooled model there is systematic difference between those who reported their incomes and those who did not. Among Asians, living in LA has a significant and negative effect on having friends.

I then analyzed whether the degree of social network segregation is different between immigrants and non-immigrants among those who had at least one friend. As expected, immigrants are much less likely to have friends of other races/ethnicities. Such effect is stronger among Asians than Hispanics in the subgroup analyses. Age variables are significant in both subgroup analyses but not in the pooled model. However, the signs are opposite. It is the youngest group who has the lowest probability of having friends of other races/ethnicities among Hispanics while it is the middle-age group among Asians. The signs of female are consistent in

all models: being female is more likely to have friends from different race/ethnicity. Contrary to the previous results, being married is significant in the Hispanic model and the pooled model but not in the Asian group. The result shows that married people have a higher probability of having friends of other races/ethnicities. Education matters as well. Higher education indicates a higher probability of being in an integrated social circle. Such an effect is strongest in the Asian group. The effects of family income are comparable with previous results but none of the variables is significant in the Asian model. The missing income dummy is not significant in all three models. Again, living in LA has a strong negative effect on having friends of other races/ethnicities except among Hispanics.

Employment Segregation

In terms of job contacts, both Hispanic and Asian immigrants are significantly more likely to get help from same-race/ethnicity referrals (Table 6). Though the coefficient in Asian group is more than double of that in Hispanic group, the subsequent pooled analysis did not reveal significant difference in the effect of immigrant between the two groups. People in the youngest age group have a better chance to have job contacts of other races/ethnicities. So do married Asians. Education and family income seem to play a less important role here. Only a few coefficients are significant and the pattern is not obvious. Living in LA has a strong and negative effect on having job contacts of other races/ethnicities in the Asian group and the pooled model.

In the actual work settings immigrants are more likely to work with people from their own race/ethnicity than non-immigrants. Being Hispanic or Asian does not seem to impact such effect. Education becomes significant. In general, higher education is related to a higher probability of having coworkers from other races/ethnicities. Income variables are significant in

all three models but their magnitude is much smaller in the Hispanic group than in the Asian one. In addition, in both the Asian group and the pooled analyses people who did not report their family incomes are much more likely to have other-race/ethnicity coworkers compared with those who did. LA, again, has a strong and negative effect.

Immigrants' Characteristics

Duration of stay in the U.S. is associated with residential preference and other-race coworkers (see Table 7). However, the association only occurs during the first 25 years after immigration. Among Hispanics, longer duration means preference for more integrated neighborhoods and a higher likelihood of having most other-race coworkers. Duration has similar association with employment segregation among Asians. However, the coefficient in the residential preference is unexpected. Whether such negative association indicates that Asians are more resistant to assimilation needs further study.

Language skills are clearly an important factor in all types of segregation among Hispanics as the coefficients in four out of five regressions come out significantly positive. Compared with Hispanic immigrants, language skills are much less important among Asians in predicting segregation and only the highest level of English fluency matters.

Discussion

In this study I examined residential segregation, social network segregation, and employment segregation in the two minority groups: Hispanics and Asians. In all the models, there is strong indication that being an immigrant contributes to at least part of racial/ethnic segregation. Such an effect persists even after controlling for demographic characteristics, economic status, and location. Additionally, this study provides some evidence that duration of

stay in the U.S. may reduce part of segregation and language barriers are an important factor associated with segregation among Hispanics. Moreover, there is consistent pattern of more segregation in LA than in Boston, especially among Asians. It is understandable because LA has the largest percentage of minority groups in the country. It is much easier for minorities to live and have contacts with their own group in LA than in other regions of the U.S.

However, caution should be taken when interpreting the findings in this study. First, residential segregation was measured by attitudes not actual behavior. Previous literature has found discrepancy between what people said they would do and what people actually did. Therefore, more precise interpretation of the results is the preference of residential segregation. Further efforts should be made to examine whether there is substantial deviant behaviors in real life from what is found in this study. Second, nativity was not included because there were not enough observations that would allow such an effect to be studied. Hispanics and Asians each consist of diverse groups. It is unlikely that a common culture influenced the decisions and behaviors of all the people within each race/ethnicity. To some extent the city dummy in my models captures part of the effects of nativity among Hispanics because over 80% of Hispanics are of Mexican and Salvadoran origin in LA while Puerto Rican and Dominican in Boston.

