

DRAFT- PLEASE DO NOT CITE WITHOUT PERMISSION

PREFERENCES, RACE AND PLACE: THE GEOGRAPHY OF A MONOCHROME SOCIETY

William A.V. Clark
University of California, Los Angeles

ABSTRACT

The divide between those who lament the coming multi-ethnicity of the United States and those who celebrate a nation of nations continues to grow. Yet, the demographic evidence and expressed preferences may provide very different long term outcomes than that suggested by either those who worry about a declining white majority or those who emphasize the gains from multi-ethnicity. There is now evidence that the residential locations of those who are the children of mixed race households emphasize integration both in central cities and suburbs. These residential patterns can be interpreted as the first steps to a monochrome society. The data for levels of integration for Asians, Blacks, whites and Hispanics (who identify as white) show very high levels of integration. I argue that this is evidence of a changing pattern of residential integration and evidence of very different outcomes than that suggest by either the lamenters or the celebrators.

INTRODUCTION

Two tensions underlie the continuing and far reaching demographic changes that are currently occurring in the metropolitan areas of the United States. One of these tensions is about what sort of society will emerge as whites decline from a majority to a minority population, and the other is about the levels of integration amongst the competing racial and ethnic groups as they remake the urban landscape.

There is a tension about the expected decline in the white majority, sometimes expressed as a fear of the coming changes of a multi-minority society (Maharidge, 1996), or at least dismay about the declining “Americanness” of the United States (Schlesinger, 1992). Indeed, Schlesinger fears the “dis-uniting” of American society and worries that a multi-ethnic or multi-cultural society could go the way of other ethnically divided nations with at the very least growing tensions and animosities amongst ethnic groups. In contrast the more optimistic argue that the coming changes will celebrate the great diversity that is America and that different groups will enhance the dynamism of society as the new groups “assimilate” if not to, at least with the American population (Plotke, 1992). The debates over how this will take place are contested- what sort of incorporation of new groups will occur? Because for many, assimilation is no longer easily accepted as a description of the future of American society, there is concern about the future path of incorporation. Might the US follow the path of other bifurcating nations like Russia and Yugoslavia with balkanization of ethnic groups?

For a great many social scientists, assimilation has fallen out of favor, as an explanatory terminology for the process of incorporation in the United States. By and large sociologists have rejected the terminology as imposing ethnocentric and patronizing demands on minorities. They have replaced the assimilation conceptualization with segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou, 1993) or even suggested assimilation is dead (Glazer, 1993). Others have attempted to “rethink” assimilation (Alba and Nee, 1997) and even though for them assimilation remains a key concept for the study of inter group relations it is less clear what assimilation is in a society in which there is no majority to assimilate to? Does the terminology of assimilation, with its emphasis on the notions of blending still provide a conceptual vocabulary for examining the nature of integration and the processes by which it occurs (Clark, 2003). This paper examines these ideas about assimilation and uses data on inter-marriage and the associated residential patterns of the multi-ethnic population to suggest an alternative notion of incorporation.

Reviewing and re-thinking incorporation

What is the current thinking about incorporation and assimilation? Is multiculturalism still the preferred conceptualization of incorporation and blending? The years since 9/11 have led to some re-thinking of these notions and it may even be that there is a shift back to emphasizing incorporation and assimilation and a shift away from multiculturalism. We can recall that multi-culturalism arose as a counter to normative concepts of assimilation. In countries with large numbers of new immigrants, countries like Australia, Canada and to a lesser extent Holland, multi-culturalism arose as a counter to the perceived ethnocentrism of assimilation. With its emphasis on mutual respect of different cultures and groups, it shifted the dialog away from melting pot metaphors in which groups were submerged, to a process of cultural celebration and preservation. In perhaps the most detailed recognition of a multi-cultural perspective Canada in its Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002) explicitly detailed the “two way street” approach to integration. While newcomers were expected to adapt to Canada, Canadian society and its institutions are expected to adapt to a diversifying population (Biles, et al, 2005). But recently, this notion has come under serious questioning with the flow of very large numbers of new immigrants. While some see multiculturalism as a way of encouraging integration policies others have suggested that multiculturalism can be a tool for creating if not encouraging segregation and separation Duncan (2005).

The shifting debate about the mode of incorporation is clearly intertwined with the fact that both the United States and Europe face the problem of incorporating large groups of culturally different immigrants: Hispanics in the United States, North Africans in France, Moroccans and Turks in The Netherlands and Germany. The historical context in the US suggests that the process, whether assimilative or pluralist, will proceed more smoothly in the US than in Europe. Why? For the most part European nations have had relatively small numbers of immigrants and a much shorter history of immigration than in the United States. The guest worker programs that initiated immigration in Europe are nearly all post World War Two creations. We might argue that the differences are not in legal contexts or indeed in the willingness of societies to accept new immigrants, but rather in the lack of a history of incorporation. Even in France, the European nation most open to immigrants,

“assimilating” individuals into traditional French culture has been a slow process (Levine, 2004). The Dutch too, with specific residential integration policies have still not incorporated the incoming immigrants smoothly.

The conceptual vocabulary still revolves around the assimilation/multicultural divide even though the US notions of melting pot/ assimilation have never been central in discussions of incorporation in the new immigration countries of Australia and Canada nor in European cities. As I suggested above this is because until the last two or three decades there have not been large immigrant populations to incorporate. That has all changed now and hence the increasing calls for a conceptual language to discuss incorporation. That discussion, for example in the Canadian context, about whether integration is a normative perspective, is similar to the discussions of an ethnocentric assimilation perspective in the US. Exploring that discussion and the criticisms of pluralism provides a basis for assessing the future of separation in large metropolitan areas in the new global economy (see Clark and Blue, 2004, for a discussion of integration in immigrant gateway cities).

In an attempt to move away from the contested positions of assimilation and pluralism, I suggest that Etzioni (2001) provides a new way of thinking of incorporation in his rejection of the views of both the alarmists and the celebrators with regard to the coming end of the white majority. So too, assimilation and pluralism are potentially outmoded ways of thinking of incorporation. The conceptualization of this paper and the title (borrowed from Etzioni’s book – *The Monochrome Society*) is that incorporation will proceed in a fundamentally different pattern than in the past and that it will be driven by increasing ethnic and racial inter-marriage and this will be paralleled with increasing residential integration. Etzioni, provides a powerful argument to support his view that racial and ethnic attributes do not determine their visions, values and votes – indeed that “American society is basically much more of one color – if one looks at conduct and beliefs rather than pigmentation and other such external skin deep indications (Etzioni, 2001, 5-6).

I will argue that despite the tensions over the assimilation/multicultural debate recent data from the US census on multi-ethnic individuals, individuals who are the children of inter-racially married (or cohabiting) couples, provides another window on the outcomes of assimilation and multiculturalism. The geography of these individuals in contrast to the geography of racial groups in general tells a positive story about integrative outcomes, at least in US society. The geography of the monochrome society is the geography of integration. Yes, the numbers are still small and the process has far to go but it is a story with both a positive outcome and one that resonates with the changes that are occurring in our demographically changing cities.

CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

As is well known, in the last decade nearly 15 million new immigrants, many Hispanic, have entered the United States. Following the arguments of separation reviewed above, some Americans fear "the persistent inflow of Hispanic immigrants threatens to divide the United States into two peoples," (Huntington, 2004). The fears are

probably misplaced. Immigration has been rapid since the 1970s, but people of Mexican origin only constitute 9 percent of the population, significantly less than the Irish at the peak of the flows early in the twentieth century. Successor generations are Americanizing as fast as their predecessors (Levine, 2004). The historical context provides a more nuanced understanding of the process in the United States than some recent alarmist critiques of immigration.

