Gender and the neighborhood location of mixed-race couples

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Abstract

Gender asymmetry in mixed-race heterosexual partnerships and marriages is common. For instance, black men marry or partner with white women at a far higher rate than white men marry or partner with black women. This paper asks if such gender asymmetries relate to the racial character of the neighborhoods in which households headed by mixed-race couples live? Gendered power imbalances within households generally play into decisions about where to live or where to move (i.e., men typically benefit more than women) and we find the same in mixed-race couple arrangements and residential attainment. Gender interacts with race to produce a measurable race-by-gender effect. Specifically, we report a positive relationship between the percentage white in a neighborhood and the presence of households headed by mixed-race couples with a white, male partner. The opposite holds for households headed by white-blacks and white-Latinos if the female partner is white; they are drawn to predominantly nonwhite neighborhoods. The results have implications for the investigations of residential location attainment, neighborhood segregation analysis, and mixed-race studies.

Keywords: Residential attainment, gender, mixed-race couples, gender asymmetry.

Some of the most striking aspects of racial mixing in the United States are the gender asymmetries associated with heterosexual mixed-race partnerships. Asian women and white men are much more likely to marry or partner than Asian men and white women, for example. In contrast, the incidence of black men being married to or partnered with white women is far more likely than the reverse. To complicate things further, marriage and partnership between a Latina and a white[i] man is roughly the same as the likelihood of a marriage or partnership between a white woman and a Latino (cf. Passel et al. 2010). These configurations originate in the complex intersections of race and gender. Interpretations of these patterns range widely across a palette of theories, ontologies, and methodologies but no researcher, as far as we are aware, has asked if the gender asymmetries we find in mixed-race partnering have spatial expressions. This study takes an interest in these geographies and to this general question: do the gendered patterns of households headed by mixed-race couples in the United States have distinctive cartographies at the neighborhood level? Specifically, is the racial composition of neighborhoods in which mixed-race couples live contingent on gender?

The fact of gender asymmetry in racially mixed couples is plain to see, yet the issue of how to translate the effect of entrenched gender relations in particular types of mixed-race partnerships to space is challenging. Such a project has to wrestle with the unresolved debate over the forces that produce such asymmetries as well as face up to the form and fluidity of US racial hierarchies while simultaneously weighing considerations of gendered axes of power among couples in households. It also has to fold all this into the mix of household mobility and location, and the geographical scale of analysis. Accordingly, we confine the empirical ambitions of this study to an examination of the neighborhood residential patterns of a sample of heterosexual

mixed-race couples taken from twelve large US metropolitan areas. These places contain a considerable share of all mixed-race couples in the country and consequently have sufficient numbers of the most frequently observed types of such partnerships for analysis at the census tract scale. Restricted Census 2000 long-form data furnish the necessary fine-grained information needed for the investigation.

In terms of theory, scholars usually understand the racial geography of urban residential spaces by relying on theories of spatial assimilation (SA), place stratification (PS), or a combination of both. Most studies drawing on these approaches focus on individuals or households. When households become the object of analysis, such research time and again conceives them as monoracial; difference within the household has not been the immediate concern of researchers trying to unpack the mechanics of residential sorting or other social processes (exceptions include White and Sassler 1991; Wright et al. 2003; Holloway et al. 2005; Wright and Ellis 2006; Ellis et al. 2007; Iceland and Nelson 2010; Smith et al. 2011). When considering the neighborhood locations of households headed by racially mixed couples, however, the issue of gender asymmetry in such units places the question of how gender interacts with race in residential processes squarely in the spotlight.

Viewing the dynamics of mixed-race household residential location through the lens of race, in fact, sharpens the focus on the effects of *gender*. Whites, when faced with a choice, opt for white neighborhoods over other areas that are more racially mixed (e.g., Alba and Logan 1993; Farley et al. 1997). In making the interaction of gender and race the center of attention, we instead want to know: does the gender of the (non)white person in white-nonwhite couples affect the likelihood of living in white neighborhoods? We also ask the converse: does the gender of the (non)white person in these couples

affect the probability of living in neighborhoods in which the nonwhite partner's group predominates? While most residential attainment studies imagine neighborhood location in terms of community types defined by the presence or share of only one race group, either whites or a specific nonwhite group, a small body of research suggests an alternative perspective in which households headed by racially mixed couples are attracted to racially mixed neighborhoods (e.g., Dalmage 2000; Holloway et al. 2005; Wright et al. 2011; Ellis et al. 2012). Consequently, we also extend this line of thought by inquiring if such a tendency depends on the gender of the (non)white person in the relationship?

Gender asymmetry in mixed-race couples requires us to consider the ways in which race *and* gender condition the residential dynamics of mixed-race couples. As most locational attainment research uses SA and PS theoretical frameworks -- indeed many are posed as a test of the relative merits of the two perspectives -- we try to work out the extent to which these theories allows us to (a) anticipate the presence of a gendered race effect and (b) anticipate the direction of such an effect. To develop the conceptual foundations of our study, we also take note of the trailing spouse migration literature and related research on gendered commuting to argue that the locational attainment of racially mixed couples must take into account domestic gender regimes. The paper's analytical section addresses the residential patterns of households headed by black-white, Asian-white, and Latino/a-white heterosexual mixed-race couples, builds on some initial descriptive findings and reports on a series of residential attainment models for these households where the race of the (fe)male partner becomes the object of analysis in explaining neighborhood outcomes.

The Mixed-Race Partnership in Residential Space

Households headed by mixed-race couples tend to reside in racially diverse neighborhoods. Ethnographies of households headed by black and white partners attests that the attraction of such places is strong, as many such households feel less comfortable in predominantly white neighborhoods as well as predominantly black communities (e.g., Dalmage 2000). Census-based scholarship confirms these findings. Holloway et al. (2005) show that mixed-race households tend to reside in less-segregated spaces than single-race households and black-white households in particular live in neighborhoods characterized by their racial diversity, something that also occurs in the United Kingdom (Smith et al. 2011). Wright et al. (2011) demonstrate that black-white headed households are most often found in neighborhoods where whites constitute the majority group. Adding controls for socio-economic status and neighborhood racial structure reveals that black-white couples are drawn to diversity no matter which racialized group forms the majority in the neighborhood. This result contrasts with the patterns they report for households headed by black couples (diversity acts as a draw only when they enter spaces comprised of many whites or Asians) and white couples (neighborhood diversity is important when they reside in neighborhoods with a lot of blacks or Latinos).

White and Sassler's (2000) neighborhood attainment analysis of mixed couples also comes close to some of the questions that interest us. Marriage to white spouses affected neighborhood location for some Latino and black native-born and immigrant groups. With various controls in place, nonwhite householders partnered with whites were more likely to reside in higher status neighborhoods than those partnered within

group. In contrast, marriage to someone not white led to residence in lower status neighborhoods. They comment that this "influence of intermarriage on neighborhood status outcomes is quite provocative. It could reflect a manifestation of interracial marriage status exchange theory, or it might indicate circumvention of discrimination where the housing search is conducted by the white spouse" (White and Sassler 2001 1007). Their suggestion that status-caste exchange might be part of the answer points to a more general consideration of gender asymmetries and mixed household neighborhood locations. The reference to discrimination in housing searches also signals their suspicion that race plays a role in racially mixed household residential attainment. The next section considers the causes of gender asymmetries in mixed-race partnering. We then reconcile that discussion with theories of residential attainment to frame our analysis.

Gender Asymmetries and Mixed-Race Partnering

Status-caste exchange theory forms part of the debate surrounding the asymmetrical gender patterns of mixed-race partnerships in the US (e.g., Rosenfeld 2005; 2010; Gullickson and Fu 2010; Kalmijn 2010). This theory advances that minorities trade socio-economic resources off against the social disadvantages of their racialization (Jacobs and Labov 2002). For blacks and whites, African Americans can offset their subordinate position on a racial hierarchy by using their status resources to enhance their chances of "marrying out" – i.e., of marrying someone in a higher position on the racial hierarchy, conventionally a white person, with lower socio-economic status (Merton 1941). In mid-twentieth century US society, this option was extremely limited

for any black person, but particularly so for women. Viewing marriage as a market, "marrying up" was more feasible for black men than black women and this, according to this theory, produced the asymmetries of seventy years ago, and that persist to this day.

