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Residential segregation in new Hispanic destinations: Cities, suburbs, and rural communities compared

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides new estimates of Hispanic–white residential segregation in new destinations and established Hispanic places. New Hispanic destinations are defined broadly to include metropolitan cities, suburban places, and rural communities with unusually rapid Hispanic growth rates. The analysis is framed with the spatial assimilation and place stratification perspectives and is based on block data from the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses. The analysis confirms our basic hypothesis – that Hispanics are highly segregated in new Hispanic destinations, often at levels greatly exceeding those in established places. Hispanic suburbanization or exurbanization into new destinations is no marker of spatial assimilation. Consistent with the place stratification perspective, differences in Hispanic–white segregation between new destinations and established Hispanic areas cannot be explained by place-to-place differences in ecological location, population composition, economic growth, employment, or Hispanic–white income inequality. Hispanic segregation in new destinations is especially sensitive to the size of the foreign-born population and to preexisting "minority threats" in communities with large black populations. Segregation levels in new destinations also are less responsive to income disparities between Hispanics and whites; economic assimilation does not insure Hispanic spatial assimilation. Understanding how newcomers are spatially incorporated in new destinations will be a continuing challenge for scholars concerned about the spatial diffusion and apparent geographic balkanization of America's growing Hispanic population.

1. Introduction

America's Hispanic population is on the move. One-third of recent Mexican immigrants to the United States (i.e., between 1995 and 2000) settled outside of traditional gateway states in the Southwest (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California). This represents a remarkable break from the past. During 1975–80 and 1985–90, only 9 and 13 percent of Hispanic immigrants, respectively, settled outside of traditional gateway states (Durand et al., 2005; Leach and Bean, 2008). Big cities like Atlanta and Washington, DC, as well as many smaller metropolitan cities (e.g., Winston-Salem or Reno), are now magnets for Hispanics and other immigrant populations (McConnell, 2008). But perhaps more significantly, 51 percent of Hispanic immigrants in new gateway states live in small suburban places, and 21 percent live in rural towns (Kandel and Parrado, 2005; Singer, 2004). To be sure, the rapid growth of Hispanics has transformed the social and economic fabric of many new destination communities, where they have come to live and work – often at low wages – in meat processing plants, agriculture, construction, landscaping, and the service industry (Hirschman and Massey, 2008).

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In this paper, we ask a straightforward but heretofore unanswered question about the spatial assimilation or incorporation of Hispanic populations in new destinations. That is, has the growing racial and cultural diversity in new Hispanic destinations been accompanied by more racial segregation? Or, instead, has the new in-migration led to the emergence of racially integrated places, where Hispanics and whites live together in the same neighborhoods? Our study bridges a large residential segregation literature with new research on emerging Hispanic destinations and provides empirical evidence of changing ethnic relations between whites and America's new immigrant groups. Here, we use data from the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses to identify new Hispanic destinations, defined broadly to include metropolitan cities, suburban communities, and rural towns with unusually rapid growth in the Hispanic population. We then compare – for the first time – patterns of Hispanic–white segregation in new destinations with established places having sizeable and longstanding Hispanic populations (located mostly in the American Southwest). We also estimate several multivariate regression models, drawn from previous ecological studies of metropolitan segregation (e.g., Logan et al., 2004), that identify significant correlates of place-to-place variation in Hispanic–white segregation in new Hispanic destinations and established places. Our baseline estimates of segregation address longstanding questions about ongoing demographic processes of spatial assimilation or place stratification (e.g., Iceland and Nelson, 2008; Waters and Jimenez, 2005).

2. New destinations and Hispanic incorporation

2.1. National estimates of Hispanic segregation

Neighborhood residential segregation has been used as an indirect measure of social distance between different racial and ethnic groups (Park, 1926; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965). Recent studies provide a rather mixed view of changing relations between Hispanics and whites, despite the optimism implied by accelerated Hispanic suburbanization in the nation's largest metropolitan areas during the 1980s and 1990s (Charles, 2003). Logan et al. (2004), for example, found that the 1990s brought virtually no change in Hispanic–white residential segregation (based on the index of dissimilarity). In fact, a larger number of metropolitan areas experienced increases in Hispanic–white segregation than declines over the 1990s. At the same time, Hispanic–white segregation (51.6) was much lower on average than black–white segregation (65.2) in 2000 but higher than Asian–white segregation (42.2) (Logan et al., 2004).[1]

Other studies show that Hispanic–white segregation is lower on average in suburban areas than in central cities (Alba et al., 1999; Clark, 2006). Like black suburbanization (Fischer, 2008), Hispanic suburbanization is often viewed as a positive indicator of the economic and cultural incorporation of Hispanics into mainstream American society (Farrell, 2008; Frey, 2001). This presumably reflects upward socioeconomic mobility. Hispanic suburbanization, however, may increasingly take the form of new ethnic enclaves or multiracial "melting pot" suburbs (Frey, 2001). Indeed, Logan (2001) showed that the average Hispanic person in 2000 lived in a suburban neighborhood that was 49 percent Hispanic, up from 44 percent Hispanic in 1990.[2] Suburban Hispanics are increasingly living in Hispanic neighborhoods.

The movement of Hispanics to exurban or rural areas has also received rather mixed interpretations about incorporation (Donato et al., 2007; Kandel and Parrado, 2005). Recent studies show that Hispanic–white segregation is surprisingly high in America's small rural towns and micropolitan statistical areas (Lichter et al., 2007a; Wahl et al., 2007). For example, average Hispanic–white segregation in nonmetro places in 2000 was higher overall than in metropolitan places, with indices of dissimilarity equal to 49.7 and 41.6, respectively (Lichter et al., 2007a). Even when metropolitan places are reweighted to reflect higher segregation rates in heavily populated central cities, Hispanic–white indices of dissimilarity remained virtually identical in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. Racial and ethnic segregation clearly is not restricted to large cities or suburban communities. This begs new questions about whether the accelerated spatial diffusion of Hispanics into emerging destinations broadly increases spatial assimilation – a finding indicative of economic and cultural incorporation – or leads instead to greater spatial isolation and exclusion from mainstream American culture.

2.2. Hispanic segregation in new destinations

Most segregation studies have been framed conceptually with the spatial assimilation and place stratification models (e.g., Iceland and Nelson, 2008; Alba and Logan, 1993). The spatial assimilation model posits that Hispanics will follow the classical assimilation process, as differences between Hispanics and whites in socioeconomic status (e.g., educational and occupational attainment) decline and distinctive cultural expressions (e.g., mother tongue) fade over successive generations or with length of residence in the United States (Iceland and Nelson, 2008). According to this perspective, upward socioeconomic mobility leads to improvements in neighborhood conditions and therefore reduces segregation from whites (White and Sassler, 2000).

[1] These estimates are based on the index of dissimilarity which, in this case, shows the percentage of Hispanics who would have to move to largely white neighborhoods in order to achieve residential parity with whites across all neighborhoods (i.e., the percentage Hispanic in each neighborhood would be identical to the percentage Hispanic for the metropolitan area overall).

[2] This estimate is the isolation index, which in this case was calculated in metropolitan suburban areas where Hispanics constituted 10 percent or more of the suburban population (Logan, 2001). Higher percentages of co-ethnics indicate higher levels of neighborhood social isolation from whites.

The alternative view – the place stratification model – posits that the ecological niche of Hispanics within communities reflects their subordinate and often racialized position, as well as the impact of longstanding institutional barriers to residential incorporation or assimilation, including prejudice and racism (Alba and Logan, 1993). The consequences presumably are expressed in large and persistent patterns of residential segregation between Hispanics and whites.

The spatial assimilation and place stratification models are complementary rather than competing perspectives. Our working hypothesis, which draws on elements of both perspectives, is that segregation in rapidly growing new Hispanic destinations is higher than segregation in established gateways or other Hispanic communities. This hypothesis reflects several empirical facts.