We must recall that the first immigrants to enter the United States in large numbers were the Irish in the years before the Civil War. Later, Germans, Italians and East European Jews followed. The key to the process of change and the incorporation of the newcomers is an oft-repeated story, that U.S. culture changed even as it "Americanized" the newcomers Barone (2001). Past immigrant flows in the US moved through clothing and other businesses (and the associated unions) or became laborers and then contractors. In other words the economy played an important role in creating entry niches for the new flows. Now, the process is more diverse and the new flows are bifurcated. Those with more human capital enter the professions, those with less human capital take up the myriad opportunities in the service sector, from nail saloons to gardeners (Clark, 2003). Still, the new immigrants are doing what immigrants did in the past, finding opportunities within the globalizing economy.

The resurgent immigration has introduced new racial and ethnic groups into America's cities, which is what has raised questions about the intersection of assimilation/integration and residential patterning. Are these new groups as segregated from whites (and other groups) as blacks? How has the presence of multiple racial groups affected segregation trends between whites and blacks? And, of particular concern for the my arguments about a monochrome society, where do the growing numbers of mixed-race households and multiracial individuals fit into the urban residential structure.

Spatial assimilation theory predicts immigrant residential segregation will fade over time, perhaps over the course of a few generations, as cultural distinctions fade and immigrants and their descendents climb the socioeconomic ladder. Economic gains allow immigrants to seek better housing which traditionally has meant moves to suburbs dominated by whites. Add to that inter-marriage as incorporation and we can pursue just how the patterns change for these individuals who report they are mixed race. What is the geographical expression of these mixed race individuals? What are their preferences for residential neighborhoods? Will white- mixed race individuals live in different residential neighborhoods than black mixed race individuals? The research questions that I will pose are about the distributions of mixed race individuals, their levels of integration and whether they are in general more likely to be living with whites. The differences in residential patterns and especially the patterns for Hispanic households who identify themselves as white rather than some other race category, are central to the arguments about a monochrome society.

Previous research has shown that minorities, including new immigrants, translate their economic gains into residential movements away from ethnic neighborhoods toward white suburbs as they did in previous decades. Although they conclude that socio-

economic factors cannot tell the whole story (South and Crowder, 1998), show that both blacks and whites “ attempt to convert socio-economic resources- such as income and education- into residence in whiter and ostensibly, higher status neighborhoods”. Recent research has shown that in fact multi-race households are likely to be younger have higher educational levels and associated higher earnings levels (Lee and Edmonston, 2005). That finding is of special relevance for the study of the residential location of multi-ethnic individuals as with greater resources I hypothesize that they are more likely to live in integrated settings.

Still, there is also evidence that some prosperous immigrants seem to be clustering in neighborhoods where other successful co-nationals or pan-ethnics congregate. While some find evidence of segmented spatial assimilation others suggest immigrant settlement is exhibiting a pattern of “heterolocalism” in which immigrant identity is unhinged from neighborhood geography albeit one can argue that the process is creating “spatial niches”. From this perspective, one cannot interpret immigrant residential desegregation as a shedding of ethnic economic and cultural ties. At the same time the paths to changing patterns of residential location are intertwined with personal preferences for the combination of races and ethnicities in the neighborhoods and communities in which we live. The patterns of residential sorting are also going to be influenced by the preferences and outcomes with respect to preferences and outcomes with respect to inter-ethnic and interracial marriage.

The role of preferences

Preferences play a powerful role in influencing where people live and who they will marry. In addition, where people live may well influence who they will marry. The literature on residential tolerance shows that there is a continuing trend to greater tolerance and an increased likelihood of mixing with other ethnicities and races. In the past half-century white Americans have come to restate the ideals of American democracy to include equal opportunities for all races. Questions about equal opportunities for jobs, about segregated transportation, going to the same schools and living in the same neighborhoods, all show dramatic changes in the willingness of whites to endorse the principles of equal opportunity (Schuman et al 1997, Farley, 1999). The changes documented in numerous polls show that following the civil rights movement there were significant changes in attitudes about race and ethnicity. At the same time there is continuing expression of own race preference, with the desire and willingness to live with and interact with people of similar racial and ethnic backgrounds. There is no necessary conflict between the expression of increasing tolerance and the expression of own race preference. Indeed, the literature on residential preferences suggests that there is a greater willingness to live in areas with “ at least some proportion” other races and ethnicities.

However, there is a tension between the tendency to greater acceptance of other races and ethnicities and the desire and expression for residence in own race communities. The well established findings from studies of residential preferences emphasize that African Americans prefer the 50-50 neighborhoods while whites prefer a combination that is 80-20 (Clark, 1992; Clark, 2002; Farley and Krysan, 2002). For other racial and ethnic

groups there are also gaps between preferences (Clark, 1992). The gap in preferred neighborhood composition inevitably leads to separation in the residential structure of the city. There are simply not enough neighborhoods to satisfy the preferences of any two groups. However, research also shows that whites with higher incomes and white respondents with a college education are more willing to live in mixed neighborhoods than those with lower incomes and without college education (Clark 2002). It is just these preferences which are important in our story of the role of preferences in the outcomes for a monochrome society. The minority households with lower incomes, those which are female-headed and have less education may be less preferred as neighbors than households of similar “class backgrounds” and of similar ethnicity. They may also be less preferred as marriage partners – a relevant finding for our discussion of the outcomes of intermarriage.

The role of intermarriage

The research which is at the heart of the present paper relies on the outcomes of intermarriage, that is the study is focused on the residential patterns of individuals who identified themselves as mixed race individuals, the children of interracial marriages.

Half a decade ago Farley (1999) posed the question – “are we now witnessing a process of assimilation as a result of increasing rates of racial exogeny in the marriage market?” He continued to ask the question which is embedded in this study – will the solution to hostility come from intermarriage and I would elaborate the question to ask will intermarriage also change the process of incorporation and the patterns of residential separation?

Intermarriage has been increasing, to 5.4 percent in the 2000 Census (Lee and Edmonston, 2005). Hispanic intermarriage has increased too, but not at the same rates.¹ Now about 3.2 percent of Hispanics are married to non-Hispanics. Later in the analysis I will argue that this group of out married Hispanics are more likely to identify themselves as “white Hispanics” and are more likely to be residentially integrated.

Important for this study, there is a documented relationship between education and racial intermarriage. This is especially true for Asian intermarriage but the proportional relationship holds for both blacks and Asians. In both cases, some college or college educated individuals are almost twice as likely to be in interracial marriages as opposed to those with less than high school education. It is even more true for married Hispanics with a non-Hispanic spouse (Lee and Edmonston, 2005). Hispanics with college degree or higher are five and a half times (husbands) and seven times (wives) more likely to be married to a non Hispanic spouse and US born Hispanics are more likely than foreign born Hispanics to be “out-married”.

Intermarriage is likely to increase if only because the substantial numbers of children growing up in multi-ethnic households are likely to marry someone from another race. In this way the process of a continued blending of the races is likely and “that in these households racial or ethnic attitudes will soften” Frey, *American Demographics* 1999.

¹ Recall that Hispanics can be of any race.

As people marry across racial groups we can expect the social distance between groups to decline and the hypothesis here is that decline in social distance will be followed by a decline in spatial separation as well. That, hypothesis is the heart of the analysis which will follow.

DATA AND METHODS

The analysis uses data on mixed race individuals by census tracts to examine the patterns of integration and separation in large metropolitan areas with significant numbers of whites, Asians, Blacks and Hispanics. These cities, the 22 metropolitan areas with populations of more than a million and at least 50,000 mixed race individuals provide a context for examining the residential patterns of mixed race persons. It is true that the number of mixed race persons and mixed race households is still small but in some cities, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Honolulu and Santa Ana the numbers of mixed race Asian households are near or over 100,000 persons. The data is drawn from Census 2000 SF1 Files. We count mixed race households twice in the case of Asian- black or black asian mixed race individuals. The metropolitan areas are divided into City and suburbs using current census definitions.