Critics of this approach observe (i) that black women are more educated than black men yet it is black men who marry out at a far higher rate than black women (e.g., Belot and Fidrmuc 2010; Moran 2001 103) and (ii) that few differences appear among the educational attainment of black men who partner with nonblack women (e.g., Rosenfeld 2005; Qian and Lichter 2007). In economics, related Becker-type marriage-market theories (Becker 1973) also do not withstand close scrutiny (e.g., Fryer 2007). More generally all work that relies on "marriage markets" has them operating as if a cool calculus produces sexual partnerships. Love, attraction, solidarities, and personal choice find little place in these approaches yet these are the very forces that scholars working ethnographically find compelling (e.g., Spickard 1989; Root 2001).

From another perspective, related research highlights the prevalence of sexualized images that portray, for instance, black and Asian men and women very differently. These cultural productions and associated societal norms generate the asymmetries we witness in mixed-race partnering (e.g., Moran 2001; Nagel 2003). Socioeconomic success for black men "lightens" and "masculinizes" them. Black women find themselves "in a double bind: they must be as least as submissive and dependent as a traditional white women to be attractive, yet they must be self sufficient to survive in the black community" (Moran 2001 105). Asian American-white gender asymmetries also grow from cultural roots. Asian American women are depicted as "hyper-feminine", producing an assumption that they will be submissive and pliant partners. Asian

American men are characterized as effeminate and, taken together, these racialized sexualities shape Asian-white heterosexual partner asymmetry (Moran 2001 107).

New research in behavioral economics also attends to physicality but in ways that can be tested via a formal hypothesis. Belot and Fidrmuc (2010) show (again) that socio-economic status (SES) variables poorly predict gender asymmetries but that other data, height distributions, provide far more powerful predictors. The simple but widespread preference found in studies of dating, that males should be taller than their female partners, interacts with race (blacks being taller on average than Asians) to explain differential partnership rates with whites by gender. Relative partner height has nothing immediately to do with neighborhood location, but this finding is important. Changing demographics (via immigration and differential fertility) along with changing social norms about racial mixing may enhance (e.g., black men, Asian women) or weaken (e.g., Asian men, black women) individuals' relative "bargaining power". Belot and Fidrmuc conclude their essay in this way. "It would be worthwhile to investigate what are the implications in terms of household behavior and distribution of resources within the household" (Belot and Fidrmuc 2010 371). Indeed. And what of these other arguments about racialization or assimilation? How might they speak to gendered race effects within mixed partnerships and fold into residential attainment theory?

Gendering the Residential Location of Mixed-Race Couples

Insight on the processes that produce segregated (and diverse) residential spaces usually pivots on spatial assimilation (SA) and place stratification (PS) (Charles 2003 provides a thorough review; see also Alba et al. 2000; Logan et al. 1996; Iceland and Wilkes 2004;

Iceland and Nelson 2010). SA holds that increases in income, occupational status, and English language ability (SES) over time and across generation produces a spatial diffusion of immigrants from neighborhoods of initial settlement into areas that were previously the exclusive domain of the native born. Shifted from immigrant worlds into the context of ethnic and racial minority populations, it hitches individual social mobility to spatial mobility, linking them to ecological outcomes, often specified as contact with whites or Anglos (e.g., Gross and Massey 1991).

Racialization features more prominently in stratification models, the bedrock of which reposes on the assessment of the degree to which racialized individuals or households become sorted by neighborhood, taking into account their skills and education. It reveals the limits some people face in converting their socio-economic standing into similar neighborhood locations compared with others who are not subject to the same racial gaze. "Whites use segregation to maintain social distance, and therefore, present-day residential segregation—particularly blacks' segregation from whites—is best understood as emanating from structural forces tied to racial prejudice and discrimination that preserve the relative status advantages of whites" (Charles 2003 182). Charles concludes that a SA framework performs better at describing the residential mobility of white Latinos and Asians; the PS schema best captures the neighborhood dynamics of blacks and black Latinos (2003).

Almost all residential-attainment modeling studies adopt the perspective of the unitary household—singly raced individuals and households or households undifferentiated by the gender of the racialized partners (Agarwal 1997). So how do these theories apply to a situation when a minority is partnered to a white person? Does it matter if the white person in that mixed-race relationship is a woman or a man?

When the household head is assumed to represent all household members' interests and preferences, power relations within households are imagined as equal and gender and racial structures are ignored. In the SA model, improvements to SES accompany acculturation and map geographically via an objective process that links improvements in social status "with a marked upgrading in housing conditions and neighborhood amenities and with residence in predominantly white areas" (Alba, Logan, and Stults, 2000, p. 606).

When couples are classed by racial configuration, SA predicts, and the empirical results generally confirm, an intermediate residential pattern that reflects their status "in-between" single race groups. To illustrate, households headed by black-white couples tend to locate in relatively racially diverse neighborhoods, whiter than single race black households, but not as white as single-race white households (Holloway et al. 2005; Wright et al. 2011). Changing perspective from group outcomes to household-level outcomes, SA would forecast that, say, a black-white, mixed-race household should equally be able to convert SES resources into improved residential circumstances regardless of whether or not the white partner is male or female.

We can leverage the studies of migration decision-making and axes of power in the household, however, to extract a perspective on gender from assimilation theory. The "tied migrant" literature consistently shows the employment penalties that women receive when households move (e.g., Boyle et al. 2001; Cooke and Spiers 2005; Cooke et al. 2009). Gender "is generally linked to the perceived differences between women and men and to the unequal power relations based in those perceived differences" (Hanson 2010 8). Similarly, the research on household location, work, and commuting often asks questions, directly or indirectly, about household gender regimes (e.g., Timmermans et

al. 1992; Hanson and Pratt 1995; Rapino and Cooke 2011). Many such studies document the subordination of women and these findings overlap with processes of intra urban mobility, residential location, and, by extension, neighborhood residential segregation. We therefore seek to link gender asymmetries in heterosexual mixed-race partnerships and neighborhood location to the recurrent theme in the scholarship on family dynamics associated with the power asymmetries that favor husbands over wives in decision making (e.g., Zipp et al. 2004).

Gordon (1964) viewed mixed-race marriage and partnership as an indicator of race relations; many interpret his work to say that marital assimilation is the final "stage" in assimilation to American life (Burton et al. 2010; Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2010). Taking this as point of departure for intra- and inter-household racial dynamics, we can posit some expectations for a gender/race effect if, within each category of mixed-race household, the two gender configurations either (a) view themselves as more or less assimilated (i.e., like the dominant group) or (b) are viewed by the dominant group as more or less assimilated. Thus, white male/black female partnerships may be seen (or even see themselves) as "more white" than black male/white female couples. Here is how gendered power asymmetries play out within an assimilation-type framework. If the male is dominant within the relationship, then white male/black female arrangements (and other mixed-race household groupings by extension) may indeed receive a different social reception than partnerships with the opposite gender/race configuration. In terms of black-white mixed unions specifically, there may also be a backlash against black male/white female-headed households because of the stereotypes and sexual taboos associated with this particular pairing (Moran 2001). Accordingly, we are curious if there is a measurable difference in terms of neighborhood location

between the two types of mixed-race partnerships because of inter- and intra-household gender/race effects. We can anticipate two results: 1) households headed by white-nonwhite couples are more likely to gravitate to white neighborhoods when the male partner is white/the female partner is nonwhite, and 2) households headed by white-nonwhite couples are inclined to reside in nonwhite neighborhoods when the male partner is nonwhite/the female partner is white.