The development of economy and technology during the past century brought great prosperity in the U.S. but could not mitigate racial/ethnic segregation. On the contrary, it seemed to exacerbate inequality among different colors by putting unskilled minority people in a worse situation. While it is indispensable to continue studying racial discrimination, I think it is also necessary to study immigrants as a source of segregation. This study is only a preliminary one to address this issue. Nonetheless, the substantial effects indicated that immigrants are an important source. It is also indicated that different characteristics of immigrants may link

different racial/ethnic minority groups to segregation. Further studies should focus on the causes of segregation among immigrants, i.e. whether segregation is by choice or from barriers placed on them by contemporary society.

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Table 1. Summary Statistics of Variables in the Analysis

Variable Name	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Weighted Percentage (%)	No of Logical Missing Values
Dependent Variables				
Residential Segregation	2,725	100	100	60
Prefer All	1,114	40.88	39.44	
Prefer 10	597	21.91	21.85	
Prefer 7	791	29.03	28.75	
Prefer 2	131	4.81	5.14	
Prefer None	92	3.38	4.82	
Social Network Segregation				
Having Friends or Not	2,758	100	100	27
No friends	1,583	57.40	51.48	
At least One Friend	1,175	42.60	48.52	
Having Friends of different races	1,175	100	100	27
At Least One	325	27.66	30.56	
None	850	72.34	69.44	
Employment Segregation				
Job Contact	893	100	100	20
Friends of Same Race	773	86.56	85.67	
Friends of Other Race	120	13.44	14.33	
Coworker	1,939	100	100	33
Same Race	1,278	65.91	68.17	
Other Race	661	34.09	31.83	
Independent Variables				
Immigrant Characteristics				
Immigrant Dummy	2,785	100	100	0
Immigrant	2,376	85.31	76.96	
Non-immigrant	409	14.69	23.04	
Duration of stay in the U.S.(yrs) Mean(SD)	13.74	9.82		13
Spoken English	2,785	100	100	
Poor	1,049	37.67	32.62	
Fair	689	24.74	23.34	
Well	1,047	37.59	44.04	

Race	2,785	100	100	0
Hispanics	1,695	60.86	81.99	
Asians	1,090	39.14	18.01	
City	2,785	100	100	0
LA	2,046	73.46	91.18	
Boston	739	26.46	8.82	
Age	2,785	100	100	0
0-30	845	30.34	35.94	
31-50	1,349	48.44	46.03	
51-100	591	21.22	18.03	
Gender	2,785	100	100	0
Female	1,586	56.95	49.66	
Male	1,199	43.05	50.34	
Marital Status	2,785	100	100	0
Married	1,423	51.10	59.37	
Unmarried	1,362	48.90	40.63	
Education	2,784	100	100	1
Less than High School	1,141	40.98	42.78	
High School	770	27.66	30.04	
More than High School	362	13.00	12.15	
College or More	511	18.35	15.03	
Family Income ($)	2,295	100	100	490
Less than 10K	651	28.37	15.19	
10K – 30K	968	42.18	45.58	
30K – 50K	376	16.38	23.70	
50K – 100K	244	10.63	12.35	
More than 100K	56	2.44	3.18	

Table 2. Ordered Logit Regressions of Neighborhood Preference Among Hispanics

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Full Model
Immigrant	-0.58**	-0.64**	-0.58**	-0.67**	-0.20	-0.37**	-0.67**	-0.31*
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.13)
Age[1]								
0-30		-0.59**						-0.37**
		(0.10)						(0.11)
51-100		-0.26*						0.05
		(0.13)						(0.14)
Female			0.045					0.147
			(0.090)					(0.097)
Married				0.410**				-0.00
				(0.093)				(0.11)
Education[2]								
Less than High School					-0.78**			-0.66**
					(0.11)			(0.12)
More than High School					0.05			-0.14
					(0.15)			(0.16)
College or More					0.23			0.35
					(0.16)			(0.18)
Family Income[3]								
10K -- 30 K						0.83**		0.94**
						(0.15)		(0.17)
30K -- 50 K						1.32**		1.12**
						(0.17)		(0.19)
50K -- 100 K						1.50**		1.22**