To evaluate distributions and levels of integration I investigate the patterns at both national and local scales and use dissimilarity and exposure indices to measure the levels of residential integration.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The 2000 census recorded approximately 6 .8 million mixed race persons.² The 22 Metropolitan Statistical Areas in this study with at least 50,000 mixed race persons had approximately 3 .6 million or 52.2% of all mixed race persons in United States. To provide a context, these 22 Metropolitan statistical areas had approximately 36% of the total US population. Clearly, the mixed race population is somewhat more concentrated in the very large Metropolitan areas.

Where do mixed race persons live – the national picture

Nationally, there is a concentration of mixed-race persons in the large Metropolitan areas on the West Coast cities and in the New York-Baltimore Washington metropolitan axis. There are also substantial concentrations of mixed race persons in Miami, Dallas and Chicago (Figure 1). The western and southern states by and large have the highest percentage of mixed race persons. The 22 metropolitan areas have substantial non-white populations and of course, relatively large proportions of foreign born residents (Figure 2). Recall that the national percent foreign born is approximately 11 percent.

The central question posed earlier in our discussion of incorporation is the residential patterns of mixed race individuals and their levels of integration. To examine

² This number does not include mixed race-Hispanic mixed race ethnicity persons.

this question at a national scale I utilize the census definition of city and suburb to compute differences in distributions and levels of residential integration. There is increasing concern with broad city/suburban dichotomies but I believe that this dichotomy continues to serve an important data analytic role in research and there is no obvious alternative. Moreover, there are still measurable differences in the socio-economic outcomes of populations in cities and suburbs and the suburbs still are a magnet for upwardly mobile immigrant families (Clark, 2003).

Clearly mixed-race persons are more likely to be in the suburbs than in the city although this is more apparent for Asian mixed-race persons than for blacks. But in both cases there is clearly a much greater proportion of all of these persons in the suburbs than in central cities (Figure 3). It is also clear that the levels of integration as measured by the dissimilarity and exposure are extremely high (Figures 4 and 6). Dissimilarity measures for Asian households are remarkably low in both city and suburbs and for black households the indices are only slightly above .4 in suburban areas. The evidence of just how great the mixing of multi-race persons is, can be seen by comparing the levels of the dissimilarity index with the average black white dissimilarity across the 40 largest metropolitan areas (Figure 5). The dissimilarity index for mixed race persons in the suburbs is almost 25 points lower than the average across large metropolitan areas for all black persons. In the context of average levels of integration/separation for blacks and whites (65) and for Asians about 55 these are quite remarkable outcomes and hint at the future of an integrated monochrome society.

The levels of exposure, measured by P^* , suggest high levels of interaction. Asian and black mixed race persons have absolute exposure indices of near or above 90. Both Asian and black mixed race persons are above 95 in the suburbs (Figure 6). This abstract measure will be set in a specific geographic context when I analyze the actual distributions of mixed race persons.

An alternative method of measuring the levels of integration for mixed race persons, is to examine the percent of these people who live in tracts which are less than 20% of their own race. That is, what proportion of black/Asian mixed race households live in tracts with less than 20 percent blacks, or what proportion of Asian mixed race households live in tracts with less than 20 percent Asians (Figure 7). To set the analysis in context the figure provides the comparative levels of integration (percent living in tracts with less than 20 percent own race). For black mixed and Asian mixed persons nearly 100 percent live in areas of 20% or less of their own race. That is, they are living in mixed race or non-own race neighborhoods. For black households in the city are only a third of those individuals live in tracts with less than 20% of their own race. Still, in the suburbs blacks are more likely to live in "less black" tracts. The outcomes are similar for Asians although the proportion of Asian own race that live in 20 percent or less Asian neighborhoods is quite high. I will return to this city/suburban distinction in the concluding comments, but at this point we can note that there is a clear difference in the levels of integration between cities and suburbs. Something that I will argue is indication of economic status.

The Census does not provide data that can be used to examine the patterns of Hispanic mixed-marriage individuals. While that data is available in aggregate form in the Public Use Micro Data Sample (PUMS) it is not available on the census tract basis from the 2000 census. However, if we can accept the argument that individuals who report that they are Hispanic and white alone, are more likely to live in integrated settings then we might examine their patterns as an indication of the future patterns of residential separation for this subset of ethnic compositions. This may be an heroic assumption, but it is also quite possible that it is just these households who are quite likely to entertain inter-marriage and to be preferred marriage partners? Clearly, there is a delicate question of whether there is some racial stereotyping underlying this categorization but one which is worth pursuing for its possible implications for future patterns of inter-ethnic living.

The story for Hispanic-white alone persons reveals a similar set of patterns to that which we have already seen for black mixed-race persons and for Asian mixed-race persons. The percent of Hispanic white alone persons living in the suburbs is significantly higher than those living in the city. The dissimilarity index for those living in the suburbs is significantly lower than for those living in the city, and the percent living in tracts with less than 20% of their own race is much higher in the suburbs in the city (Figure 8). I believe we can use this data to argue that we are seeing a similar outcome for Hispanic white alone persons as we have already seen for black mixed-race and Asian mixed-race persons. It is still a judgement call of whether we can use Hispanic white alone as an indicator of mixing, but in fact, their reporting of white race status would suggest that they are more quote “mixed” than who report some other race or ethnicity.

Explaining mixed race integration in California

There has been a strong argument in my presentation that mixed race households are more integrated than individuals who report one race only, and that this integration is greater in suburbs than cities. How can we explain this outcome? The preliminary evidence suggests that income is a critical variable in explaining these outcomes. In this analysis I use California as a test demonstration.

In California to mean income for black mixed individuals, Asian mixed individuals and Hispanic-white individuals is in every case higher than those of report single race or ethnicity (Figure 9). Similarly, there is some evidence that the percent professional is as high or higher for mixed Asian individuals and black individuals. Percent with college does not support the findings. It seems likely that further research that controls for age will provide greater clarity on these outcomes.

The city suburban locations are also related to economic outcomes in every case (Figure 10). Asian mixed and black mixed individuals have higher incomes than do those who report single race, or single ethnicity (Figure 10). Further research with the income data is required to elaborate these findings in greater depth and to uncover their complexity.

Where do mixed race households live- the local scale

Perhaps the most critical issue related to discussions of the future of a monochrome society are related to the residential patterns and outcomes for mixed-race households. Where do these households live within the Metropolitan urban structure? Do they live in concentrated enclaves or are they dispersed throughout the communities and neighborhoods of the metropolitan areas. The maps examine the locational patterns of mixed race households in the six largest metropolitan areas in California (Figures 11-12).³ I use these six cities from California as the state had one of the highest levels of mixed-race individuals in the United States. Only Hawaii and Alaska had higher proportions of mixed-race individuals. This makes California an appropriate test case for the analysis of the spatial patterns of residential integration.

The distributions of both black mixed race individuals and Asian mixed race individuals are striking and provide compelling evidence of the new patterns of integration that have arisen with the rise of mixed race individuals. In every Metropolitan area the distributions are coincident with the general population distribution and not with the concentration of ethnic groups (Figure as 11-12). There is no more compelling evidence of the way in which integrative distributions will change the patterns of ethnic concentrations than these patterns of mixed-race individuals. Within the Los Angeles context Asian mixed race individuals (Asian white and Asian black) are widely distributed across the metropolitan landscape. There is a notable gap in the distribution in the concentrated Black and Hispanic communities in the center of the metropolitan area. The San Fernando Valley and the suburban foothill communities of Encino, Sherman Oaks and Woodland Hills all show distributions of Asian mixed race persons.

The distribution of black-mixed race individuals is similarly intermixed with the distribution of the population as a whole, except to note that the distribution is again outside of the concentrated black and Hispanic communities in the center of the metropolitan area. There are fewer black mixed race individuals overall but the patterns are notable similar to the patterns for mixed race Asian households. These patterns are repeated for San Francisco-Oakland, Sacramento, San Diego, San Jose and Santa Ana.