This discussion of acculturation and assimilation drifts into the realm of PS, which Charles (2003) suggests is more appropriate for people who are phenotypically most obviously not white. Racial stratification offers two alternative perspectives on the residential location of households headed by mixed-race couples. Mixed-race couples, as it were, "become nonwhite" (cf. Bonilla Silva 2004). The premise here is that the presence of a racial "other" in the household, others all members. The literature offers evidence of such racialization by association. For example, Haslanger, who is white, has a son who is much darker. Recounting the moment in her residential neighborhood when another boy approached her and wanted to know if the child with her was her own. Then he asked, " ' you mixed?" (Haslanger 2002). In a similar vein, Houston (2008 11) reports an interview wherein a "white" woman recounts the birth of her "black" son as not only the moment when she became a mother but also the instant where she ceased to be "Caucasian". In terms of housing markets, Houston and Wright (2008) show how different mixed-race couples continually and simultaneously feel both in and out of place in Seattle. Similarly, Dalmage (2000) reports on the "borderism" many black-white families face in both black and white neighborhoods—such households are seen as neither white nor black, but something else. Thus racially mixed families may seek neighborhoods where neither group is dominant and locate in racially diverse

neighborhoods irrespective of the gender of the nonwhite partner. They might also be more likely to be found in nonwhite neighborhoods or places where the minority partner's race group predominates, no matter the race of (fe)male partner.

All this suggests that race trumps gender. *Both* partners in a mixed-race relationship encounter racist ideologies about socially appropriate realtionships. Commonly held social proscriptions about appropriate romantic partners still inhibit marriage or household formations that cross racial lines (e.g., Romano 2001). Diverse neighborhoods may offer the best – most socially comfortable – places to enact such complex racial identitites, especially when raising mixed-race children. But such broad accounts ignore the specific asymmetries that motivate this whole essay. If gender did not matter in mixed-race partnering, then any variation in gender asymmetry in such pairings would be simply random. That is not the case. Gender roles in relationships are weighted unequally, with women in general continuing to be marginalized by a dominant male culture. If these norms also play out among mixed-race couples, it follows that neighborhood outcomes should favor the male partner. So even in relationships that many find racially transgressive and progressive, the irony is that gender practices in such partnerships may still follow conventional norms. Thus, if a racially mixed couples' male partner is white, we predict it would elevate the probablity that the couple resides in a white neighborhood. If the man is, say, Latino, then we would expect a positive relationship between residential location and neighborhood percent Latino. We can also anticipate an inverse relationship between the female partner being white and neighborhood percent white. We can also speculate that if the male partner is white, we will find a reduced likelihood that a mixed-race household of which he is a member would make their home in a diverse locale.

Data and Analysis

We used 2000 US Census confidential data to perform our analyses. While publicly released data offer information about the location of mixed-race couples down to the scale of the PUMA (Public Use Micro Sample Area--areas of about 100,000 people), confidential census data provide information about the location of such couples by census tract. This level of geographic detail requires research be carried out in secure facilities and our results were screened by Census Bureau employees to maintain confidentiality. We examined residential patterns of our sampled couples in twelve large metropolitan areas: Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, Philadelphia, San Diego, San Francisco, Washington DC.[ii] This group comprises eleven of the twelve most populous metropolitan areas in the United States.[iii] These places range in racial composition and rates of mixing, capturing variations in racial population diversity in different parts of the country. The concentrations of mixed-race couples in these locations, combined with their large populations, provide samples big enough to sustain the analysis. Table 1, Panel A, shows that these metropolitan areas were home to over one third of the nation's mixed-race partnered couples in 2000 and that, on average, 8.8 percent of couples were mixed compared to the national average of almost 7 percent. The averages mask variations within the sample, with the three west coast metropolitan areas having double the share of mixed-race couples compared to same-race couples. In contrast, Atlanta, Detroit, and Philadelphia have fewer racially mixed couples compared to same-race couples.

Table 1 here

Our investigation features the three most common heterosexual mixed-race household types; those headed by black-white couples, Asian-white couples, and Latino/a-white couples (Passel et al. 2010). Overall, heterosexual couples head over two thirds of all mixed-race households. The remaining third of mixed-race households include same-sex couples, unrelated housemates, and households where children, many adopted, are reported as having a race different from their parent(s). We predict that the non-heterosexual share of mixed-race households will increase over time and warrant targeted and extensive analysis. Still, non-heterosexual mixed-race households are a broadly heterogeneous group whose locational decisions reflect a wide array of processes. Moreover, our theoretical focus on the possibility of a gender-by-race interaction effect precludes the inclusion of mixed-race households that do not have a male-female couple.

Table 1, Panel B, shows the degree of variation in the gender configuration of the three types of mixed-race couple studied. The patterns exhibit no clear geography at this scale. For example, among black-white couples, Los Angeles comes closest to gender parity; among black-white couples in San Francisco, however, almost 79 percent involve a black man partnered with a white female. Asian white partnerships exhibit the common pattern of being dominated by a white male/Asian female configuration. Latino-white couples, by metropolitan area, cluster closely to the mean of 46 percent white female/Latino male.

We next explore the typical neighborhoods of the three classes of mixed-race couples, contingent on the gender of the white person in the pairing. We do this by first comparing the typical neighborhoods of mixed couples to those of single-race black, Asian, and Latino couples.[iv] We then compare the racial diversity of the typical

neighborhood of households headed by mixed-race couples with those headed by single-race pairs. This analysis relies on two variants of the exposure index. Conventionally, P* represents neighborhood exposure:

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

where j indexes census tracts, w and x index racial groups, and t is the total population of all racial groups. W is the total population of group w across all tracts, w_j, x_j, and t_j are tract counts of the respective groups. ${}_{w}P^{*}_{x}$ characterizes group x's population share in group w's typical tract: i.e., the residential exposure of group w to group x. As we aim to assess the exposure of certain mixed-race *households* to whites (and, depending on the mix in the household, blacks, Asians, and Latinos) we modify ${}_{w}P^{*}_{x}$ such that w represents counts of households and x represents individuals (cf. Holloway et al. 2005). We can further modify ${}_{w}P^{*}_{x}$ by specifying the race of the (fe)male partner and thus describe the exposure, say, of households headed by a black man and a white woman to blacks (or whites): that is, the average tract percent black (white) of the typical household headed by a black man and white woman.[v]

Figure 1 illustrates the patterns of exposure of the three different classes of couples to a) whites, and b) the minority population associated with the nonwhite partner, summarized for all twelve metropolitan areas. Ignoring the race of the (fe)male partner for a moment, the values in Figure 1 depicting exposure to white neighbors are considerably greater than those associated with nonwhite neighbors. Mixed-race households comprising one white partner are far more likely to encounter whites in their neighborhoods of residence than individuals who are the race of the nonwhite

partner. Figure 1 also shows that an increased neighborhood exposure to whites occurs when the male in the partnership is white, regardless of the race of the female partner. The differences are small relative to the differences revealed between exposure to whites versus nonwhites, but nevertheless consistent across the groups. The raw data in Figure 1 support the ideas that households headed by mixed-race couples tend to reside in white neighborhoods and there appears to be a small gender effect.

Figure 1 about here

Echoing the asymmetry of the exposure index itself, we next ask if households headed by mixed-race couples live in neighborhoods associated with the nonwhite partner. Figure 1 shows that gender has a relatively small effect for black-white and Latino-white couples. If the male partner is black or Latino, then the chances of being exposed to black and Latino neighbors is slightly higher than if the female partner is black or Latina. There is no gender difference in the neighborhood exposure to Asians for household headed by Asian-white partners.