						(0.20)		(0.22)
More than 100 K						0.75*		0.80
						(0.38)		(0.41)
Missings						0.12		0.34
						(0.20)		(0.21)
Neighbors' Race[4]								
Black							-2.33**	-2.38**
							(0.13)	(0.13)
Asian							-1.45**	-1.37**
							(0.11)	(0.12)
LA								-1.04**
								(0.21)
Cutpoint 1	-0.837	-1.17	-0.816	-0.679	-0.92	0.10	-2.20	-2.51
	(0.090)	(0.11)	(0.099)	(0.097)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.31)
Cutpoint 2	-0.042	-0.36	-0.020	0.124	-0.10	0.95	-1.24	-1.44
	(0.088)	(0.11)	(0.097)	(0.095)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.31)
Cutpoint 3	1.65	1.36	1.67	1.83	1.63	2.69	0.73	0.67
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.31)
Cutpoint 4	2.44	2.15	2.46	2.62	2.43	3.49	1.58	1.53
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.14)	(0.31)

Notes: There are 1,658 observations in these analyses.
Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%
1. Base category: age 30-50
2. Base category: high school
3. Base category: less than $10K
4. Base category: white

Table 3. Ordered Logit Regressions of Neighborhood Preference Among Asians

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Full Model
Immigrant	-1.06**	-1.15**	-1.09**	-1.12**	-1.06**	-1.19**	-0.58**	-0.75**
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.22)
Age[1]								
0-30		-0.63**						-0.53**
		(0.14)						(0.19)
51-100		-0.68**						-0.51**
		(0.15)						(0.18)
Female			0.41**					-0.01
			(0.11)					(0.14)
Married				0.53**				0.02
				(0.13)				(0.17)
Education[2]								
Less than High School					-0.19			-0.03
					(0.20)			(0.24)
More than High School					0.07			0.08
					(0.17)			(0.20)
College or More					0.38**			0.09
					(0.14)			(0.17)
Family Income[3]								
10K -- 30 K						-0.27		-0.44
						(0.21)		(0.25)
30K -- 50 K						0.04		0.02

						(0.20)		(0.24)
50K -- 100 K						0.59**		0.69**
						(0.21)		(0.25)
More than 100 K						2.03**		2.38**
						(0.26)		(0.30)
Missings						0.75**		1.02**
						(0.19)		(0.23)
Neighbors' Race[4]								
Black							-2.32**	-3.16**
							(0.18)	(0.21)
Hispanic							-2.78**	-3.38**
							(0.19)	(0.21)
LA								-0.53**
								(0.17)
Cutpoint 1	-1.49	-1.89	-1.32	-1.16	-1.34	-1.27	-3.24	-4.23
	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.41)
Cutpoint 2	-0.03	-0.39	0.16	0.31	0.13	0.31	-1.46	-2.12
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.22)	(0.40)
Cutpoint 3	2.48	2.13	2.69	2.84	2.67	2.97	1.63	1.32
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.25)	(0.41)
Cutpoint 4	3.21	2.86	3.41	3.56	3.39	3.70	2.40	2.13
	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.34)	(0.30)	(0.44)

Notes: There are 1,067 observations in the analyses.
Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%
1. Base category: age 30-50
2. Base category: high school
3. Base category: less than $10K
4. Base category: white

Table 4. Ordered Logit Regressions of Neighborhood Preference Among Both Hispanics And Asians

	Full Model
Immigrant	-0.33**
	(0.11)
Asian	-0.27
	(0.28)
Immigrant*Asian	-0.31
	(0.30)
Age[1]	
0-30	-0.472**
	(0.089)
51-100	-0.06
	(0.11)
Female	0.160*
	(0.075)
Married	0.052
	(0.083)
Education[2]	
Less than High School	-0.69**
	(0.10)
More than High School	-0.06
	(0.12)
College or More	0.26*
	(0.12)
Family Income[3]	
10K -- 30 K	0.78**
	(0.13)
30K -- 50 K	0.89**
	(0.14)
50K -- 100 K	1.04**
	(0.16)
More than 100 K	1.33**
	(0.25)
Missings	0.62**
	(0.16)
Neighbors' Race[4]	
Black	-2.34**
	(0.10)
Other[5]	-1.594**