INTERPRETING THE MONOCHROME SOCIETY

What underlies the patterns of greater integration for mixed race households? How can we understand the much higher levels of integration for mixed race households especially in the suburbs? This preliminary analysis suggests that two factors are central in understanding these emerging patterns of integration. First, mixed-race individuals have higher incomes than individuals who report single race identity. In and of itself this is an

³ In this presentation of the paper I include only the patterns for black-mixed and Asian-mixed households in Los Angeles. Additional maps of both Asian-mixed and black mixed households for the other five cities will be included in the powerpoint presentation. The geographical patterns are not different from the examples given for Los Angeles. In every case the patterns are dispersed across the metropolitan areas. Indeed this is what we would hypothesize from the analysis of the high levels of concentration in tracts with less than 20 percent of similar race residents.

interesting question. Why should mixed race, individuals have higher incomes than individuals will report single race or ethnicity? One might speculate that mixed race marriages may involve people of greater tolerance and we have shown that there is a greater willingness to live in integrated neighborhoods on the part of higher income and college education individuals. This tolerance is translated into a preference for more integrated neighborhoods.

Whatever the explanation, which certainly involves social psychological responses to other races and ethnicities, there is no question that mixed-race individuals do have higher incomes, and have translated those incomes into greater levels of integration. But the patterns are more than the outcome of more money. They appear to be the outcomes of an expressed preference to live, not with concentrations of one or other of their mixed heritage, but to seek neighborhoods which are combinations of races and ethnicities. In the end it suggests the beginnings of a new of patterns for race and ethnic distributions in US metropolitan areas.

The Future

Although we cannot know just how the patterns of integration will change in the future, the suggestion from this first analysis of the residential patterns of mixed race persons is that mixed race individuals will stimulate the long slow process of creating an integrated society. There is no doubt that the visual patterns of locations for mixed-race individuals is very different from the patterns of locations for individuals who identify themselves as only of a single race or single.

Income and by extension education seem to be at the heart of the changing patterns of separation. Multi-race individuals are more likely to live in the suburbs and have high levels of integration than do individuals who identify themselves as single race or ethnicity. It is not yet clear exactly why mixed-race individuals should have higher incomes than individuals who report only a single race or ethnicity, but at the same time, it is clear that socioeconomic status matters.

The conclusion of this investigation all what Etzioni has called the monochrome society suggests that mixed-race individuals will not only change the levels of integration they are the initial cast of a fundamental change in the fabric of the residential structure itself.

REFERENCES

- Alba, R. and Nee, N. 1997. Rethining assimilation theory for a new era of assimilation. *International Migration Review* 31, 826-874
- Barone, M. 2001. *The New Americans: How the Melting Pot can Work*. Washington, D.C. Regnery Press
- Biles, J.; Tolley, E. and Ibrahim, H. 2005. Does Canada have a multicultural future? *Canadian Diversity* 4 (1) 23-28.
- Clark, W.A.V. 2003. *Immigrants and the American Dream: Remaking the Middle Class* New York: Guilford
- Clark, W.A.V., and Blue, S., 2004, Race, class and segregation patterns in U.S. immigrant gateway cities. *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 39, 667-688.
- Clark, W.A.V. 1992. Residential preferences and residential choices in a multi-ethnic context. *Demography* 30:451-466.
- Clark, W.A.V. (2002) Ethnic preferences and ethnic perceptions in multi-ethnic settings. *Urban Geography* 23:237-256.
- Duncan, H. 2005. Multiculturalism: Still a viable concept for integration? *Canadian Diversity* 4(1) 12-14
- Etzioni, A. 2001. *The Monochrome Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Farley R and Krysan, M. 2002. "The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?" *Social Forces*, 80 (3): 937-980.
- Farley, R. 1999 Racial Issues: Recent trends in residential patterns and intermarriage, In N.J.Smelser & J.C. Alexander (Eds.) *Diversity and its discontents: Cultural conflict and common ground in contemporary American society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; pp. 129–146.
- Fasenfest, D. Booza, J. and Metzger, K. 2004. Living Together: A new look at racial and ethnic integration in metropolitan neighborhoods 1990-2000. Washington, D.C. The Brookings Institution.
- Glazer, N. 1993, Is assimilation dead? *Annals, American Association of Political and Social Science* 510: 122-136
- Harris, D. 2000 Who is mixed race? Patterns and determinants of Adolescent Racial Identity. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan

- Holloway, S. Ellis, M., Wright, R. and Hudson, M. 2005. Partnering out and Fitting IN: Residential segregation and the neighborhood contexts of mixed race households. *Population Space and Place*, Forthcoming.
- Huntington, S. 2004. *Who are we? Challenges to American National Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Lee, S. and Edmonston, B. 2005 *New Marriages, New Families: US Racial and Hispanic Inter-marriage*. Washington, D.C. Population Reference Bureau 60(2).
- Levine, B. 2004. *Outside View: Immigrants in France*. United Press International
- Maharidge, D. 1996. *The coming white minority: California's eruptions and America's Future*. New York Times Books. Random House.
- Plotke, D. 1997 Immigration and political incorporation in the contemporary United States. In C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz, and J. DeWind (Eds.) *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, pp.294-318. New York, Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes, A. and Zhou, M. 1993. The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530:74-96
- Schlesinger, A. 1992. *The Disuniting of America*. New York. Norton
- Schuman, H. Steeh, C. Bobo, L. and Krysan, M. 1997. *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations*, Rev. Ed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

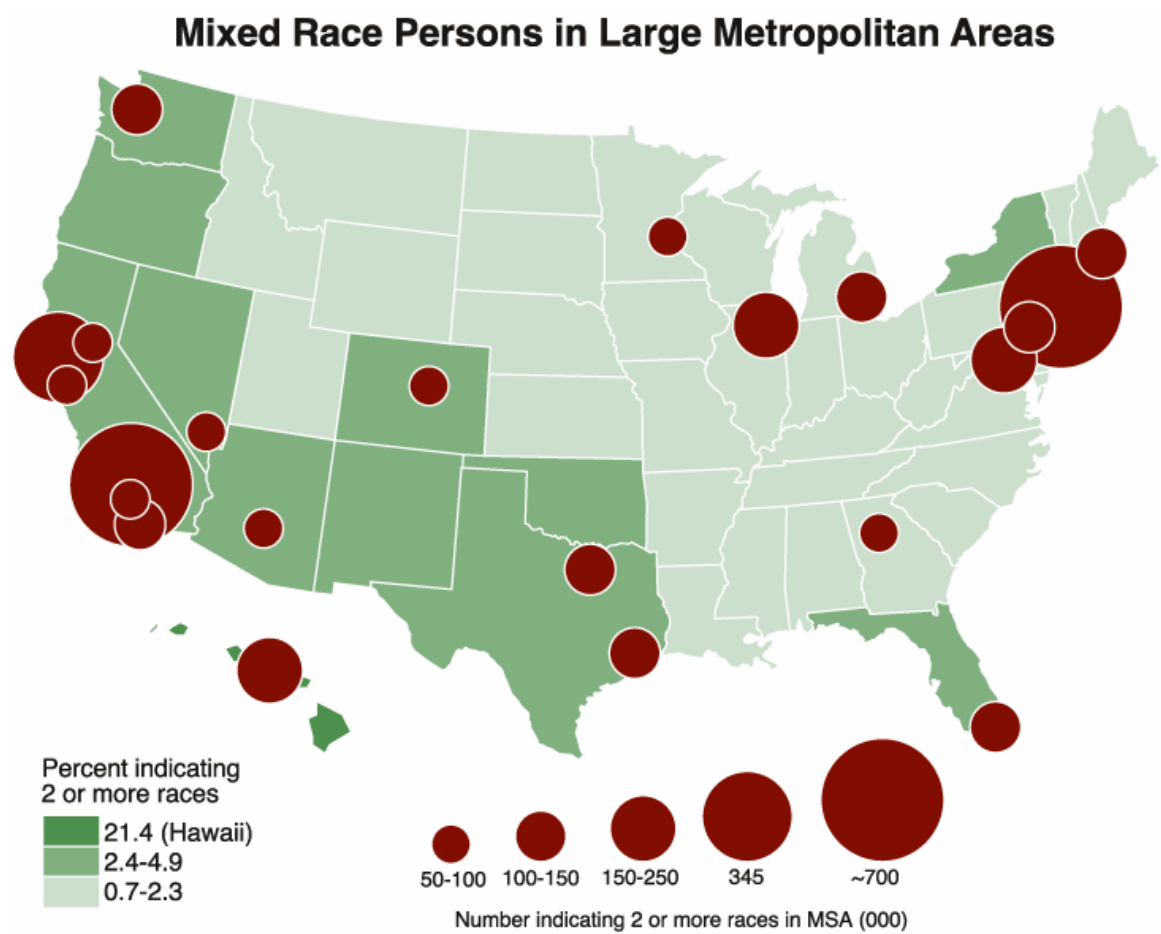


Figure 1.