Figure 2 provides additional perspective, describing the likelihood of exposure to neighborhood racial compositions by households headed by mixed-race couples compared to their relevant single-race household referent groups. (As before, these data are averages of the 12 metropolitan area values.) Accordingly, Figure 2 Panel A shows not only the exposure of mixed-race households headed by black white couples to white, black, Asians and Latinos, but also the neighborhood exposure of a) black and b) white single race households to those same groups.[vi]

Figure 2 about here

Figure 2A reveals that blacks (in this case black couples) are far less likely to have white neighbors than either Latino or Asians. White couples are also far more likely to have

white neighbors than any other racial group. Households headed by racially mixed couples occupy a median position, if you will, in their exposure to these four racial groups when compared to their same-race referents. Furthermore, Figure 2 expands on the subtle gender differences depicted in Figure 1. For example, black male-white female household types are not only more exposed to black neighbors than black female-white male couples, they are comparatively more exposed to Latino neighbors. White-Latino couples replicate a similar pattern regarding exposure to blacks (Panel C). Both Figure 1 and Figure 2 suggest that, at least in the case of white-black and white-Latino household heads, a minority male partner increases the likelihood of having black *and* Latino neighbors.

To begin to examine the question of whether gender asymmetries of couples heading mixed-race households is related to neighborhood racial diversity, we deploy a second variant of neighborhood exposure--the Neighborhood Diversity Exposure index--NDE (Holloway et al. 2005). NDE indexes the amount of racial diversity (measured using scaled entropy) in the typical neighborhood of a particular group. It captures a group's exposure to racial diversity in their typical residential neighborhood. The standardized entropy diversity measure for each tract is:

$$E_j = s * \; - \sum_{k=1}^{K} \left(\frac{k_j}{t_j} * \ln \frac{k_j}{t_j} \right) \qquad (2)$$

where k indexes the racial groups. The maximum value of E_j is obtained when tract j's population is evenly divided between the k racial groups; the constant s (1/ln(k)) insures that E_j ranges between 0 and 1. NDE captures the racial diversity for group w's typical tract in the following way:

$$NDE = \sum_{j=1}^{J}\left(\frac{w_j}{W} * E_j\right) \qquad (3)$$

If group w, say a household headed by an Asian woman and a white man, disproportionately concentrates in neighborhoods with considerable racial diversity, NDE takes on a relatively large positive index value. Conversely, if such a household disproportionately concentrates in tracts with little racial diversity, NDE takes on a relatively small positive value.

Figure 3 portrays the results of this analysis. The three sets of pairs record roughly similar exposures to neighborhood racial diversity; the scores range from a low of .44 white male/Latina female couples to a high of .51 (black male/white female). Figure 3 reveals that mixed-raced couples with a nonwhite male partner encounter elevated levels of neighborhood racial diversity in their place of residence relative to those encountered by mixed-race couples with a white male partner. This is consistent across the three sets of pairs of partners under investigation and also adds a gender dimension to the conjecture that white-nonwhite couple households gravitate to racially diverse neighborhoods. This elevated likelihood of neighborhood exposure to neighborhood diversity is attenuated if the male partner is white.

Figure 3 about here

Figure 3 also illustrates that white-Asian and white-Latino couples (but not white–black couples) encounter higher levels of neighborhood racial diversity than their white same-race counterparts, but lower levels than their non-white same-race reference groups. White–black couples, however, encounter more neighborhood racial diversity than either white or black same-race partners.[vii] Again, in registering the small gender

effect, Figure 3 reveals that mixed-race households headed by a white male partner trend consistently toward the patterns of single-race white households.

A set of models assesses whether the differences detected in the descriptive phase of the research are statistically significant, taking account of an extensive set of control variables. With tracts serving as proxies for neighborhoods, we estimated three sets of logistic regression models, one set for each mixed-race couple classification, with the following form:

$$Y_{ij}=b_0 + b_1X_{1ij} + b_2X_{2ij} + b_3X_{3ij} + b_4X_{4ij} + b_5X_{5ij} + \ldots + b_kX_{kij} \qquad (4)$$

where Y_{ij} is a community-level measure for tract j and thus is assumed to be constant for all household types i in the same tract j. We estimated this model using three different measures of community racial composition as dependent variables: tract racial diversity, measured by scaled entropy, which ranges between 0 and 1; the proportion of whites among tract residents; and, depending on the mixed-race couple being analyzed, the proportion of blacks or Asians or Latinos in tract j. The specifications of the dependent variables match up with the descriptive analysis that focused on P* and neighborhood racial diversity. P* measures the neighborhood proportion white (or black, Asian, and Latino) in which the average white or minority person (in our case mixed-race couple) lives. Scaled entropy measures racial diversity in a census tract.

Given that our dependent variables have ranges restricted to fall between 0 and 1, all models were specified as generalized linear models with a binomial variance function and a logit link function. Parameters appear in log odds form and were estimated using maximum likelihood; robust standard errors account for the clustering of observations

within tracts. The estimation and significance of the variables of principal interest were very stable throughout this process.

To test the effect of gender on the tract location of households headed by mixed-race couples, we created a simple dummy variable for the male partner being white (we can equivalently call this dummy variable "female partner not white"). The controls were other individual- and household-level variables that predict residence in a community with a given level of the trait measured by the dependent variables. These controls are of the following general types:

• a pair of dummy variables that account for the racial ancestry of the partners in the household;

• for Asian and Latino/a partners, a set of national-origin ancestry dummy variables;

• a set of controls that account for mobility, migration, and immigration history, such as location of previous residence and places of birth;

• standard socio-economic variables, many of which are used in both SA and PS type models, such as household income, education (the education variables are specified as a polychotomous suite of dummy variables that reflect both overall educational attainment and the homogamy of attainment between the partners), and age;

• two variables that account for military service;

• and a set of metropolitan area fixed-effect dummy variables.

The decision to aggregate the 12 metropolitan area samples into a single pool represents a trade-off between examining three outcomes for a set of metropolitan areas and examining one outcome for each metropolitan area separately. Our core research hypotheses require we examine tract percent white, percent nonwhite, and racial diversity. Attempting this analysis separately for a dozen metropolitan areas would

have produced an unwieldy amount of output. Accordingly, we maintain our attention on these three variables of interest and, following convention, use metropolitan fixed effect dummy variables to control for unobserved locational heterogeneity across the sample. Aggregating the twelve metropolitan areas and leveraging the 1 in 6 sample, these data produce large samples of each household type. Our models are based on samples of 15,700 households headed by black-white married and partnered couples, 32,338 Asian-white households, and 92,644 white-Latino households. The analysis thus boils down to an analysis of the residential geography of households headed by mixed-race couples comprising a white male partner or a nonwhite male partner from a sample pooled from twelve large US metropolitan areas.

We begin with the models where neighborhood percent white serves as the dependent variable (see Table 2). To reduce clutter we exclude the estimations, where applicable, of dummy fixed effects controls for ancestry. Table 5 reports the goodness-of-fit statistics for all models and we discuss those later.

Table 2 here

An examination of the coefficients along with robust standard errors (where bold numbers reflect statistical significance at $p<.05$) reveals that these three classes of households headed by mixed-race couples generally follow conventional renditions of spatial assimilation models wherein neighborhood proximity to whites is associated with elevated SES. More specifically, if these racially mixed households have higher incomes, own homes, and possess advanced educational qualifications, they are likely to gravitate to white neighborhoods. This result is new but not surprising. Most previous tests of spatial assimilation theory examine the economic status of monoracial households, finding that higher SES among nonwhite households is associated with

proximity to whites. We find that households headed by mixed race couples behave in largely the same way.

SES, of course, only frames our interest in spatial assimilation theory in the context of this study of gender/race effects on household geographies. The models show a consistent and statistically significant positive relationship between the male partner's race being white and the percent white in the neighborhood: i.e., a gender bias in the residential location of these three kinds of racially mixed couples. If we exponentiate the estimate, say, for white male in the model of both black-white and Asian-white couples (1.05), then we can state that households headed by racially mixed black-white couples with a white male partner are about 5 percent more likely to live in a white neighborhood than a black (Asian)-white couple that includes a white woman household head, all else being equal. That effect is also statistically significant for Latino-white couples, but the effect is smaller: such couples with a white male partner are about 2.4 percent more likely to live in a white neighborhood than a Latino-white couple that includes a white woman household head.