	(0.094)
LA	-0.99**
	(0.14)
Cutpoint 1	-2.77
	(0.22)
Cutpoint 2	-1.58
	(0.22)
Cutpoint 3	0.60
	(0.22)
Cutpoint 4	1.45
	(0.23)

Notes: There are 2,724 observations in this analysis.
Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%
1. Base category: age 30-50
2. Base category: high school
3. Base category: less than $10K
4. Base category: white
5. Other: Hispanic for Asians; Asian for Hispanics

Table 5. Logit Regressions of Social Network Segregation

	Having Friends			Having Friends of Other Race		
	Hispanic	Asian	Pooled	Hispanic	Asian	Pooled
Constant	-0.63	1.95**	-0.04	-1.10	3.59**	0.20
	(0.32)	(0.42)	(0.22)	(0.62)	(0.81)	(0.42)
Immigrant	-0.03	-1.10**	-0.09	-1.06**	-3.39**	-1.02**
	(0.14)	(0.25)	(0.12)	(0.22)	(0.47)	(0.19)
Asian			0.22			-0.08
			(0.34)			(0.46)
Immigrant*Asian			-1.09**			-0.95
			(0.36)			(0.53)
Age[1]						
0-30	0.14	-0.15	-0.169	-0.69**	1.24**	-0.26
	(0.12)	(0.21)	(0.094)	(0.22)	(0.37)	(0.17)
51-100	0.29	-1.03**	-0.06	-0.00	1.18*	0.21
	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.12)	(0.26)	(0.52)	(0.21)
Female	0.36**	-0.57**	-0.228**	0.58**	0.83*	0.49**
	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.082)	(0.19)	(0.35)	(0.15)
Married	0.06	-1.56**	0.115	0.62**	-0.59	0.43**
	(0.11)	(0.21)	(0.089)	(0.21)	(0.36)	(0.16)
Education[2]						
Less than High School	-0.47**	-0.76*	-0.50**	-0.30	-5.92**	-0.35
	(0.13)	(0.31)	(0.11)	(0.24)	(1.41)	(0.20)
More than High School	-0.02	-0.41	-0.12	0.34	1.12*	0.40
	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.14)	(0.28)	(0.54)	(0.22)

College or More	0.43	-0.32	0.13	0.59*	0.91*	0.57**
	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.29)	(0.41)	(0.22)
Family Income[3]						
10K -- 30 K	0.41*	0.29	0.41**	-0.05	0.01	-0.19
	(0.16)	(0.30)	(0.13)	(0.37)	(0.72)	(0.29)
30K -- 50 K	0.30	1.82**	0.51**	1.23**	-0.01	1.03**
	(0.19)	(0.29)	(0.15)	(0.39)	(0.63)	(0.30)
50K -- 100 K	0.79**	1.84**	1.02**	1.47**	-1.10	0.96**
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.18)	(0.43)	(0.64)	(0.33)
More than 100 K	1.15*	0.59	0.35	2.58**	-0.37	1.53**
	(0.57)	(0.35)	(0.28)	(0.81)	(1.00)	(0.51)
Missings	-0.54**	-0.18	-0.54**	0.78	-1.49	0.38
	(0.21)	(0.30)	(0.16)	(0.45)	(0.77)	(0.35)
LA	0.47	-0.38*	0.04	-0.11	-3.23**	-1.24**
	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.44)	(0.49)	(0.27)
Observations	1668	1089	2757	784	390	1174

Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%
1. Base category: age 30-50
2. Base category: high school
3. Base category: less than $10K