First, the growth of new Hispanic boomtowns has been spurred largely by employment in low-skill, low-wage employment sectors, such as agriculture or food processing (Crowley et al., 2006; Kandel and Parrado, 2005). The in-migration of poor or near-poor Hispanic workers and families into new destinations is not likely to be strongly linked to growing spatial assimilation and less segregation from whites. In this case, Hispanic suburbanization and geographic diffusion are unlikely to be markers of residential attainment. On the other hand, in established Hispanic areas, residential mobility – especially into suburban areas – and social mobility are likely to go hand-in-hand. That is, consistent with the spatial assimilation model, Hispanic population growth in the suburbs will be more strongly linked with lower Hispanic–white segregation.

Second, new destinations are comprised mostly of foreign-born Hispanics (Johnson and Lichter, 2008), who tend to be more highly segregated than their native-born counterparts and to reside in ethnic enclaves. In Iceland and Scopilliti's (2008) study of 170 metropolitan areas, foreign-born Hispanics were more highly segregated from whites (59.9) than native-born Hispanics (48.1) in 2000. Hispanic segregation from whites also declined with the length of time in the United States, a pattern consistent with the spatial assimilation model. Lower segregation undoubtedly reflects, at least in part, the fact that native-born Hispanics are more acculturated and better off economically than their foreign-born counterparts (Crowley et al., 2006; Saenz, 2004). We therefore expect that place-to-place variation in Hispanic–white segregation will reflect spatial variation in the percent of the foreign-born Hispanic population.

Third, upward socioeconomic mobility is often slow for immigrants in newly emerging destinations, where low-skill, low-wage jobs often dominate the local labor market (Donato et al., 2007; Singer, 2004). Poor English and low education and income levels among Hispanic immigrants represent large barriers to residential integration with the indigenous white population (Iceland and Scopilliti, 2008). More importantly, intense competition among Hispanic in-migrants and other minorities may drive down wages. The growth of low-wage and often dead-end jobs in fast-growing places means that Hispanics have few clear routes to upward mobility, either over generations or time. This will be reflected in higher segregation levels from whites in new destinations vis-à-vis established or other Hispanic places.

Fourth, even if Hispanics experience upward mobility in new destinations, it remains unclear whether Hispanics in general are able to translate growing incomes into upward residential mobility – into good neighborhoods (Friedman and Rosenbaum, 2007). In rapidly growing communities, Hispanics may be increasingly racialized like blacks, with similar implications for residential segregation and spatial assimilation. The place stratification model emphasizes the cost of prejudice and racism and implies lower residential "returns" to income among minority populations. The substantive implication is clear: the effects of economic incorporation (e.g., as measured by Hispanic–white income inequality) will be lower in rapidly growing Hispanic communities than in established enclaves.

Fifth, Hispanic newcomers in new destinations are sometimes viewed as an economic or cultural "threat" to the majority white population. Inter-group tensions and conflict may increase with greater contact and competition that come with the growth of minority populations (Blalock, 1967; Brown and Fuguitt, 1972). Large influxes of Hispanics may promote anti-immigrant sentiment and prejudice, reinforce housing discrimination and lead to greater Hispanic neighborhood segregation. Previous studies, in fact, suggest that the rapid influx of Hispanics may threaten the existing social order, especially in small towns and suburban places with sizeable minority or black populations or a history of racial oppression and exclusion (Fennelly, 2008; Griffith, 2005; McConnell and Miraftab, forthcoming). Hispanics can be relegated to the same marginalized position as native-born blacks (Gans, 1999), especially in communities with dual-housing markets and few low-income housing options. The implication, which we evaluate in this paper, is that residential segregation between Hispanics and whites may be heightened in communities with large black populations and preexisting dual-housing markets (i.e., one for minorities and another for whites).

3. Methods

3.1. Data

Data come from the 100 percent items of the 1990 and 2000 decennial census summary files. We identify residential segregation patterns in rapidly growing Hispanic *places* rather than in metropolitan or micropolitan statistical areas.[3] Specifically, places in the contiguous 48 states, as defined here, include all incorporated cities, towns, and villages, as well as unincorporated

[3] The Census Bureau recently began providing racial segregation indices in racially diverse micropolitan statistical areas. These data are available for micropolitan areas with 10 or more tracts and a minority population of at least 100. Micropolitan areas are nonmetropolitan counties (rather than places) that include places with 10,000 or more people. These segregation indices are based on census tracts (rather than blocks), and they can be downloaded at http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/housing_patterns/gettable_micro2003.html.

communities and housing developments (called "census designated places" by the Census Bureau) that lack municipal governments.[4] Unlike most previous metro-based studies of residential segregation, we use fixed place boundaries, defined in 2000, to compare places in 1990 and 2000. This is a time-intensive task but one that insures that any changes in Hispanic–white segregation are not due to annexation over 1990–2000, which can bias estimates of residential segregation. Our estimates of place-based segregation are not compromised by changes in the legal boundaries of communities between 1990 and 2000.[5]

We also use blocks as the basic areal building unit for measuring racial and ethnic residential segregation (see Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965, for a history of segregation measures based on different accounting units, including blocks). For our purpose, blocks have a singularly important advantage: They represent the fine-grained geography needed to adequately measure segregation in small suburban and rural places (Lichter et al., 2007a; Reardon et al., 2008).[6] For small communities, including suburbs, census tracts are often too large to be meaningful (e.g., some communities may be comprised of only a few census tracts). Census tracts also may not conform to community boundaries and cannot accommodate population changes from annexation. These problems are circumvented with smaller geographic units, i.e., blocks. Blocks can be aggregated to conform exactly to existing place boundaries, which is important when studying segregation outside central cities or metropolitan areas. This is a distinctive feature of our analyses, which cannot be replicated using conventional approaches based on census tracts in large metropolitan areas.

3.2. New and established destination places

The universe of U.S. places includes 21,093 metro central cities, metro suburban places, and nonmetro places from which we identified (1) new destinations, (2) established places, and (3) other Hispanic destinations. Conceptually, new destinations are defined as places with comparatively small Hispanic populations in 1990 that experienced unusually rapid Hispanic growth over the 1990s. We classified new destinations in three steps. First, we identified 20,145 places in 1990 with Hispanic populations less than the total U.S. Hispanic percentage (9 percent). Second, we identified places that grew by at least 200 Hispanics between 1990 and 2000, which yielded 2164 places. This insured a sizeable Hispanic population of at least 200, even in the absence of a Hispanic population in 1990. Third, from the list of places (i.e., those with a significant Hispanic presence for the first time in 2000), we selected places with percent Hispanic increases in the 1990s that exceeded the national average by one standard deviation. Growth thresholds were set separately for metro central cities, metro suburban areas, and nonmetro places. This three-step procedure yielded 257 new Hispanic destinations. Of these, 26 were metro central cities, 160 were metro suburban places, and 71 were nonmetro places. Hispanics in new destinations accounted for 1.2 percent of the total U.S. Hispanic population in 2000.

Conceptually, established places had disproportionately large Hispanic populations prior to the accelerated geographic dispersion of Hispanics over the past decade or so. Until 1990, the vast majority of Hispanic immigrants were concentrated in a handful of states, such as California, New York, Texas, Florida, and Illinois (Massey and Capoferro, 2008). For our purposes, we therefore defined established places as having populations of 18 percent or more Hispanic in 1990 (i.e., roughly double the national average) (see Kandel and Cromartie, 2004, for a similar procedure using counties). This procedure yielded 1191 established Hispanic places. This number included 97 metro central cities, 704 metro suburban places, and 390 nonmetro places. Hispanics in these established communities accounted for 56.3 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population in 2000.