The regression estimates for the partners' ancestries are also interesting. The results show that if the white partner has a mixed ancestry ("mixed ancestry" for our purposes means that one or more listed ancestries are not from North America, Europe, former USSR, Australia, New Zealand), they are less likely to live in white neighborhood. Conversely, if the non-white partner is mixed, the likelihood of residence in a white neighborhood increases. All this, of course, lends support for the proposition that white-nonwhite headed households are more likely to be found in white neighborhoods if the male partner is white.

We now turn to the models that examine the effect of the neighborhood structure measured as percent nonwhite (Table 3). This works as follows. In the model of Asian-white couples, for example, neighborhood percent Asian serves as the dependent variable. For the Latino-white model, neighborhood percent Latino serves as the dependent variable. Examining the results by zeroing in on the variable of primary interest, for households headed by black-white couples there is a significant negative relation between the presence of a white male partner in the relationship and neighborhood percent black. Exponentiating the estimate for white male in the model of black-white couples we can state that households headed by racially mixed black-white couples with a white male partner are about 4 percent less likely to live in a black neighborhood than a black-white couple that includes a white woman household head, all else being equal. The same effect is significant but about 2 percent less for Latino-white couples. We find no relationship between with race of the male partner in a household headed by an Asian-white couple and the proportions of Asian in the neighborhood of residence.

Table 3 here

Given the findings of the first suite of regression estimates, these three models help confirm the marginal (i.e., net of other factors in the model) effect of gender on mixed-race residential location in another way. By discovering an effect in two of the models, this analysis provides support for the idea that white-nonwhite couples gravitate to neighborhoods where the minority partner's race is a larger fraction of the population, especially if the household head is a black male or Latino.

Last, we examine the results of the logistic regression analysis where we assess the relationship between neighborhood racial diversity and the race of the (fe)male partner in the three types of racially mixed households (Table 4).

Table 4 here

Focusing on the importance of the variable white male (nonwhite female) and neighborhood diversity as measured by scaled entropy means that the interpretation of this parameter estimate translates into the impact on neighborhood entropy of the location of households headed by mixed-race couples with a white male partner/nonwhite female partner. Thus the negative parameter estimate for white-Asian households implies that white-Asian households with a white male live in less diverse neighborhoods, even with extensive controls, than similar households with white females. The relationship is similar for white-Latino/a heterosexual households: that is, exponentiating the estimate for white male in the model of Latino-white couples and controlling for other factors, we can state that households headed by racially mixed black-white couples with a white male partner are 1-2 percent less likely to live in a diverse neighborhood than a Latino-white couple that includes a white woman household head. Surprisingly, given our descriptive analysis, we find no evidence of gender asymmetry for households headed by black-white couples once controls are accounted for. While the race of the male partner can significantly reduce the likelihood that the household lives in a racially diverse neighborhood for Asian-white and Latino-white couples, it has no such effect for black-white couples. In this particular instance, race effects appear to trump gender effects. Accordingly, while previous research accents the fact that race matters in particular ways for households headed by mixed-

race couples, the results reported here require we modulate those findings with gender in mind.

A final word concerns estimation. With the exception of metropolitan fixed effects, which are in all the models, we estimated models in stages to assess the impact of adding controls on the parameter estimated for the race-by-gender interaction dummy variable. The first stage (M1) included, in additional to our main variable, the dummy variables that indicate mixed-ancestry for the two partners, and, for white-Asian and white-Latino/a pairs, the set of national-origin ancestry dummy variables (the rationale being that ancestry or mixed-ancestry might be distinctive for some individuals). The second stage (M2) added variables related to migration and immigration, which we thought formed a distinct cluster relating to both tied migrant theory as well as racialization theory. The third stage (M3) added the remainder of the control variables. The sequential addition of new variables and clusters of variables had no effect on statistical significance, leading us to conclude that multicollinearity is not a problem with these models.

Table 5 contains goodness-of-fit measures and statistical comparisons of these models. In seven of the nine sets of models, the more complete models provided an improved fit to the data, based on lower AIC scores. The simplest model (M1 in Table 2) provided the lowest AIC score for white-black pairs when the dependent variable is scaled entropy. The second stage model (M2 in Table 5) provided the best AIC score for white-Asian pairs when tract percent Asian is the dependent variable. For each of the three mixed-race pairings and for each of the three dependent variables, the last model that includes all controls (M3 in Table 5), significantly ($p<.01$) improved upon the initial model that controlled only race, gender, and ancestry (M1 in Table 5).

Moreover, in all model sets except one (white-Asian pairs with percent Asian as the dependent variable), the most complete model was statistically superior ($p<.01$) to the second stage model that included the migration and immigration controls (M2 in Table 5). For white-Asian pairs in the model with percent Asian as the dependent variable, the most complete model (M3) was marginally better ($p=.088$) than the second stage model (M2). Based on these results, we present the parameter estimates from the third stage model that includes all possible controls.

Table 5 here

Conclusions

The analysis of the neighborhood location of households headed by mixed-race couples brings the issue of gender to the surface faster than when the object of analysis is a household headed by a same-race couple. Our investigation of the gender make-up in the three most frequently occurring racially mixed partnerships and their relationship to neighborhood location finds not only does race matter, but also that gender matters. In each of these household relationships, the presence of a white male partner was associated with the percentage of the neighborhood of residence that was white. In addition, if the male partner was white, it reduced the likelihood that the households made their home in a diverse neighborhood for white-Asian and white-Latina households. We also found a statistically significant relationship between the percentage of a neighborhood that is black or Latino and the presence of households headed by heterosexual couples with, respectively, a black male or Latino partner.

These results augment those of White and Sassler (2001) who found a race/class/spouse effect in the residential attainment of mixed couples. Our research

similarly detects a gender/race effect in several different models and with different racial pairings. We had access to confidential census information to conduct our investigations; nevertheless, future research, however configured, should pay more attention to intra-household gender regimes. Such analyses could address this issue from the "inside out" (by examining gender relations within the household and neighborhood context). The work could also be directed from the "outside in"—assessing, for instance, the differential racialization of say Latino-white and Latina-white couples by neighbors in preference/attitudinal surveys.

Research in related realms consistently shows that household power relations tilt in favor of male partners in heterosexual couples. What are the implications for theory? One reading of SA theory is that residential attainment is an individual or collective process and that parsing housing power relations fits but awkwardly in such a rubric. SA theory posits that we should find no difference in the residential attainment of, say, white male/Latino households relative to a Latino male/white female households; their *household*-level SES characteristics generate potentially different locational outcomes. We have demonstrated, both theoretically and empirically, that we can tease out gender effects from such a perspective. The charge for researchers is clear: scholars should pay more attention to gender dynamics in household neighborhood dynamics. Recent related research is trending slightly in this direction. For example, Iceland and Nelson (2010) and Ellis et al. (2006) both show that spousal characteristics usefully predict residential outcomes for immigrants to the United States in line with spatial assimilation frameworks. Ellis et al. (2006) find suggestive gender effects for some immigrant groups but new research has yet to build substantively on this outcome.

Place stratification theory is constructed on the idea of racial hierarchy and is associated with the inability of minorities to convert human capital into residential advantage. For households headed by racially mixed couples, the racialization of all household members as nonwhite, no matter the racial claims made by individuals in the household, creates the conditions for subordination. We maintain, and research bears out, that racially plural places provide attractive locations for mixed households (Dalmage 2000; Wright et al. 2011). Inserting gender into place stratification forces us to confront *both* racial and gender differences and to consider not one but two sets of social hierarchies based on these differences. Our analysis uncovers an important irony. Households headed by racially mixed heterosexual couples literally love across racial divides; gender practices in such households, in general, toe conventional lines. The race of the male partner significantly affects neighborhood location. If a racially mixed couples' male partner is nonwhite, it raises the chances that the couple resides in a nonwhite neighborhood. Furthermore, the race of the male partner can reduce the likelihood that the household lives in a racially diverse neighborhood.