Percent non-white in large metropolitan areas ordered by Percent Foreign Born

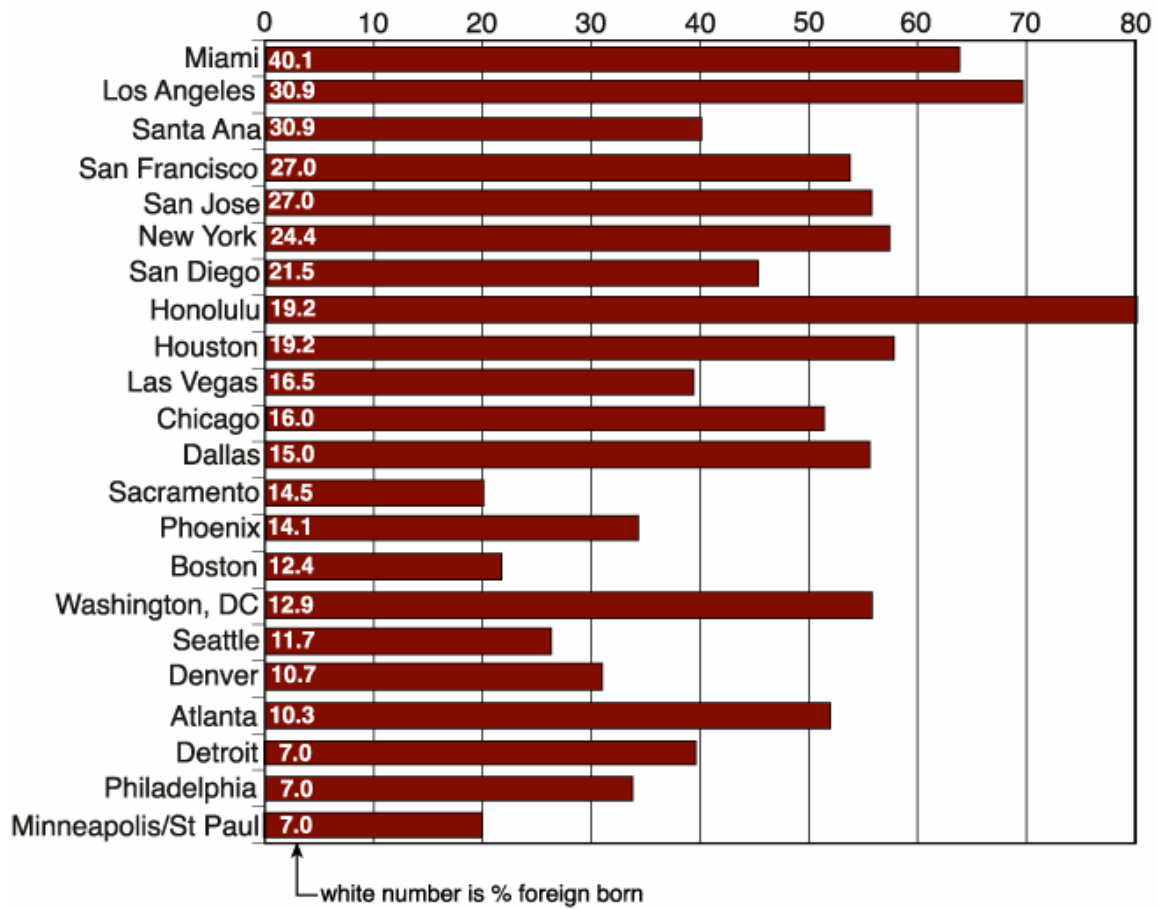


Figure 2.

Distribution of Mixed Race Persons

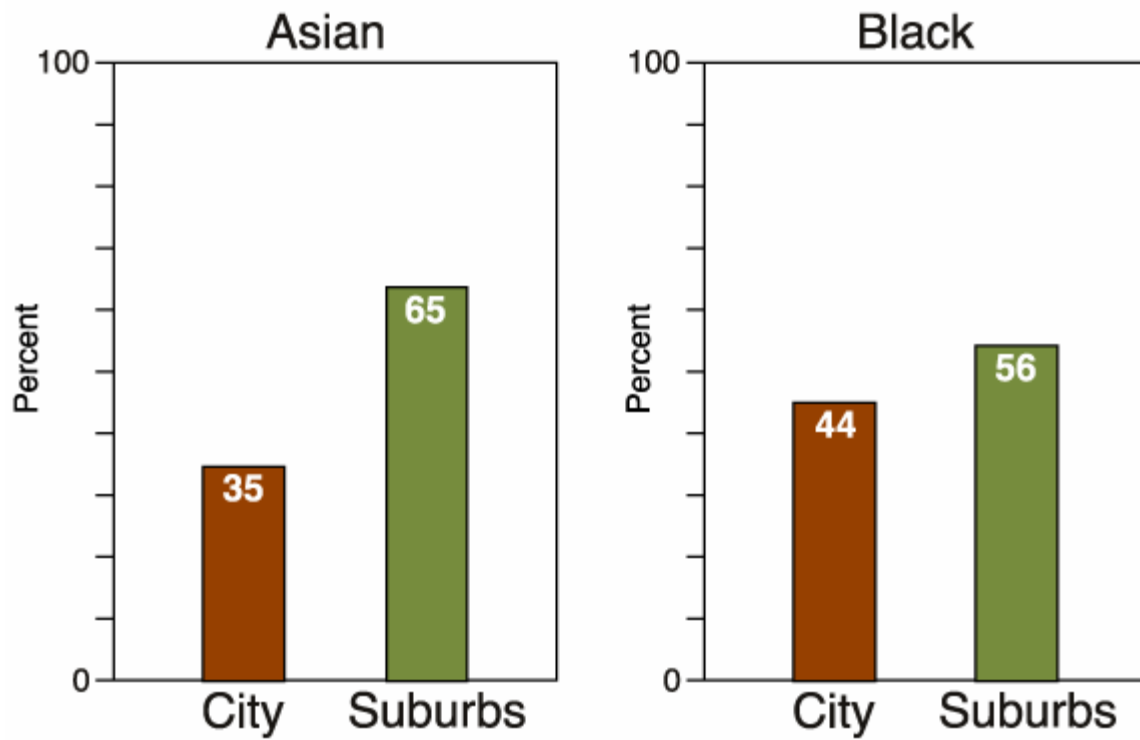


Figure 3.