Finally, "other" Hispanic places included those with at least 200 Hispanics in 2000 that are not classified as new or established Hispanic destinations. That is, these places had neither the most rapidly growing Hispanic populations over 1990–2000 nor disproportionately large Hispanic populations in 1990. This approach yielded 3933 other places. Of these, 492 were metro central cities, 2693 were metro suburban places, and 748 were nonmetro places. Hispanics living in other destinations accounted for 25.9 percent of the total U.S. Hispanic population in 2000. In sum, Hispanics living in new, established, and other places accounted for 83.4 percent of the total U.S. Hispanic population in 2000. A small residual Hispanic population (16.6 percent) lived in places with less than 200 Hispanics in 2000 or lived outside of places (e.g., open countryside, exurban fringe, or farms).[7]

[4] The Census Bureau defines census designated places (CDPs) "as the statistical counterparts of incorporated places. CDPs are delineated to provide census data for concentrations of population, housing, and commercial structures that are identifiable by name but are not within an incorporated place" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007).

[5] For example, the annexation of peripheral territory that is predominately white would likely upwardly bias changes in segregation over the decade. This is likely to be the case in suburban places and perhaps in some large cities. In racially diverse rural communities, however, minorities tend to live at the periphery of place boundaries (Lichter et al., 2007b).

[6] One limitation of using blocks rather than census tract data is that we are unable to estimate segregation levels separately for the Hispanic native- and foreign-born populations. Nativity status is not made available by the Census Bureau at the block level, only at the place level. Race and ethnicity, on the other hand, is a 100 percent item available for all blocks in the United States.

[7] We recognize that any classification scheme of this sort is ultimately arbitrary. We have subjected our classification scheme to additional sensitivity analyses based on alternative classifications. For example, our preliminary analyses focused on new destinations that experienced rapid growth rates and large absolute increases of Hispanic population (Lichter et al., 2008). These analyses, along with the current analyses, indicate that our basic findings (e.g., higher segregation in new destinations) are robust to alternative classification schemes. Our empirical approach is driven by the conceptual need to identify new destinations that represented little or none of the Hispanic population in 1990 but that grew rapidly over the 1990s. This is a conventional practice in the emerging literature that defines new destinations (Kandel and Cromartie, 2004; Johnson and Lichter, 2008). We understand that these new destinations do not account for the bulk of Hispanic growth over the decade. Established places, which are more numerous and larger, play a large role in accounting for Hispanic growth, but these are not "new" Hispanic places.

Unsurprisingly, the maps shown in Fig. 1 illustrate large differences in the spatial distribution of new, established, and other Hispanic places. Established Hispanic places are located overwhelmingly in the Southwest, along the Atlantic seaboard, and in Florida. More than 70 percent (71.1 percent) fall within established destination states, as defined by Massey and Capoferro (2008, p. 35). New destinations are concentrated in the South (especially in the Carolinas and northern Georgia) and scattered throughout the Midwest. Of the 257 new destination places identified here, only 12 percent fall within established

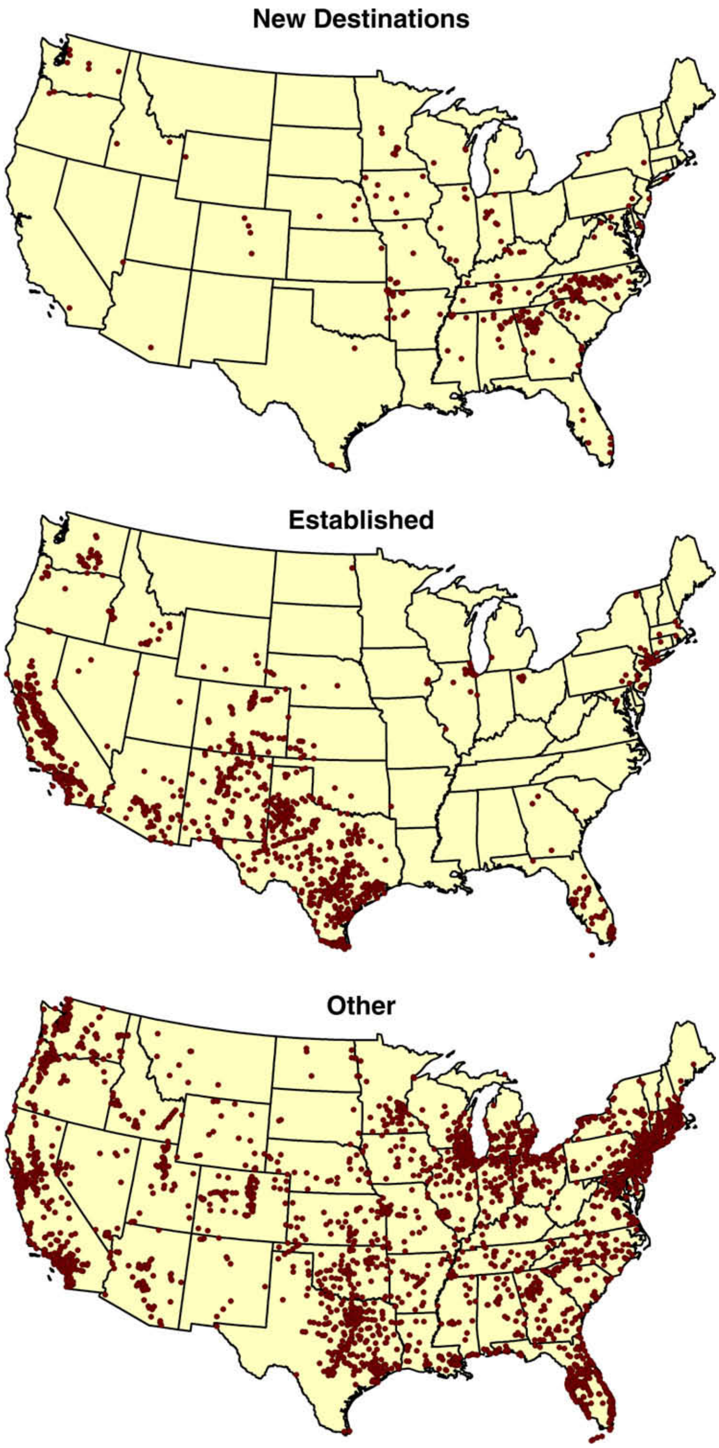

Fig. 1. The spatial distribution of Hispanic places, by type, 2000.

destination states, as defined by Massey and Capoferro (2008, p. 35). Other Hispanic places are widely dispersed throughout the United States, a fact which highlights the widespread spatial diffusion of the U.S. Hispanic population.

3.3. Measurement and analysis

3.3.1. Measuring segregation

The index of dissimilarity (D) provides a conventional measure of segregation. It has several advantages, including easy computation and interpretation, as well as consistency with most previous studies of neighborhood segregation (e.g., Fischer, 2003; Wilkes and Iceland, 2004). The index of dissimilarity, D_t, is defined as:

$$D_t = \frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{k} | h_{it} - w_{it} |$$

where h_{it} and w_{it} are the respective percentages of Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites residing in place i at time t. This index is based on pair-wise comparisons and varies from 0 (no Hispanic–white segregation) to 100 (complete segregation). D indicates the percentage of Hispanics (or whites) that would have to move to other blocks in order to achieve parity between Hispanics and whites in their percentage distributions across all blocks in the community.

3.3.2. Place-based predictors

The place-based predictors used in our multivariate analysis are drawn mostly from recent ecological studies of metropolitan segregation (Farley and Frey, 1994; Logan et al., 2004). Ecological models typically include *population size*, measured here as the log of the population of a place to account for skew in the size distribution of places. Our multivariate models also include two additional spatial indicators. *Region* is measured as a set of dummy variables classifying places falling within the census-defined West, Midwest, Northeast, and South regions. We also include dummy variables to identify *place type* (i.e., whether places are classified by the Census Bureau as metro central cities, metro suburban places, and nonmetro places).