Our work reflects the growing interest in household structure and residential location—what Buzar et al. (2005) call the "changing social geometry of the household". They make the case for deepening the incorporation of household demography into understanding patterns of urban structure and transformation. A focus on household racial mixing opens up the literature for new questions such as; how much of the total variation in residential segregation is explained by the racial makeup of families? Indeed, without mixed-race households, changes in neighborhood racial segregation between whites and blacks and whites and Latinos in the 1990s would be higher by non-trivial quantities (Ellis et al. 2012). Specifically, over this decade, white–black segregation

without mixed-race households would be greater by 5 percent, while white–Asian and white–Latino residential segregation would be 10 percent greater than currently recorded.

The results reported here on specific gender effects should be seen as part of a larger project on household-level racial mixing. They suggest that scholars must attend to household power relations between male and female partners in heterosexual couples. In contrast to interregional migration, we know much less about the interaction among race, gender, and household bargaining power when it comes to neighborhood choice and urban mobility. Our research outcomes suggest future analyses might concentrate more on gender regimes and axes of power with racially mixed households. There are also lessons also for work on different household arrangements, such as the place (literally) of mixed-race households headed by single parents. It is not a large conceptual leap to deploy confidential census data to examine the location of those and other types of mixed-race households.

When research on residential location and neighborhood segregation isolates the "household head" for analysis, it thus glosses the racial and gender variation of individual households and associated axes of power. The result is that the mixed-race household and its links to neighborhood-scale location remains understudied and undertheorized (Wright et al. 2003). As over 14 percent of all new marriages in 2008 cross racial or ethnic lines (Passel et al. 2010), the conceptions of households as monoracial and a place where gender is irrelevant require revision. The mixed-race household is increasingly important numerically. Moreover, because such a collective constitutes both a spatial scale at which mixed-race contact takes place *and is* a place for identity construction of individuals, partners, and the surrounding neighborhood, it

represents a prime location from which to assess how the relationships between men and women play out in residential space.

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[i] White refers to what the census describes as "non-Hispanic white" throughout.

[ii] Specifically, we used the urbanized tracts of these metropolitan places to comply with restrictions on the nature of information we could remove from the restricted access research labs. Urbanized areas comprise contiguous spaces that have urbanized land use.

[iii] San Diego (ranked 16th overall) is the exception and was included for two reasons. The larger project comparing 1990 data with 2000, of which this essay is one part, was conceived with the idea that at some point we would be interested in looking at the effect of the military on mixed-race household formation and location. San Diego has several military installations in or near the metropolitan area. San Diego also had the related advantage of providing a fourth metropolitan area in our group (along with San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York) with a high proportion Asian and Latino. These two factors work together to increase the number of mixed-race households in our sample relative to Boston—the excluded "top 12" metropolitan area.

[iv] We use racial categories consistent with those from the 1990 census requiring us to re-assign some 2000 data. Some of the re-categorizations are simple (e.g., merging Pacific Islanders and Asians into an aggregate Asian-Pacific Islander category). The reassignment of the 2.4 percent of those who chose more than one race in 2000 used the whole-race assignment methods - *Largest Group Other than White* – recommended by the Office of Management and Budget.

[v] One referee asked if an individual could be counted in both the group of interest and the reference group this modified P* measure. For example, does the man in a black male-white female household appear in both w (the count of mixed-race households of

interest) and x (the count of blacks in a neighborhood)? The referee went on to state that if was the case, this could bias the black male-white female index upward relative to the white male-black female household index because the former includes more counts of people exposed to themselves (because the former arrangement is more common that the latter). The right hand side of the P* index indeed captures the total compositional character of a tract and thus is based on the total population, not a set of remainder counts after individuals involved in mixed-race households are extracted. This, however, is not a bias, but a theoretical necessity -- when the traditional P* is computed, it also includes the individual represented on the left-hand side of the formula within the counts on the right hand side. Moreover, the "bias" based on the greater frequency of black male-white female households (relative to black female-white male households) is part of what we want to capture. This would be similar to our understanding of P*'s asymmetric characteristics being an asset rather than a detriment. In our case, we are asking: in what kinds of neighborhoods do these variously configured households live, with these households constituting a real and important part of the neighborhood.

[vi] Based on exposure indices – exposure to "Indian" and "Other" racial categories are not shown for clarity.

[vii] Holloway et al. (2005) also found this "in-between" pattern for White-Latinos and white-Asians of residing in less diverse neighborhoods than their non-white same-race peers and in more diverse neighborhoods than white same-race couples using 1990 data.

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Table 1: National and Sample Metropolitan Partnering Patterns

Panel A

	% of couples mixed-race	National share of mixed- race couples	National share of same - race couples	Quotient (Mixed Share/Same Share)
US	**6.98%**	**100.00%**	**100.00%**	
12 Metros	**8.83%**	**38.21%**	**29.59%**	
Atlanta	5.03%	0.97%	1.38%	0.71
Chicago	6.27%	2.67%	3.00%	0.89
Dallas	8.70%	2.17%	1.71%	1.27
Detroit	5.45%	1.36%	1.77%	0.77
Houston	8.72%	1.97%	1.55%	1.27
Los Angeles	12.84%	9.27%	4.72%	1.96
Miami	10.31%	1.83%	1.19%	1.53
New York	6.97%	6.74%	6.74%	1.00
Philadelphia	4.91%	1.43%	2.09%	0.69
San Diego	16.62%	2.22%	0.83%	2.66
San Fran	14.80%	4.97%	2.15%	2.31
Wash. DC	7.38%	2.62%	2.47%	1.06

Panel B

	Black-White: Percent White Female	Asian-White: Percent White Female	Latino-White: Percent White Female
Atlanta	71.45%	24.58%	47.87%
Chicago	68.90%	31.06%	52.69%
Dallas	79.04%	26.45%	47.58%
Detroit	73.01%	31.64%	47.58%
Houston	69.37%	25.47%	44.12%
Los Angeles	59.50%	28.31%	44.11%
Miami	59.96%	28.27%	44.80%
New York	75.39%	33.62%	51.25%
Philadelphia	75.35%	21.03%	40.83%
San Diego	71.76%	26.96%	46.66%
San Fran	78.79%	28.84%	46.11%
Wash. DC	68.26%	26.56%	43.19%
Total	69.83%	27.10%	45.71%