Levels of Integration/Separation (dissimilarity) for Mixed Race Persons

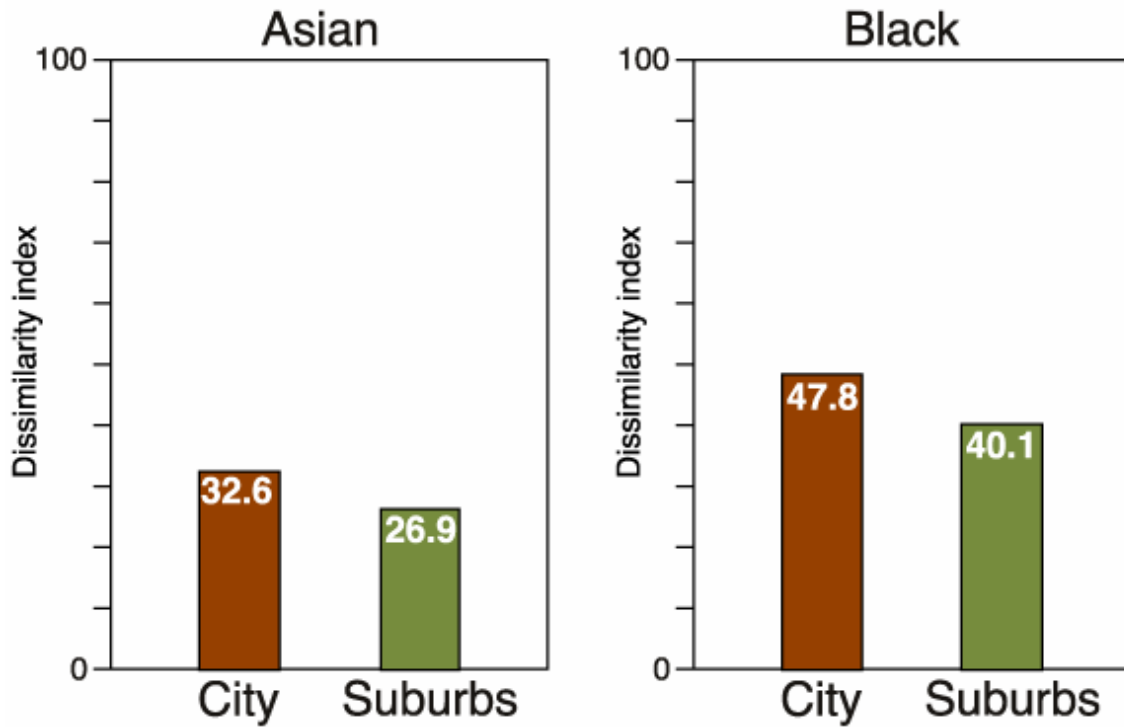


Figure 4.

Average Black/White Dissimilarity, 40 Largest Metropolitan Areas

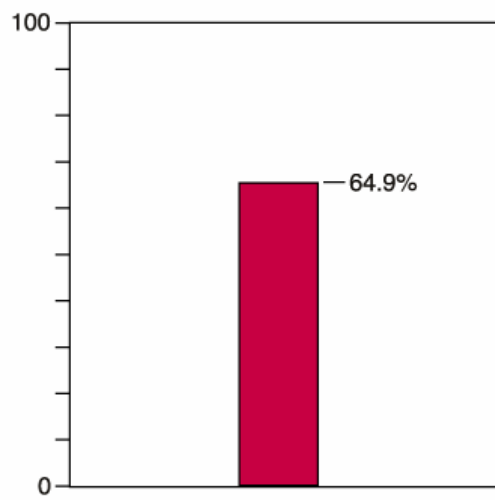


Figure 5.

Levels of Exposure (P* Index) for mixed Race Persons

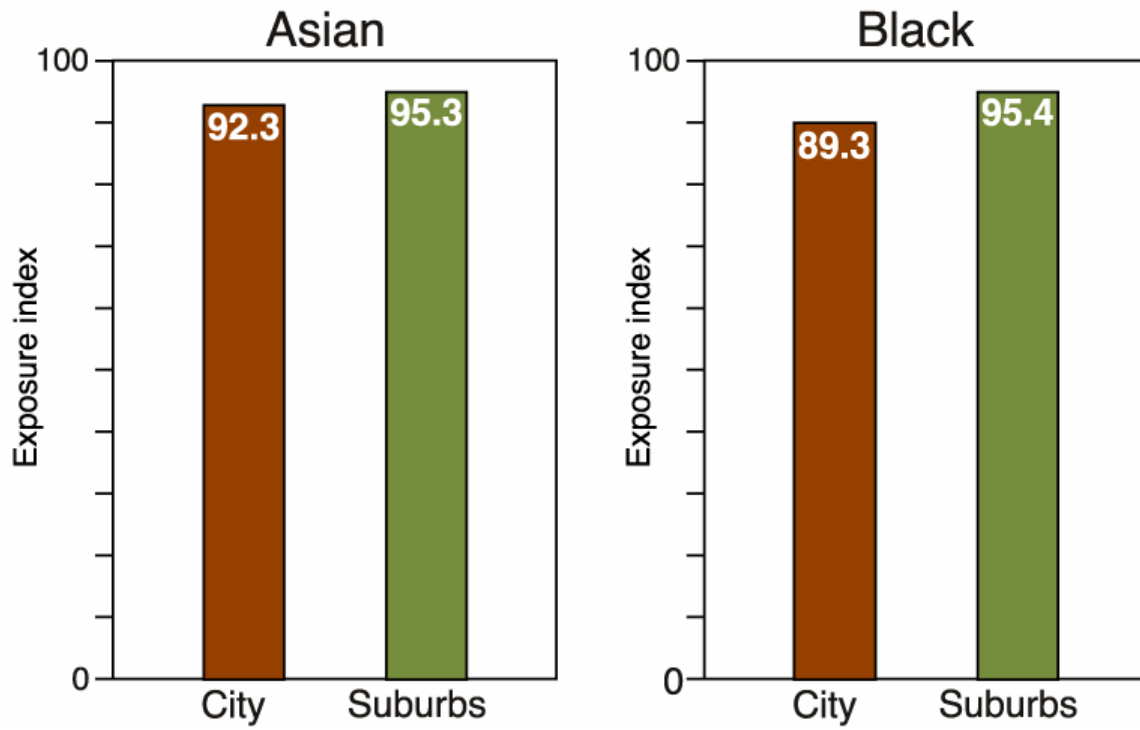


Figure 6.

Levels of “integrated” living for Black and Asian Mixed Race Persons. Percent of persons who live in tracts which are less than 20% Black or Asian.