We also examine whether demographic composition is associated with Hispanic–white segregation. For example, a significant black population is likely to magnify the perceived threats of a rapidly growing Hispanic population. Here, *black percent* is defined as the percentage of a place's population that is non-Hispanic black. Previous studies show that the foreign-born populations are more segregated than native-born minority populations (Iceland and Scopilliti, 2008; Lee et al., 2008). We measure *foreign-born Hispanics* in our multivariate analyses as the percentage of all Hispanics who are foreign-born. Finally, we examine several economic indicators. *Poverty rate* is defined as the percent of the population living in families (of various sizes) with annual incomes falling below official government poverty thresholds. Following Logan et al. (2004), *percent of new housing stock* is measured as the percent of housing built since 1990. This is a proxy for recent population and economic growth. Because Hispanics and whites are employed in different industrial sectors (Kandel and Parrado, 2005), we also consider the *industrial composition* of places, which we measure as the percentage of workers employed in each of the following sectors: manufacturing, service, government, and retail sales. Finally, the *Hispanic–white income ratio* is used to measure differences in household income between Hispanics and whites. Segregation is expected to be higher in places with greater Hispanic–white income inequality. For reasons given earlier, we also expect that the Hispanic–white income ratio will be less strongly associated with Hispanic–white segregation in new destinations. This would imply that race trumps income (or income inequality) in the residential sorting patterns of new destinations while also providing indirect support for the place stratification perspective.

3.4. Analytical strategy

The analysis begins with a brief description of the differences in demographic, economic, and spatial characteristics between new, established, and other Hispanic destinations. Second, following convention, we provide average weighted (by Hispanic population size in 2000) and unweighted D's to measure Hispanic–white segregation in new destinations and established Hispanic places in 2000. The weighted estimates give more weight to places with larger Hispanic populations and therefore are more indicative of the segregation experiences of average Hispanics. The unweighted estimates are indicative of Hispanic segregation in the average place (see Logan et al., 2004, for a similar approach). For illustrative purposes, we also identify new destinations marked by exceptionally high levels of Hispanic–white residential segregation. Third, we estimate various weighted regression models (i.e., weighted by Hispanic population size) to identify place-based factors associated with Hispanic–white residential segregation in new destinations and established Hispanic places.

4. Results

4.1. A profile of new Hispanic destinations and established places

The results in Table 1 provide a sociodemographic profile of new Hispanic destinations in 2000. New destinations have much smaller populations on average in 2000 than established Hispanic communities. For example, the average population

Table 1
Descriptive statistics, by type of Hispanic place, 2000.

Variable	New destinations N = 257		Established Hispanic places N = 1191		Other places N = 3933	
	Mean/%	SD	Mean/%	SD	Mean/%	SD
Place type						
Percent in central city	10.1	–	8.1	–	12.5	–
Percent in suburban place	62.3	–	59.1	–	68.5	–
Percent in nonmetro place	27.6	–	32.8	–	19.0	–
Region						
Percent in South	72.4	–	36.8	–	33.5	–
Percent in Northeast	2.7	–	3.7	–	29.7	–
Percent in Midwest	17.5	–	4.0	–	22.8	–
Percent in West	7.4	–	55.5	–	24.0	–
Demographics						
Population, 2000	16,800	39,339	40,588	288,293	27,990	57,809
Hispanic population, 2000	1666	3340	16,697	93,315	2321	6534
Absolute change in Hispanics, 1990–2000	1515	2941	4669	22,379	1080	3265
Growth rate of Hispanics, 1990–2000	86.0	6.6	14.8	19.6	31.9	21.2
Percent Hispanic, 2000	13.4	12.6	49.8	23.3	8.7	7.4
Percent black, 2000	13.1	14.3	4.7	9.4	10.0	15.8
Percent white, 2000	70.4	17.0	40.3	22.5	75.6	18.0
Percent foreign-born Hispanic	60.7	18.0	31.7	19.7	34.2	18.3
Economic structure						
Percent new housing, 1990–2000	27.1	25.2	8.5	31.5	11.1	23.4
Percent in poverty, 2000	14.5	8.1	20.1	10.5	10.7	7.6
Industry						
Percent manufacturing, 2000	23.4	11.7	11.4	8.3	13.0	7.9
Percent services, 2000	35.2	7.5	39.0	9.3	42.8	7.4
Percent government, 2000	3.7	2.0	5.7	5.3	5.3	3.8
Percent retail, 2000	12.1	3.2	11.3	3.6	12.3	2.8
Income inequality						
Hispanic–white mean income ratio, 2000	0.9	0.3	0.9	0.2	0.9	0.3

in new destinations was 16,800, compared with 40,588 and 27,990 in established and other places, respectively. Not surprisingly, new destinations also had much smaller Hispanic populations (1666) on average than established places (16,697).

By definition, new Hispanic destinations experienced extraordinarily rapid overall population growth rates. In new destinations, the average rate of Hispanic population growth was 86 percent between 1990 and 2000.[8] In contrast, established places on average experienced a comparatively modest growth rate of 14.8 percent, while the Hispanic growth rate in other places was 31.9 percent between 1990 and 2000. Despite rapid growth of the Hispanic population, the Hispanic share in 2000 was 13.4 percent in new destinations and 8.7 in other destinations. The Hispanic share in established places was considerably higher at 49.8 percent. New Hispanic destinations, unsurprisingly, are overrepresented in the South and Midwest. In fact, more than one-half of new Hispanic destinations are located in the South. Established places are overrepresented in the West.

Significantly, new Hispanic destinations have lower poverty rates than established Hispanic places (i.e., 14.5 vs. 20.1 percent). Although it is important to put these figures in the context of a national poverty rate of 12.4 percent in 2000 (Bishaw and Iceland, 2003), new Hispanic destinations clearly are economic "winners." Indeed, more than a quarter of the housing stock in new destinations was built after 1990, compared with 8.5 and 11.1 percent in established and other Hispanic places, respectively.

New destinations have higher percentages of blacks than established Hispanic communities. On average, the percent black in new destinations was 13.1 percent in 2000 compared with 4.7 in established places. The black percentage in "other" places was 10 percent. Hispanics are seemingly moving to comparatively prosperous places with racially diverse populations. The indigenous white populations in these communities are accustomed to a significant minority population presence. New destinations on average also had much higher percentages of foreign-born Hispanics (60.7 percent) than established places (31.7 percent). This is one reason why segregation is likely to be much higher in new destinations than in established Hispanic communities.

Perhaps surprisingly, the industrial mix of the labor force in new and established Hispanic communities is quite similar. The only exception is among nonmetro places (data not shown) where Hispanic boomtowns are dominated by manufacturing employment, including nondurable manufacturing such as food and meat processing plants, which often hire low-skill Hispanic workers (see Crowley et al., 2006; Kandel and Parrado, 2005). More than 30 percent of nonmetropolitan workers in

[8] For our purposes, we calculated a Hispanic population growth rate as $[P(2) - P(1)]/[1/2(P(1) + P(2))] * 100$, where $P(1)$ and $P(2)$ refer to the sizes of the Hispanic population in 1990 and 2000, respectively. This is a central growth rate, with the average population size (i.e., population at risk) over the decade providing the denominator.

Hispanic boomtowns are employed in manufacturing, compared with only 8.9 percent in established nonmetro places. Contrary to conventional wisdom, our results give little indication that new Hispanic destinations are dominated by service industries.