Table 2: Logistic Regression Results: Neighborhood Percent White

Independent Variables	Black-White Couples		Asian-White Couples		Latino-White Couples	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Male is White	**0.051**	0.019	**0.052**	0.013	**0.024**	0.007
White has Mixed Ancestry	**-0.158**	0.035	**-0.066**	0.023	**-0.156**	0.013
Nonwhite has Mixed Ancestry	**0.314**	0.034	**0.078**	0.032	**0.124**	0.009
Male's age (centered)	**-0.005**	0.001	**0.003**	0.001	**0.003**	0.000
Household Variables						
Household Income (000s)(centered)	**0.047**	0.003	**0.030**	0.001	**0.039**	0.001
Household Income ^2 (centered)	**-0.001**	0.000	**0.000**	0.000	**-0.001**	0.000
Both Partners HS Grad	**0.249**	0.060	**0.196**	0.072	**0.307**	0.021
Both Partners, Some College	**0.278**	0.058	**0.275**	0.069	**0.376**	0.020
Both Have College Degree	**0.347**	0.064	**0.350**	0.069	**0.445**	0.023
Both Have Graduate Degree	**0.375**	0.069	**0.361**	0.070	**0.439**	0.026
Minority Partner Education Greater	**0.240**	0.056	**0.270**	0.068	**0.346**	0.020
Minority Partner Education Lower	**0.306**	0.057	**0.317**	0.068	**0.352**	0.019
Number in household (centered)	**-0.088**	0.009	**-0.062**	0.006	**-0.071**	0.004
Married	-0.004	0.022	-0.008	0.019	**0.052**	0.011
Own Home	**0.156**	0.022	**0.201**	0.016	**0.276**	0.011
English only household	**0.149**	0.027	**0.120**	0.012	**0.155**	0.008
Minority Partner: poor English	0.016	0.129	0.026	0.042	**-0.298**	0.022
Labor Force Variables						
One partner in school	0.003	0.027	**-0.033**	0.017	0.009	0.010
Both partners in school	-0.046	0.058	-0.020	0.036	0.007	0.023
Retired	-0.078	0.060	**-0.074**	0.031	0.004	0.020
Female partner works; has kids	**0.244**	0.037	**0.156**	0.021	**0.153**	0.014
Female partner works; no kids	**0.078**	0.033	-0.010	0.018	0.006	0.013
Female partner not working; has kids	**0.324**	0.043	**0.235**	0.024	**0.223**	0.015
Migration/Mobility Variables						
HH moved within MSA in last 5 yrs	**0.198**	0.021	**0.117**	0.013	**0.160**	0.009
HH moved to MSA in last 5 yrs	**0.289**	0.028	**0.184**	0.016	**0.290**	0.012
Minority Partner Entered US in 70s	-0.111	0.102	**-0.057**	0.021	**-0.096**	0.017
Minority Partner Entered US in 80s	-0.168	0.098	**-0.105**	0.022	**-0.080**	0.017
Minority Partner Entered US in 90s	-0.169	0.099	**-0.106**	0.023	**-0.066**	0.020
White Partner is Foreign Born	-0.023	0.036	0.017	0.041	**-0.052**	0.019
Minority is Foreign Born	0.162	0.085	0.007	0.019	**-0.026**	0.013
Both Foreign Born	0.015	0.053	**-0.113**	0.024	**-0.213**	0.017
Veteran Status						
One or both partners in military	-0.020	0.058	-0.041	0.045	-0.061	0.042
One or both partners previous military	**-0.056**	0.020	**-0.069**	0.014	**-0.041**	0.008
Metropolitan Area						
Atlanta	-0.004	0.074	-0.004	0.074	**0.339**	0.059
Chicago	0.062	0.060	0.062	0.060	**0.356**	0.043
Dallas	**0.159**	0.062	**0.159**	0.062	**0.218**	0.046
Detroit	**0.178**	0.070	**0.178**	0.070	**1.066**	0.063
Houston	**-0.260**	0.070	**-0.260**	0.070	**-0.116**	0.046
Los Angeles	**-0.262**	0.050	**-0.262**	0.050	**-0.479**	0.036
Miami	**-0.365**	0.078	**-0.365**	0.078	**-0.660**	0.054
New York	0.036	0.052	0.036	0.052	**0.306**	0.036
Philadelphia	**0.523**	0.064	**0.523**	0.064	**0.747**	0.049
San Diego	-0.007	0.070	-0.007	0.070	**-0.089**	0.049
San Francisco	**-0.193**	0.055	**-0.193**	0.055	**-0.296**	0.040
Constant	**-0.600**	0.080	0.049	0.080	**-0.271**	0.041

Table 3: Logistic Regression Results: Neighborhood Percent Black/Asian/Latino

Independent Variables	Black-White Couples		Asian-White Couples		Latino-White Couples	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Male is White	**-0.041**	0.027	0.023	0.015	**-0.019**	0.008
White has Mixed Ancestry	**0.194**	0.046	0.007	0.026	**0.173**	0.014
Nonwhite has Mixed Ancestry	**-0.436**	0.052	-0.045	0.038	**-0.131**	0.010
Male's age (centered)	**0.007**	0.001	0.000	0.001	**-0.004**	0.000
Household Variables						
Household Income (000s)(centered)	**-0.053**	0.004	**0.007**	0.002	**-0.049**	0.001
Household Income ^2 (centered)	**0.001**	0.000	**0.000**	0.000	**0.001**	0.000
Both Partners HS Grad	**-0.204**	0.069	-0.001	0.084	**-0.307**	0.022
Both Partners, Some College	**-0.219**	0.068	-0.015	0.082	**-0.404**	0.021
Both Have College Degree	**-0.367**	0.080	0.056	0.083	**-0.566**	0.025
Both Have Graduate Degree	**-0.317**	0.090	0.052	0.083	**-0.547**	0.030
Minority Partner Education Greater	**-0.198**	0.064	0.040	0.082	**-0.380**	0.020
Minority Partner Education Lower	**-0.260**	0.065	0.028	0.081	**-0.380**	0.020
Number in household (centered)	**0.106**	0.011	**0.035**	0.008	**0.087**	0.004
Married	0.033	0.031	0.037	0.021	**-0.050**	0.012
Own Home	**0.054**	0.030	**-0.177**	0.019	**-0.227**	0.012
English only household	**-0.133**	0.037	**-0.092**	0.013	**-0.175**	0.009
Minority Partner: poor English	-0.040	0.186	-0.045	0.047	**0.294**	0.023
Labor Force Variables						
One partner in school	-0.042	0.038	0.023	0.020	**-0.030**	0.012
Both partners in school	-0.010	0.086	0.033	0.040	-0.046	0.026
Retired	0.100	0.070	-0.024	0.035	-0.033	0.023
Female partner works; has kids	**-0.289**	0.048	**-0.064**	0.025	**-0.146**	0.016
Female partner works; no kids	**-0.090**	0.043	0.002	0.020	-0.019	0.014
Female partner not working; has kids	**-0.378**	0.055	**-0.072**	0.027	**-0.221**	0.017
Migration/Mobility Variables						
HH moved within MSA in last 5 yrs	**-0.251**	0.029	-0.018	0.015	**-0.150**	0.010
HH moved to MSA in last 5 yrs	**-0.345**	0.039	**-0.086**	0.020	**-0.337**	0.014
Minority Partner Entered US in 70s	0.147	0.146	**0.064**	0.023	**0.097**	0.019
Minority Partner Entered US in 80s	0.154	0.140	**0.093**	0.024	**0.087**	0.019
Minority Partner Entered US in 90s	0.156	0.141	**0.079**	0.026	**0.070**	0.022
White Partner is Foreign Born	0.092	0.048	0.010	0.044	0.016	0.022
Minority is Foreign Born	-0.208	0.123	0.026	0.023	0.011	0.014
Both Foreign Born	-0.094	0.075	**0.224**	0.026	**0.164**	0.018
Veteran Status						
One or both partners in military	**0.261**	0.080	**-0.176**	0.061	**-0.100**	0.050
One or both partners previous military	**0.095**	0.028	-0.027	0.016	**0.027**	0.009
Metropolitan Area						
Atlanta	**0.338**	0.086	**-0.711**	0.080	**-0.451**	0.072
Chicago	**-0.213**	0.079	**-0.319**	0.050	**0.485**	0.052
Dallas	**-0.544**	0.082	**-0.459**	0.063	**0.511**	0.052
Detroit	**0.308**	0.081	**-0.648**	0.079	**-0.768**	0.123
Houston	**-0.359**	0.085	**-0.274**	0.071	**0.908**	0.051
Los Angeles	**-1.190**	0.076	**0.473**	0.041	**1.245**	0.042
Miami	-0.138	0.094	**-1.220**	0.052	**1.665**	0.060
New York	**-0.427**	0.064	-0.072	0.043	**0.364**	0.043
Philadelphia	**-0.197**	0.075	**-0.771**	0.059	**-0.591**	0.069
San Diego	**-1.384**	0.102	**0.445**	0.074	**0.872**	0.055
San Francisco	**-1.054**	0.082	**0.914**	0.045	**0.642**	0.046
Constant	**-0.423**	0.096	**-1.986**	0.092	**-1.257**	0.048