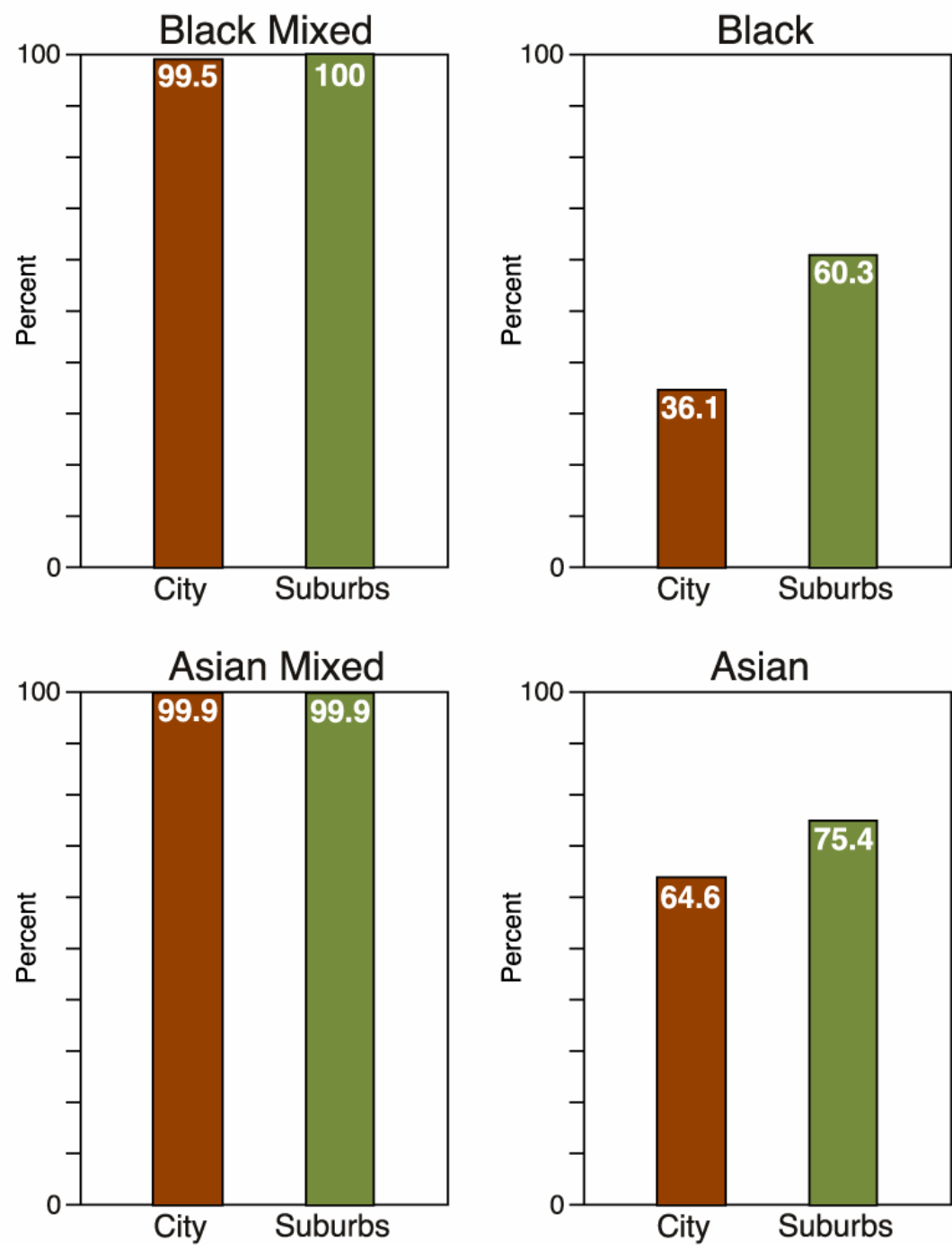


Figure 7.

The Comparable Story for Hispanic - White alone persons

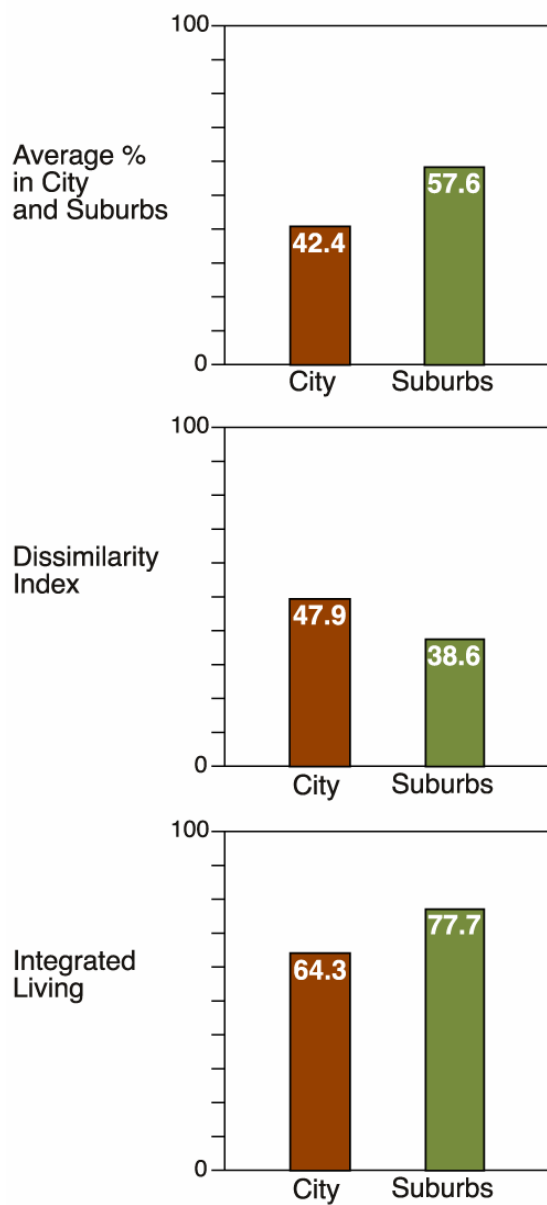


Figure 8.

Explaining Mixed Race Integration in California

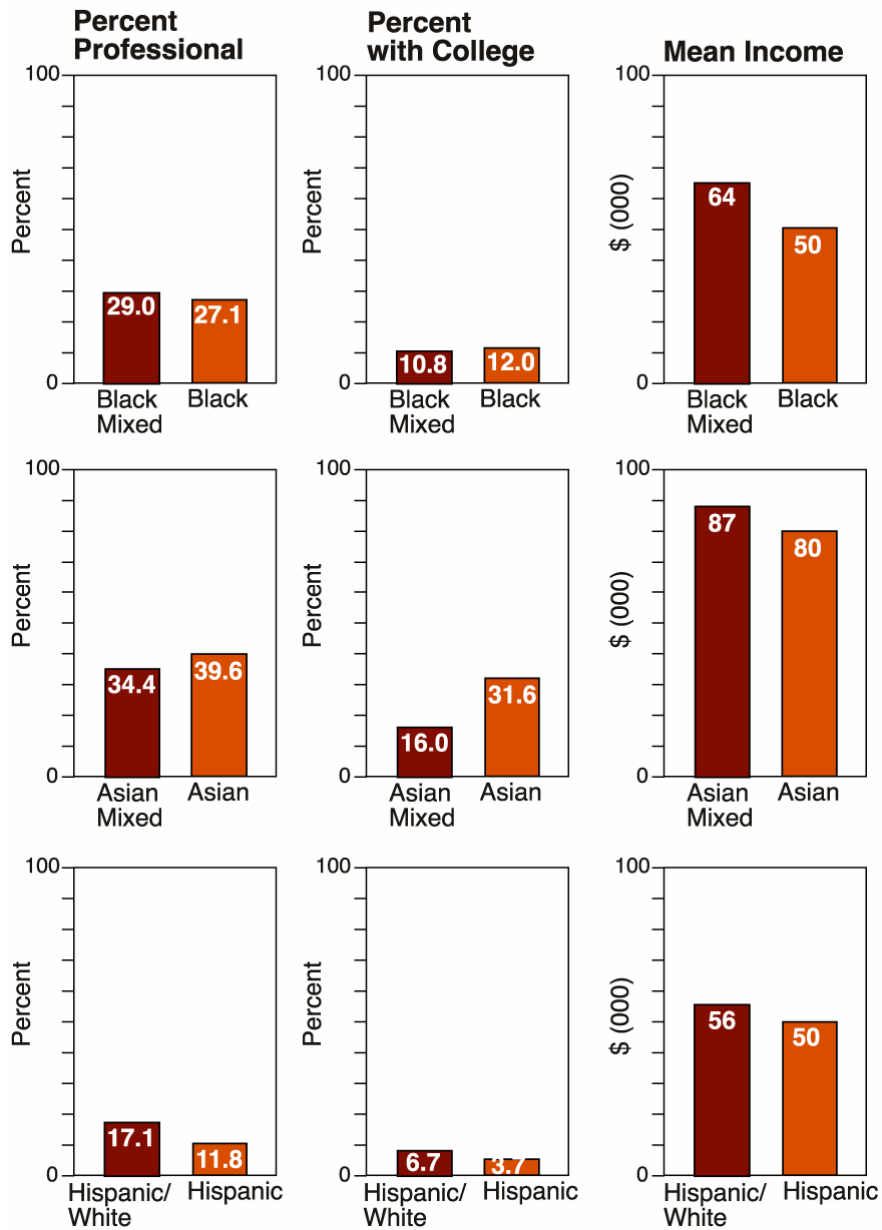


Figure 9.