4.2. Hispanic–white segregation in new, established, and other places

Table 2 presents weighted and unweighted Hispanic–white segregation indices for all Hispanic places in 2000 and separately for new, established, and other Hispanic communities. As is the convention (Logan et al., 2004), these segregation indices are weighted by Hispanic population in 2000 (i.e., places with large Hispanic populations are given more weight in the index than places with small Hispanic populations). Unweighted segregation indices weight each place equally. As the results in Table 2 indicate, differences between weighted and unweighted Hispanic–white segregation rates are small. For the sake of parsimony, the description of results is based on weighted segregation rates.

As a baseline, we begin with a discussion of segregation in established Hispanic places. Our estimates indicate that average Hispanic segregation levels from whites are much lower in suburban places (40.4) than in central cities (60.5) and nonmetro places (51.0). This is consistent with the spatial assimilation model. Additional analysis (not shown) shows that the 1990s brought little change in Hispanic–white segregation in established Hispanic communities (54.6 in 1990 and 53.8 in 2000). Among established places, the largest change occurred in nonmetro places, which experienced a 3.4 percent decline in segregation over the 1990s. Still, these rural Hispanic communities had much higher segregation levels than suburban places in 2000.

Segregation patterns in new Hispanic destinations are different from those in established Hispanic places in several ways. First, overall Hispanic–white segregation is higher in new destinations (58.6) than in established Hispanic places (53.8) for each type of location (i.e., central city, suburban, or rural places). The largest differences were in suburban and nonmetro places. For example, segregation in new suburban destinations was approximately 10 points higher than segregation in established suburban places. Similarly, segregation in new nonmetro destinations was nearly 12 points higher than segregation in established nonmetro places. Differences in Hispanic segregation were small between new and established central cities, with segregation in new central city destinations being approximately 5 points higher.

Second, average segregation rates are different in different kinds of new destinations. Specifically, they were higher in new nonmetro (63.0) and central city destinations (65.3) than they were in new suburban places (50.7). The so-called melting pot suburb (Frey, 2001) is a label that cannot be easily applied to new Hispanic cities and rural towns, where segregation levels between Hispanics and whites are high by conventional standards. For example, in Logan et al.'s (2004) study of Hispanic–white segregation in 210 metropolitan areas (as opposed to metropolitan places), the average *D* was 51.6.

Table 2
Average Hispanic–white segregation, 2000.

	Unweighted		Weighted[a]	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
New Hispanic destinations				
Central city	63.7	6.6	65.3	6.1
Suburban place	56.2	13.6	50.7	16.1
Nonmetro place	63.0	12.0	63.0	11.8
Total	58.9	13.0	58.6	14.0
Established Hispanic places				
Central city	50.6	9.6	60.5	9.8
Suburban place	42.1	13.3	40.4	11.8
Nonmetro place	51.7	13.6	51.0	9.7
Total	45.9	13.9	53.8	14.0
Other Hispanic places				
Central city	53.0	11.0	53.3	10.2
Suburban place	44.4	12.5	42.1	12.1
Nonmetro place	55.0	14.0	52.9	12.8
Total	47.5	13.4	48.0	12.6
All places				
Central city	53.1	10.9	58.8	10.3
Suburban place	44.5	13.0	41.3	12.1
Nonmetro place	54.4	13.0	52.4	11.5
Total	47.7	13.8	52.1	13.9

[a] Weighted by 2000 Hispanic population.

Table 3
Top 10 most highly segregated new Hispanic destinations by place type, 2000.

	Hispanic–white *D* index, 2000	Hispanic population, 1990	Hispanic population, 2000
Central city			
NC, Winston-Salem	74.0	1236	16,043
NC, Durham	72.7	1610	16,012
AL, Decatur	70.7	386	3040
TN, Morristown	70.4	91	2603
NC, Concord	69.4	150	4369
NC, Burlington	69.0	234	4525
VA, Winchester	68.7	219	1527
NC, Gastonia	68.6	294	3613
GA, Marietta	68.4	1418	9947
NC, Hickory	67.1	221	2863
Suburban place			
NC, Tarboro	85.2	49	662
AL, Allgood	77.0	39	273
IN, Delphi	76.8	29	367
MN, Melrose	74.8	16	381
NC, St. Stephens	74.3	71	921
MO, California	74.0	4	303
SC, Laurens	74.0	29	240
AL, Athens	73.6	77	922
NY, Saugerties	73.6	65	587
NC, Smithfield	73.3	153	1140
Nonmetro place			
MS, Yazoo City	84.6	62	1087
NC, Wilson	83.3	259	3237
IA, Sioux Center	80.9	11	280
AR, Forrest City	80.7	93	1221
SC, Greenwood	79.6	108	1440
SC, Pageland	79.4	5	221
GA, Fitzgerald	77.3	26	388
NC, River Road	76.8	13	402
NC, Wallace	76.7	19	608
TN, Bells	76.2	14	495

Third, for illustrative purposes, we also list in Table 3 the 10 central cities, suburban places, and nonmetro communities with the highest Hispanic–white segregation rates in 2000. Table 3 also provides Hispanic population sizes in both 1990 and 2000, which clearly highlight the unusually rapid growth of Hispanics over the 1990s in these places (see Appendix Table of segregation rates for all 257 new destinations). These data also show that suburban and rural places have some of the most extreme levels of Hispanic segregation from whites. For example, suburban Tarboro, North Carolina, has the highest segregation rate – 85.2. This is the only suburban place with segregation rates exceeding 80, however. Four rural Hispanic destinations had segregation rates more than 80. In contrast, no central city in 2000 had Hispanic–white segregation at this high level. This may reflect the fact that many of the central cities with high growth rates also had measurable Hispanic populations in 1990, which may indicate a larger share of native-born or long-term Hispanic residents who are more likely to be incorporated or assimilated on a variety of dimensions (e.g., language and income).

4.3. Explaining Hispanic segregation from place to place

Our final objective is to identify key correlates of place-to-place variation in segregation between Hispanics and whites in new, established, and other Hispanic destinations. In Table 4, we begin by presenting the results for all places in 2000.[9] The first weighted regression model includes only dummy variables that identify new and other places, with established Hispanic places as the reference category.[10] Our objective is to show whether spatial differences in Hispanic–white segregation are due to ecological location, as indexed by type of place and region (Model 2, Table 4), demographic composition (Model 3), economic structure (Model 4), and income inequality between Hispanics and whites (Model 5). The empirical estimates support several specific conclusions.

First, for all Hispanic places combined (Model 1, Table 4), the results indicate that new destinations have segregation levels 4.82 points higher than established places, while other Hispanic destinations have much lower segregation levels

[9] Because we are focusing on new destinations, these places by definition will have small numbers of Hispanics in 1990 (see the 1990 Hispanic population figures in Table 3). Consequently, our analyses are limited to segregation patterns in 2000 rather than changes in segregation over the 1990s.

[10] We also ran unweighted regression models that produced similar substantive conclusions to the weighted regression models reported here. These results are available upon request.

Table 4
OLS regression analysis of Hispanic–white segregation for all places weighted by Hispanic population, 2000.