Table 6. Logit Regressions of Employment Segregation

	Other-race Job Contacts			Other-race Coworkers		
	Hispanic	Asian	All	Hispanic	Asian	All
Constant	-1.21	-3.86	-0.83	0.54	-0.54	0.13
	(0.69)	(4.83)	(0.59)	(0.44)	(0.72)	(0.32)
Immigrant	-1.24**	-3.48**	-1.22**	-1.05**	-1.60**	-0.87**
	(0.30)	(1.12)	(0.28)	(0.18)	(0.32)	(0.15)
Asian			0.66			0.08
			(0.91)			(0.44)
Immigrant*Asian			-0.33			-0.57
			(0.99)			(0.47)
Age1						
0-30	0.78*	5.14**	1.10**	0.05	-1.00**	-0.05
	(0.32)	(1.35)	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.29)	(0.13)
51-100	0.90	1.92	0.91	-0.13	-0.05	-0.11
	(0.57)	(1.56)	(0.51)	(0.25)	(0.31)	(0.19)
Female	0.31	-0.58	0.14	0.17	0.18	0.21
	(0.26)	(0.89)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.21)	(0.12)
Married	-0.31	1.61*	-0.09	-0.11	-0.50	-0.16
	(0.29)	(0.82)	(0.25)	(0.16)	(0.27)	(0.13)
Education2						
Less than High School	-0.61	-5.40*	-0.66*	-0.32	-1.42**	-0.50**
	(0.31)	(2.57)	(0.28)	(0.19)	(0.48)	(0.16)
More than High School	-0.84	-0.97	-0.80*	1.27**	1.23**	1.22**

	(0.43)	(1.64)	(0.39)	(0.22)	(0.35)	(0.17)
College or More	0.35	1.23	0.23	1.51**	0.26	0.90**
	(0.45)	(1.04)	(0.37)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.18)
Family Income3						
10K -- 30 K	0.41	4.88	0.35	0.67*	4.71**	1.37**
	(0.44)	(4.80)	(0.41)	(0.30)	(0.71)	(0.27)
30K -- 50 K	1.06*	2.61	1.10*	0.74*	5.54**	1.53**
	(0.49)	(4.72)	(0.45)	(0.31)	(0.67)	(0.27)
50K -- 100 K	1.00	4.38	0.92	0.81*	5.68**	1.76**
	(0.57)	(4.84)	(0.52)	(0.36)	(0.68)	(0.29)
More than 100 K	1.55	5.68	1.56	-0.67	4.96**	0.95*
	(0.91)	(5.22)	(0.80)	(0.59)	(0.69)	(0.39)
Missings	-1.85*	2.31	-1.72**	0.19	5.16**	1.10**
	(0.82)	(4.82)	(0.66)	(0.37)	(0.70)	(0.30)
LA	-0.47	-3.71**	-1.12**	-1.70**	-3.48**	-1.98**
	(0.46)	(1.26)	(0.34)	(0.30)	(0.36)	(0.20)
Observations	678	215	893	1226	713	1939

Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%
1. Base category: age 30-50
2. Base category: high school
3. Base category: less than $10K

Table 7. Ordered logit and logit regressions of three types of segregation among immigrants

Variables	Residential Preference	Social Network		Employment	
		Having Friends	Having Friends of Other Race	Other-race Job Contacts	Other-race Coworkers
Hispanics					
Duration of stay in the U.S. (years)					
0-25	0.031**	0.011	– 0.035	0.019	0.042**
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.016)
>25	0.005	0.005	0.057	– 0.196	– 0.043
	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.038)	(0.207)	(0.057)
Spoken English[1]					
Fair	0.899**	0.320*	1.109**	– 0.344	0.650*
	(0.138)	(0.139)	(0.339)	(0.403)	(0.262)
Well	1.023**	0.403*	2.098**	– 0.022	2.173**
	(0.163)	(0.173)	(0.375)	(0.448)	(0.272)
Observations	1373	1376	631	577	1006
Asians					
Duration of stay in the U.S. (years)					
0-25	– 0.023*	– 0.014	0.078	0.067	0.098**
	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.041)	(0.126)	(0.021)
>25	– 0.014	– 0.056	0.009	0.718	– 0.044
	(0.040)	(0.053)	(0.062)	(0.435)	(0.066)
Spoken English[1]					
Fair	0.116	0.299	– 0.572	– 2.430	0.533
	(0.200)	(0.267)	(1.021)	(3.283)	(0.435)
Well	– 0.096	1.638**	0.553	1.543	0.942*
	(0.231)	(0.287)	(0.894)	(1.898)	(0.472)
Observations	934	955	326	199	620

Standard errors in parentheses
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%
1. Base category: poor
Control variables are the same as in the previous corresponding tables.