Explaining City/Suburban Location in California

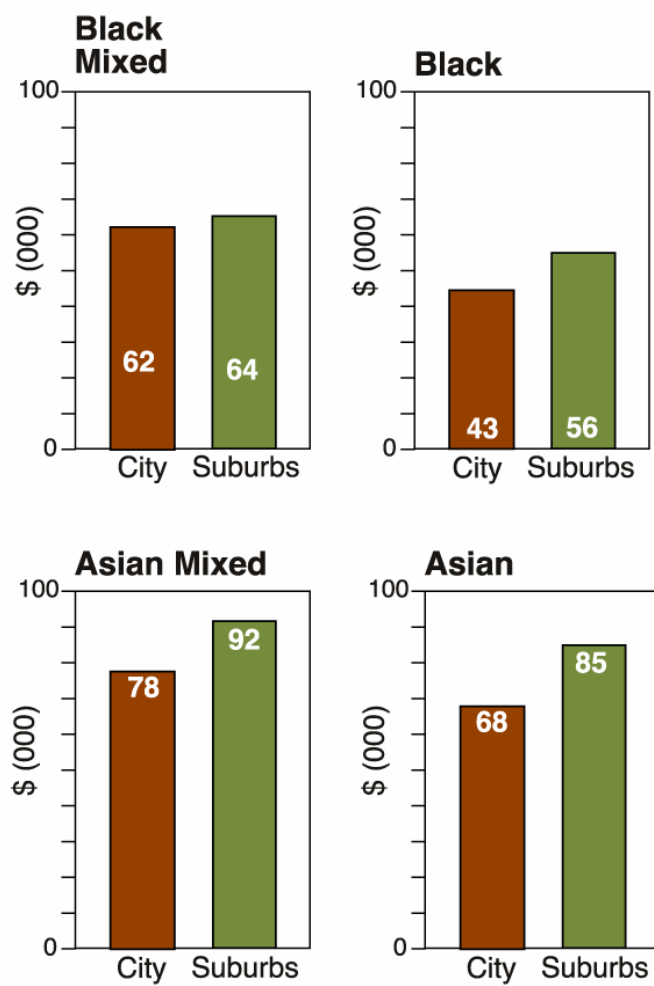


Figure 10.

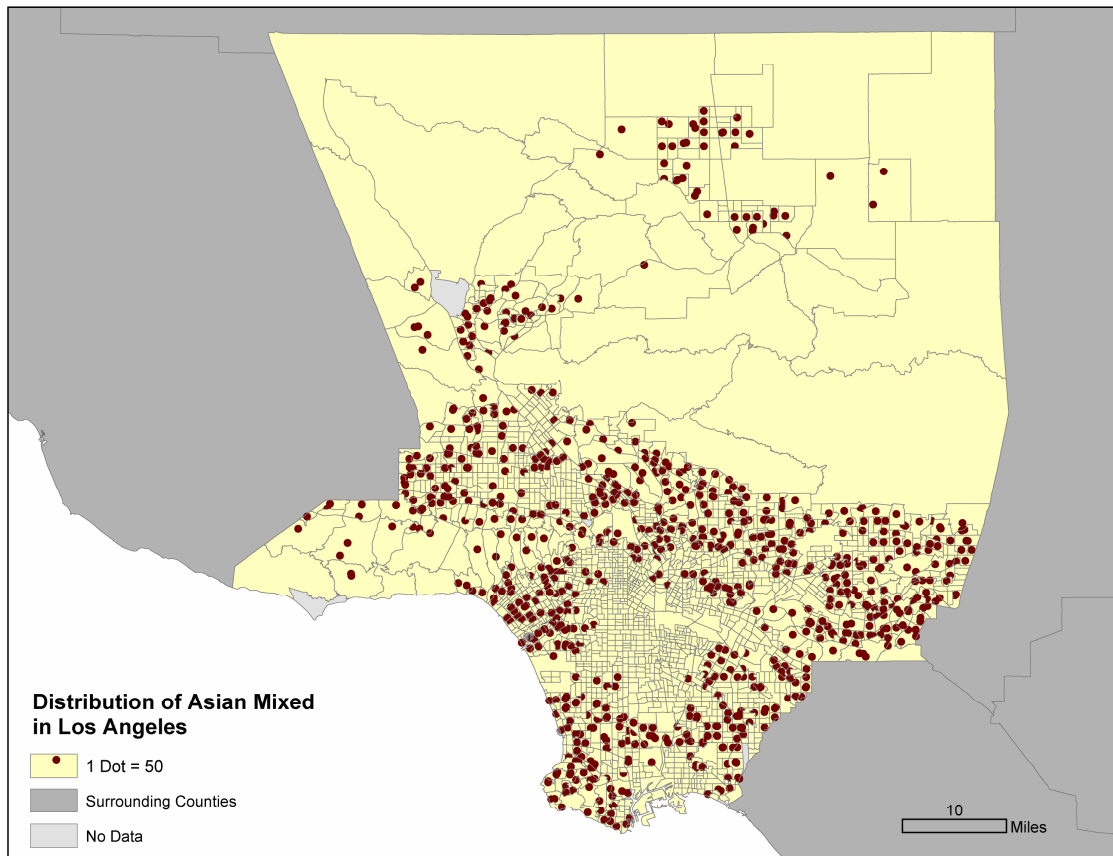


Figure 11.

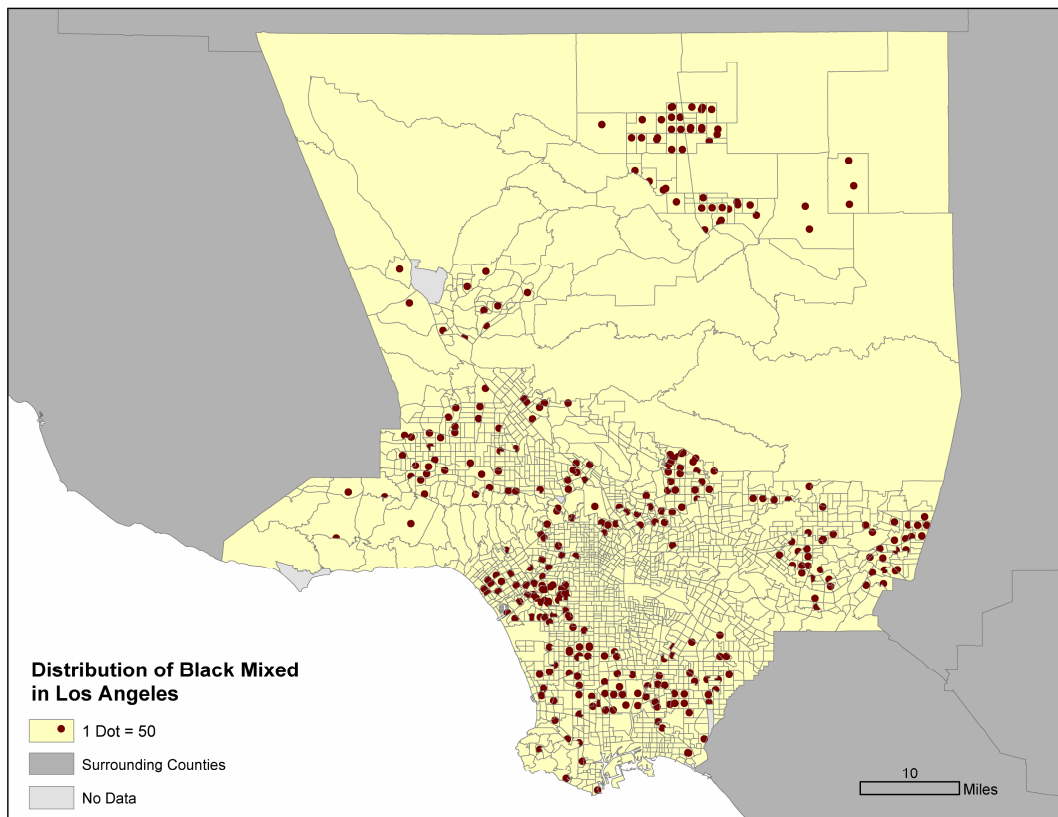


Figure 12.