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b	SE	*b*	SE	*b*	SE	*b*	SE	*b*	SE
Destination place (established place as reference)										
New destinations	4.82[b]	1.53	7.13[a]	1.22	8.55[a]	1.13	10.12[a]	1.09	7.27[a]	1.01
Other destinations	−6.85[a]	0.38	−6.00[a]	0.31	−2.11[a]	0.31	1.75[a]	0.34	0.72[c]	0.32
Place type (central city as reference)										
Suburban place			−15.26[a]	0.30	−8.05[a]	0.37	−7.51[a]	0.38	−6.04[a]	0.35
Nonmetro place			−3.84[a]	0.70	8.00[a]	0.72	7.00[a]	0.69	4.38[a]	0.65
Region (South as reference)										
Northeast			9.63[a]	0.45	5.39[a]	0.43	3.34[a]	0.43	3.00[a]	0.40
Midwest			6.07[a]	0.55	3.00[a]	0.51	2.32[a]	0.52	4.26[a]	0.48
West			−1.55[a]	0.34	−1.08[a]	0.32	−1.64[a]	0.32	−1.28[a]	0.29
Demographics										
Population size (ln)					2.67[a]	0.10	2.47[a]	0.10	1.15[a]	0.11
Percent black					0.11[a]	0.01	0.04[a]	0.01	0.08[a]	0.01
Percent foreign-born Hispanic					0.10[a]	0.01	0.07[a]	0.01	0.08[a]	0.01
Economic structure										
Percent new housing, 1990–2000							0.04[a]	0.01	0.04[a]	0.01
Percent in poverty							0.35[a]	0.02	0.39[a]	0.02
Industry										
Percent employed in manufacturing							−0.02	0.03	0.08[a]	0.03
Percent employed in service							0.15[a]	0.03	0.07[a]	0.03
Percent employed in government							−0.58[a]	0.06	−0.44[a]	0.05
Percent employed in retail							−0.77[a]	−0.08	−0.41[a]	0.07
Income inequality										
Hispanic–white income ratio									−30.37[a]	0.98
Intercept	53.80[a]	0.22	57.76[a]	0.30	16.43[a]	1.30	18.99[a]	2.44	54.72[a]	2.53
Adjusted R^2	5.5		41.4		52.2		59.8		65.9	

[a] <0.001.
[b] <0.01.
[c] <0.05.

($b = -6.85$). After controlling for type of ecological location (i.e., place and region) and demographic characteristics, the difference in Hispanic–white segregation between new and established places grows even larger, from 7.13 (Model 2, Table 4) to 8.55 (Model 3, Table 4).[11] When economic characteristics are added in Model 4, the difference between new and established destinations grows even larger – to 10.12 (Models 3 and 4, Table 4). Clearly, differences in location, demographic characteristics, and economic structure suppress evidence of large differences in segregation between new and established Hispanic places. Segregation in new destinations is higher than it is in established places, despite ecological, demographic, and economic characteristics that favor lower Hispanic–white segregation.[12]

Second, as expected, income equality (as measured by the Hispanic–white income ratio) is negatively associated with Hispanic–white segregation. More importantly, the large difference in segregation between new and established places declines (from 10.12 in Model 4 to 7.27 in Model 5, Table 5) but does not disappear when income inequality between Hispanics and whites is added to the model. The higher Hispanic segregation in new destinations cannot be reduced to a question of comparatively low incomes among Hispanics. Of course, it may also be the case that high levels of residential segregation limit job opportunities and reinforce Hispanic–white inequality (see Cutler and Glaeser, 1997).

Third, the results in Model 5 also reinforce the fact that segregation levels are highest in nonmetro places ($b = 4.38$), heavily populated places ($b = 1.15$), and growing places, as measured by percent changes in housing stock over the decade ($b = 0.04$).[13] As hypothesized, segregation is also significantly higher in places with larger black populations ($b = 0.08$), foreign-born Hispanics ($b = 0.08$), and poor people ($b = 0.39$). Consistent with the place stratification model, Hispanics may be spatially marginalized in

[11] We recognize, of course, that we are unable to draw strong causal inferences. For example, it may be that new Hispanic destinations are growing rapidly because Hispanics are attracted to places with large and highly segregated ethnic enclaves. Hispanic segregation may be a cause of growth as well as a consequence of it.

[12] In some additional analyses, we also considered the possibility of spatial autocorrelation. The Moran's I value was 0.08, indicating there is no autocorrelation problem in these data. This is not especially surprising. Conceptually, the issue of spatial autocorrelation is most pertinent when smaller units are nested within contiguous larger units, which in turn are used as predictors in regression analysis. But in this case, we do not use metro or nonmetro characteristics as predictors – only place characteristics.

[13] The growth in housing stock is a good predictor of segregation because its growth usually occurs at the periphery of places, which has implications for segregation (Logan et al., 2004). Our indirect measure of growth therefore is arguably a better indicator than population growth over the 1990s. In some additional analyses, we also included 1990–2000 population growth rates (as a percentage change), but this measure was removed because of its high VIF value. These results nevertheless showed that population growth was negatively related to segregation, with a coefficient of −0.008.

Table 5
OLS regression analysis of Hispanic–white segregation by destination place weighted by Hispanic population, 2000.

Variable	New destination		Established		Other	
	b	SE	*b*	SE	*b*	SE
Place type (central city as reference)						
Suburban place	4.28[c]	2.14	−5.68[a]	0.69	−4.19[a]	0.42
Nonmetro place	4.37[c]	2.11	3.60[b]	1.33	5.15[a]	0.76
Demographics						
Population size (ln)	1.82[b]	0.78	0.81[a]	0.20	1.16[a]	0.16
Percent black	0.34[a]	0.05	0.07[b]	0.02	0.15[a]	0.01
Percent foreign-born Hispanic	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.17[a]	0.01
Economic structure						
Percent new housing, 1990–2000	−0.17[a]	0.03	0.12[a]	0.02	−0.07[a]	0.01
Percent in poverty	0.33[a]	0.06	0.47[a]	0.03	0.28[a]	0.03
Industry						
Percent employed in manufacturing	0.57[a]	0.08	0.15[a]	0.05	0.33[a]	0.04
Percent employed in service	0.71[a]	0.10	0.17[a]	0.05	0.04	0.04
Percent employed in government	−0.33	0.37	−0.65[a]	0.12	−0.43[a]	0.06
Percent employed in retail	1.33[a]	0.21	−0.71[a]	0.14	−0.45[a]	0.09
Income inequality						
Hispanic–white income ratio	−13.90[a]	3.09	−42.51[a]	2.33	−16.58[a]	0.98
Intercept	−12.93	14.41	68.25[a]	4.81	40.77[a]	3.72
Adjusted R^2	68.3		75.3		47.6	

[a] <0.001.
[b] <0.01.
[c] <0.05.

communities where minorities represent a significant "threat" to the Anglo majority or where minorities and whites are exposed to different housing markets. Yet our results are also consistent with the spatial assimilation model in that Hispanics living in places with large foreign-born populations are more likely to be segregated from whites, a fact that cannot be explained by higher poverty or more income inequality (which are controlled in Model 5). Hispanic segregation also grows with increases in the percentage of (presumably low-wage) manufacturing and service jobs ($b = 0.08$ and $b = 0.07$, respectively).

A key question is whether place-to-place variations in ecological location, demographic characteristics, economic structure, and income inequality differentially influence levels of segregation in new and established Hispanic destinations. To address this question, we evaluate the correlates of segregation in new destinations and established places separately.[14] These results are reported in Table 5.

As with the overall results (Table 4), the Hispanic–white income ratio is negatively associated with segregation in new and established places, but the statistical associations are especially large in established places ($b = -42.51$) compared to new destinations ($b = -13.90$). The coefficients are significantly different at the 0.001 level.[15] Income equality with whites does not translate as easily into less segregation in new destinations as it does in established places. Under the place stratification model, this may reflect the effects of discrimination or shared residential preferences among new cultural groups in new destinations.

Such an interpretation is reinforced by the comparatively large effect of "percent black" in new destinations ($b = 0.34$) vis-à-vis established places ($b = 0.07$). Especially in new destinations, the rapid growth of the Hispanic population in minority communities clearly is associated with more segregation from whites. This is consistent with the place stratification perspective and "minority threat" hypothesis. This finding may also imply a preexisting dual-housing market in which the black population is segregated in low-income housing in largely minority neighborhoods. To address this issue, we conducted some supplemental analyses (not shown) of 147 new destination communities with at least 200 blacks in 1990. Specifically, we added the black–white segregation index in 1990 to our models as a proxy of preexisting dual-housing markets. We expected black–white segregation in 1990 to be associated with Hispanic–white segregation in 2000 but only if Hispanics and blacks shared poorer neighborhoods with less costly housing. Indeed, these supplemental analyses of 1990 black–white segregation revealed a statistically significant and positive association with 2000 Hispanic–white segregation ($b = 0.21$, $p < 0.001$).[16] But

[14] These models do not include region because there is insufficient variation in the regional distributions of places among new destinations and established places. Established Hispanic places are located overwhelming in the West, while new destinations are located outside the Southwest – mostly in the Midwest and South.