Figure 1. Neighborhood Preference Among Hispanics and Asians

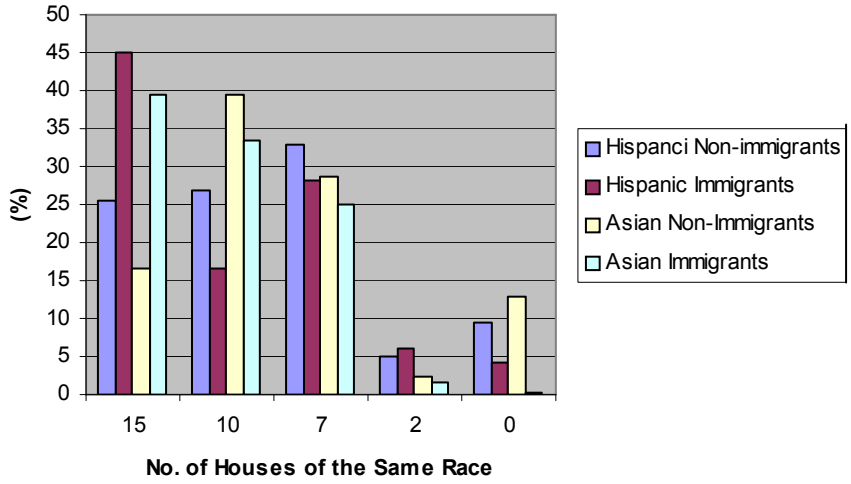

Figure 2. Social Network Segregation Among Hispanics and Asians

Figure 2a. Having Friends or Not

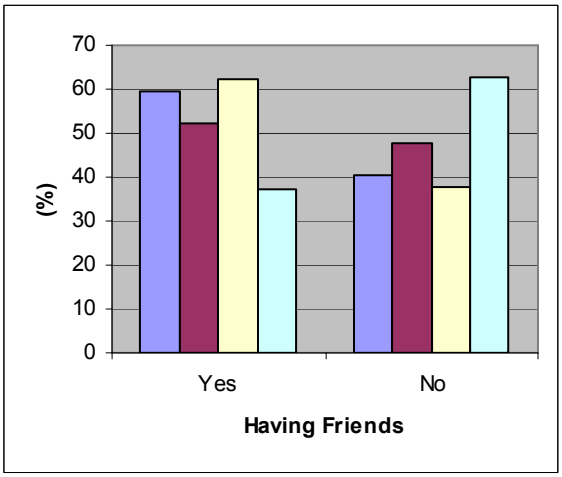

Figure 2b. Having Friends of Other Race/Ethnicity

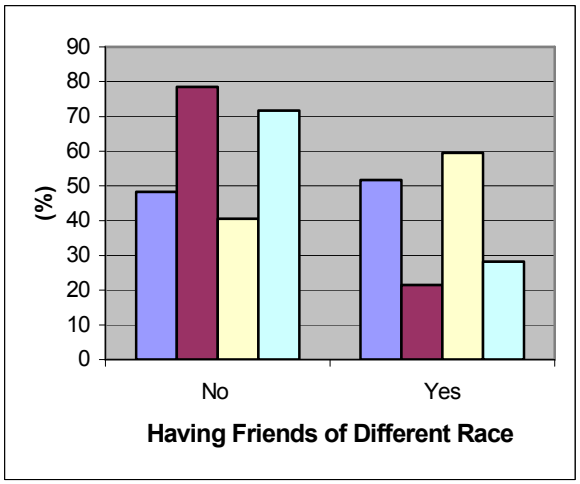

Figure 3. Employment Segregation Among Hispanics and Asians

Figure 3a. Job Contacts

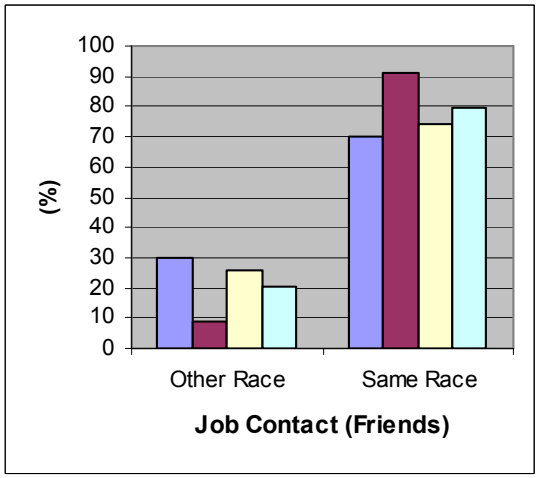

Figure 3b. Coworkers