[15] In additional analyses, we tested for statistically significant differences in the coefficients between the models of new destinations and established places. In separate models (not shown), we added an interaction term (e.g., Hispanic–white inequality by place type [e.g., established or new destination]) to Model 5 (Table 4). Only three of the interaction effects were statistically significant – percent black, Hispanic–white income ratio, and suburban place. All other interactions were insignificant.

[16] We recognize that this association between black–white segregation and Hispanic–white segregation is not necessarily causal or evidence of dual-housing markets. It may reflect other unobserved characteristics correlated with segregation more generally, regardless of racial or ethnic groups or time period considered.

this does not provide evidence to reject the "minority threat" hypothesis. The coefficient for percent black remained positive ($b = 0.25$) and statistically significant at the 0.001 level.

Finally, our results give caution to interpretations of Hispanic suburbanization as a marker of upward socioeconomic mobility and spatial assimilation. As shown in Table 5, the rapid growth of Hispanics in new suburban destinations does not easily translate into lower Hispanic–white segregation. In fact, new suburban destinations have significantly higher Hispanic segregation rates than new central city destinations ($b = 4.28$).[17] As hypothesized, Hispanic segregation is significantly lower in established suburban places ($b = -5.68$) than it is in established central cities. This finding is of course consistent with metropolitan studies that regard suburbanization as an indirect measure or proxy for spatial assimilation (e.g., Fischer, 2008; White and Sassler, 2000).

5. Discussion and conclusion

The past decade has ushered in new patterns of population redistribution and growth among America's Hispanic population (Massey and Capoferro, 2008; McConnell, 2008). Hispanics have become much less spatially concentrated in the Southwest and large metropolitan cities (Leach and Bean, 2008). Increasingly, Hispanics are relocating to nontraditional destinations, including suburban places and small towns in the Midwest and South (Donato et al., 2007; Singer, 2004). Whether indigenous populations in new destinations are accepting of new immigrant populations is an empirical question, but one that can be answered in part by tracking observed patterns of residential segregation. Our working assumption is that the new spatial diffusion of Hispanics into emerging destinations has been accompanied by increasing spatial balkanization rather than the emergence of "melting pot" suburbs or small towns. We argue that residential segregation is an indirect measure of ethnic relations between Hispanics and whites.

Unlike recent studies of Hispanic segregation (Iceland and Nelson, 2008; Logan et al., 2004; Lee et al., 2008), we provided baseline estimates of segregation in new Hispanic destinations – central cities, suburbs, and small towns. Our analyses confirmed our basic hypothesis: Hispanics are highly segregated in new Hispanic destinations (i.e., an average index of dissimilarity of almost 60 in 2000), often at levels greatly exceeding those in established places, where D, on average, is about 45. The large differences in segregation between established places and new destinations are especially noteworthy in suburban and rural areas. In contrast to observed patterns in established Hispanic places, suburbanization (and even exurbanization) into new destinations is no marker of spatial assimilation. In fact, some of the most highly segregated places in America in 2000 were new Hispanic destinations located in suburban and small-town America (see Tables 2 and 3).

As we have shown here, differences in Hispanic–white segregation between new destinations and established Hispanic areas cannot be explained by various indicators of ecological location (e.g., distribution by size of place or regional location), population composition, the economic or employment base, and Hispanic–white income inequality. Hispanic segregation rates are higher in new destinations despite the fact that they have structural characteristics that favor lower segregation rates (i.e., segregation levels become higher when place characteristics are controlled; see Model 5, Table 4). Such a finding, of course, is consistent with the place stratification model of segregation, which posits that Hispanic segregation cannot be explained by objective indicators of economic assimilation, such as income. For America's Hispanic population, our results highlight the apparent difficulty of spatial assimilation – if measured by segregation – in new destinations vis-à-vis established places with Hispanic co-ethnics.

Our analyses also revealed that Hispanic segregation in new destinations is sensitive to the "minority threat" implied by the presence of a sizeable black population. Hispanic segregation was highest in these places. This pattern occurred even when we accounted for dual-housing markets, as measured by new housing construction and preexisting black–white segregation. Hispanic–white segregation levels also were much less responsive in new destinations than in established destinations to income disparities between Hispanics and whites. Obviously, we cannot draw individual inferences from aggregate data. But our results nevertheless are consistent with the view that Hispanics may be less likely in new destinations to translate increases in income into improvements in residence (if proxied by movement into largely white neighborhoods). Such results lend additional empirical support for the place stratification perspective. In fact, previous studies have shown that local residents in small towns with substantial influxes of Hispanics are often intolerant of newcomers (Fennelly, 2008). We recognize, of course, that Hispanic–white segregation patterns also reflect market and institutional processes and residential preferences, which may be shaped by real and perceived discrimination.

Our segregation estimates, based on block data for places of all sizes, provide an empirical benchmark for comparative demographic research on Hispanic incorporation and spatial assimilation in new Hispanic destinations. The results build most directly on previous community case studies of immigrant incorporation in new rural and suburban destinations (Massey and Capoferro, 2008; Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2005) and on large-scale segregation studies that mostly monitored trends in Hispanic–white segregation for metropolitan areas (e.g., Logan et al., 2004; Iceland and Scopilliti, 2008). Although our cross-sectional analyses of places cannot make strong claims of causality, they do raise new questions about the specific demographic mechanisms (e.g., white out-migration as a response to Hispanic in-migration; see Crowder and South, 2008)

[17] The implication is that the variables in our models "explain" a large share of the observed difference in central city–suburban segregation in new destinations reported in Table 2. New suburban destinations have characteristics have demographic and economic traits (e.g., larger share of whites or lower income inequality), relative to central cities, that actually suppresses observed rates of segregation.

that produce high levels of Hispanic segregation in new destinations. Our cross-sectional data neither track the residential choices and constraints of Hispanics over the life course nor map changes over time in white intolerance to new racial and ethnic diversity in their communities. Previous research also shows that spatial assimilation processes may vary significantly among different national origin groups, such as Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, whose cultural and economic history in America are widely divergent (Lobo et al., 2007; South et al., 2005). We have described the average experience of Hispanics.

Clearly, many destination communities are facing – perhaps for the first time – unusually rapid economic, social, and cultural changes, largely as a result of the new influx and high fertility of Hispanic immigrants (Johnson and Lichter, 2008; Hirschman and Massey, 2008). Understanding how local residents and newcomers respond will be a continuing challenge for scholars concerned about immigrant adaptation in an era of massive population redistribution and geographic balkanization of population groups. Patterns of residential segregation provide one obvious but unexplored indicator of changing ethnic relations and incorporation in new Hispanic destinations.

Appendix A. Hispanic-white segregation (D) in new Hispanic destinations, 2000.

Central Cities			
Place	D	Place	D
NC, Winston-Salem	74.0	GA, Rome	63.6
NC, Durham	72.7	WI, Green Bay	62.9
AL, Decatur	70.7	NC, Thomasville	62.2
TN, Morristown	70.4	GA, Dalton	62.1
NC, Concord	69.4	NC, Morganton	61.5
NC, Burlington	68.9	KY, Bowling Green	60.8
VA, Winchester	68.7	VA, Harrisonburg	59.5
NC, Gastonia	68.6	IN, Elkhart	59.1
GA, Marietta	68.4	TN, Murfeesboro	58.4
NC, Hickory	67.1	AR, Rogers	56.0
AR, Fort Smith	67.1	AR, Springdale	55.3
NC, Lenoir	66.2	IN, Lafayette	49.4
NC, Charlotte	66.1	AR, Bentonville	48.4
Suburban			
NC, Tarboro	85.2	GA, Dock Junction	69.9
AL, Clanton	78.7	PA, Collegeville	69.9
NC, Rural Hall	77.4	NC, Clayton	69.7
AL, Allgood	77.0	GA, Newnan	69.3
IN, Delphi	76.8	NC, Liberty	68.4
NC, Wallace	76.7	NC, Graham	68.2
MN, Melrose	74.8	FL, Eagle Lake	68.2
NC, St. Stephens	74.3	SC, Greer	68.1
AL, Boaz	74.2	TN, Jefferson City	68.1
MO, California	74.0	MS, Hernando	67.7
SC, Laurens	74.0	NC, Granite Falls	67.7
AL, Athens	73.6	NC, Kannapolis	67.4
NY, Saugerties	73.6	KY, Paris	66.9
NC, Smithfield	73.3	NC, Kernersville	66.6
AR, Decatur	73.1	GA, Cartersville	66.5
SC, West Columbia	73.0	NC, Clemmons	66.1
GA, Jonesboro	73.0	NC, Mocksville	66.0
SC, York	72.6	NC, Selma	65.7
SC, Dunean	72.5	GA, Norcross	65.7
NC, Zebulon	72.3	NC, Mebane	65.3
TN, Lenoir City	71.8	MN, Chaska	65.2
NC, Monroe	71.3	TN, Gallatin	64.0
GA, Austell	71.3	MN, Jordan	63.7
TN, Springfield	71.2	NC, Carboro	63.6
AL, Pelham	71.1	MO, Carthage	63.3
NC, Randleman	71.1	SC, Sans Souci	63.1
NC, Hendersonville	71.0	TN, Lebanon	63.1
SC, Saluda	70.9	GA, Conyers	63.0
SC, Southern Shops	63.0	NY, Riverside	49.9
KY, Shelbyville	62.7	AL, Blountsville	49.4
SC, Welcome	62.7	AR, Lowell	49.0

(continued on next page)

Appendix A (*continued*)

Central Cities			
Place	D	Place	D
KS, De Soto	62.6	WA, Airway Heights	48.9
MN, Shakopee	62.5	MI, Comstock Park	48.8
WI, Bellevue Town	62.3	IL, Plainfield	48.7
NC, Asheboro	61.8	NY, Hampton Bays	48.6
IN, Charlestown	61.8	IA, Perry	48.4
NY, Albion	61.4	AZ, Tucson Estates	47.5
NC, Garner	61.2	NJ, Toms River	47.5
NC, Yadkinville	61.1	MS, Horn Lake	47.5
SC, Saxon	61.1	GA, Lilburn	47.4
GA, Chatsworth	60.8	NC , Indian Trial	47.0
OR, Tualatin	60.8	GA, Duluth	46.6
GA, Garden City	60.6	KY, La Grange	46.3
CO, Estes Park	60.4	NC, Wake Forest	45.1
NC, Wendell	60.3	MO, South West City	44.2
NC, Newton	60.0	IL, Oswego	44.0
GA, Winder	60.0	GA, Kennesaw	43.9
IN, Westfield	59.5	ID, Kuna	43.1
GA, Conley	59.3	GA, Lawrenceville	43.1
GA, Mableton	59.0	TX, Hackberry	43.0
GA, Buford	58.6	GA, Alpharetta	42.7
TN, Franklin	57.9	IN, Fishers	42.7
AR, Little Flock	57.8	WA, Monroe	42.4
TN, Smyrna	57.4	NC, Apex	42.4
GA, Buena Vista	57.3	PA, West Grove	41.6
TX, Palmhurst	57.2	GA, Stockbridge	41.3
SC, Watts Mills	56.6	FL, Golden Lakes	40.8
NC, Franklinville	56.4	WA, Arlington	40.2
NC, Cornelius	55.7	TN, La Vergne	39.9
AL, Oneonta	55.3	WA, Entiat	39.8
KY, Georgetown	55.3	GA, Lake City	39.3
NC, Woodfin	55.2	GA, Acworth	39.1
OR, Fairview	55.1	AL, Smith	39.0
NC, East Flat Rock	54.9	GA, Sugar Hill	38.3
NC, Knightdale	54.8	WA, Maple Valley	38.0
NC, Siler City	53.9	GA, Fair Oaks	37.6
GA, Forest Park	53.7	VA, Bull Run	37.3
TX, La Homa	53.4	GA, Woodstock	37.1
NC, Barker Heights	53.2	CO, Pueblo West	36.7
OK, Heavener	52.5	TN, Spring Hill	36.5
GA, McDonough	52.4	MD, Linganore-Bartonsville	36.4
NC, Huntersville	52.2	FL, Minneola	35.3
GA, Canton	52.0	IL, Lake in the Hills	34.0
NV, Mesquite	51.7	GA, Suwanee	32.8
MO, Noel	50.8	WA, Rock Island	31.6
MS, Olive Branch	50.5	CO, Highlands Ranch	29.9
FL, Lehigh Acres	50.0	CA, Murrieta	26.1
Fl, Parkland	25.1	GA, Lakeview Estates	22.0
CO, Superior	25.0	FL, Doral	17.0
Nonmetropolitan			
MS, Yazoo City	84.6	IA, Marshalltown	63.9
NC, Wilson	83.3	NC, Cricket	63.4
IA, Sioux Center	80.9	NC, Marion	63.2
AR, Forrest City	80.7	NC, Magnolia	62.5
SC, Greenwood	79.6	TN, Shelbyville	61.9
SC, Pageland	79.4	NC, Angier	61.7
GA, Fitzgerald	77.3	NE, Crete	61.5
NC, River Road	76.8	GA, Trion	60.6
TN, Bells	76.2	DE, Selbyville	60.2
IL, Pinckneyville	75.6	WY, Jackson	60.0
NC, Butner	75.4	IN, Logansport	59.8
AL, Fort Payne	74.8	IL, Beardstown	59.4

Appendix A (*continued*)

Central Cities			
Place	D	Place	D
NE, West Point	74.6	IA, Storm Lake	59.1
SC, Newberry	73.8	NC, Lincolnton	58.9
KY, Mayfield	72.8	ID, Dubois	58.7
DE, Georgetown	72.6	IA, Denison	57.8
NC, Landis	72.4	TN, Monterey	57.6
MS, Forest	71.6	SC, Hardeeville	57.1
NC, Elkin	70.7	GA, Ellijay	56.7
MN, Le Center	70.6	IN, Monticello	56.4
MN, Le Sueur	70.5	AR, Dardanelle	56.0
AL, Russellville	70.0	AR, Berryville	54.3
MN, Long Prairie	69.4	GA, Baldwin	53.3
NC, China Grove	68.9	IA, Osceola	52.0
NC, Sanford	68.4	MO, Milan	48.0
GA, Calhoun	68.3	AR, Waldron	47.8
MS, Ripley	67.6	AL, Collinsville	47.3
IN, Seymour	67.6	NE, Schuyler	47.3
IA, Postville	66.6	OR, Irrigon	44.9
NC, Dobson	66.5	NE, Lexington	42.7
Al, Albertville	66.5	AR, Green Forest	41.2
NC, Lexington	65.4	AR, Danville	36.2
NC, North Wilkesboro	64.7	MO, Verona	36.1
GA, Cornelia	64.5	IL, Baldwin	34.2
NC, St. Pauls	64.4	WI, Norwalk	34.2
MO, Monett	64.3		

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