Table 4: Logistic Regression Results: Neighborhood Racial Diversity

Independent Variables	Black-White Couples		Asian-White Couples		Latino-White Couples	
	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.	Coefficient	S.E.
Male is White	-0.019	0.011	**-0.024**	0.008	**-0.010**	0.004
White has Mixed Ancestry	-0.009	0.020	**0.040**	0.015	**-0.019**	0.008
Nonwhite has Mixed Ancestry	**-0.112**	0.021	**-0.074**	0.020	**-0.055**	0.006
Male's age (centered)	**-0.002**	0.001	**-0.004**	0.000	**-0.003**	0.000
Household Variables						
Household Income (000s)(centered)	**-0.009**	0.002	**-0.015**	0.001	**-0.012**	0.001
Household Income ^2 (centered)	0.000	0.000	**0.000**	0.000	0.000	0.000
Both Partners HS Grad	0.029	0.034	-0.020	0.044	0.022	0.013
Both Partners, Some College	0.041	0.033	-0.042	0.042	0.017	0.013
Both Have College Degree	0.024	0.037	**-0.093**	0.042	-0.019	0.015
Both Have Graduate Degree	0.013	0.040	**-0.112**	0.043	**-0.058**	0.017
Minority Partner Education Greater	0.054	0.032	-0.056	0.042	0.013	0.012
Minority Partner Education Lower	0.029	0.032	-0.079	0.042	-0.001	0.012
Number in household (centered)	0.008	0.005	**0.025**	0.004	**0.005**	0.002
Married	-0.001	0.013	0.000	0.012	**-0.018**	0.007
Own Home	**-0.145**	0.013	**-0.165**	0.011	**-0.150**	0.007
English only household	-0.022	0.015	**-0.071**	0.008	**-0.045**	0.005
Minority Partner: poor English	0.055	0.084	**-0.054**	0.026	**-0.043**	0.014
Labor Force Variables						
One partner in school	0.018	0.017	**0.044**	0.011	0.006	0.007
Both partners in school	**0.083**	0.036	-0.016	0.023	0.028	0.015
Retired	-0.001	0.033	0.033	0.019	-0.003	0.013
Female partner works; has kids	**0.045**	0.022	**-0.057**	0.014	**-0.024**	0.009
Female partner works; no kids	**0.066**	0.019	**0.028**	0.012	**0.017**	0.008
Female partner not working; has kids	-0.006	0.025	**-0.111**	0.015	**-0.077**	0.010
Migration/Mobility Variables						
HH moved within MSA in last 5 yrs	0.023	0.013	**-0.044**	0.009	**-0.045**	0.005
HH moved to MSA in last 5 yrs	**-0.036**	0.017	**-0.092**	0.011	**-0.074**	0.009
Minority Partner Entered US in 70s	0.047	0.059	**0.029**	0.013	**0.034**	0.011
Minority Partner Entered US in 80s	0.097	0.055	**0.054**	0.014	**0.035**	0.011
Minority Partner Entered US in 90s	0.100	0.056	0.065	0.015	**0.034**	0.012
White Partner is Foreign Born	0.029	0.022	-0.012	0.026	**0.036**	0.013
Minority is Foreign Born	-0.012	0.047	0.003	0.013	0.005	0.008
Both Foreign Born	0.060	0.031	**0.063**	0.015	**0.075**	0.011
Veteran Status						
One or both partners in military	**0.161**	0.048	**0.156**	0.033	**0.183**	0.034
One or both partners previous military	**0.026**	0.012	**0.044**	0.009	**0.026**	0.005
Metropolitan Area						
Atlanta	**-0.342**	0.049	**-0.427**	0.050	**-0.392**	0.047
Chicago	**-0.298**	0.042	**-0.502**	0.036	**-0.557**	0.033
Dallas	**-0.086**	0.042	**-0.227**	0.041	**-0.270**	0.036
Detroit	**-0.736**	0.048	**-1.020**	0.047	**-1.070**	0.042
Houston	0.055	0.045	**-0.052**	0.045	**-0.108**	0.036
Los Angeles	**0.174**	0.034	**0.108**	0.029	**0.094**	0.029
Miami	0.071	0.045	-0.055	0.046	**-0.129**	0.039
New York	**-0.130**	0.036	**-0.440**	0.031	**-0.438**	0.030
Philadelphia	**-0.579**	0.041	**-0.877**	0.041	**-0.771**	0.038
San Diego	**0.145**	0.046	0.018	0.038	-0.012	0.036
San Francisco	**0.334**	0.038	**0.154**	0.031	**0.165**	0.032
Constant	**0.142**	0.049	**0.328**	0.053	**0.245**	0.032

Table 5: Model Fit Statistics.

Model (df)	ll (model)	AIC	Model Comparison (df)	χ^2	
White-Black couples (N=15,700)					
Entropy					
M1 (15)	-7,369.12	14,768.23	M2 vs. M1 (10)	10.47	
M2 (25)	-7,363.88	14,777.76	M3 vs. M1 (30)	55.17	***
M3 (45)	-7,341.53	14,773.06	M3 vs. M2 (20)	44.70	***
%White					
M1 (15)	-8,078.57	16,187.15	M2 vs. M1 (10)	64.99	***
M2 (25)	-8,046.08	16,142.16	M3 vs. M1 (30)	339.88	***
M3 (45)	-7,908.63	15,907.26	M3 vs. M2 (20)	274.89	***
%Black					
M1 (15)	-6,085.24	12,200.49	M2 vs. M1 (10)	100.30	***
M2 (25)	-6,035.09	12,120.18	M3 vs. M1 (30)	299.81	***
M3 (45)	-5,935.34	11,960.68	M3 vs. M2 (20)	199.50	***
White-Asian couples (N=32,338)					
Entropy					
M1 (33)	-15,073.78	30,213.57	M2 vs. M1 (10)	34.72	***
M2 (43)	-15,056.42	30,198.85	M3 vs. M1 (30)	212.12	***
M3 (63)	-14,967.72	30,061.45	M3 vs. M2 (20)	177.40	***
%White					
M1 (33)	-15,050.30	30,166.60	M2 vs. M1 (10)	92.96	***
M2 (43)	-15,003.82	30,093.64	M3 vs. M1 (30)	488.46	***
M3 (63)	-14,806.07	29,738.14	M3 vs. M2 (20)	395.50	***
%Asian					
M1 (33)	-9,068.54	18,203.08	M2 vs. M1 (10)	30.35	***
M2 (43)	-9,053.36	18,192.73	M3 vs. M1 (30)	59.34	***
M3 (63)	-9,038.87	18,203.74	M3 vs. M2 (20)	28.98	*
White-Latino/a couples (N=92,644)					
Entropy					
M1 (27)	-43,272.89	86,599.78	M2 vs. M1 (10)	39.02	***
M2 (37)	-43,253.38	86,580.76	M3 vs. M1 (30)	367.18	***
M3 (57)	-43,089.30	86,292.61	M3 vs. M2 (20)	328.16	***
%White					
M1 (27)	-44,131.51	88,317.01	M2 vs. M1 (10)	661.80	***
M2 (37)	-43,800.61	87,675.23	M3 vs. M1 (30)	2,264.74	***
M3 (57)	-42,999.14	86,112.28	M3 vs. M2 (20)	1,602.94	***
%Latino/a					
M1 (27)	-34,864.88	69,783.76	M2 vs. M1 (10)	607.06	***
M2 (37)	-34,561.35	69,196.70	M3 vs. M1 (30)	2,032.36	***
M3 (57)	-33,848.70	67,811.39	M3 vs. M2 (20)	1,425.30	***

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Figure 1: Neighborhood Exposure by Couple Type

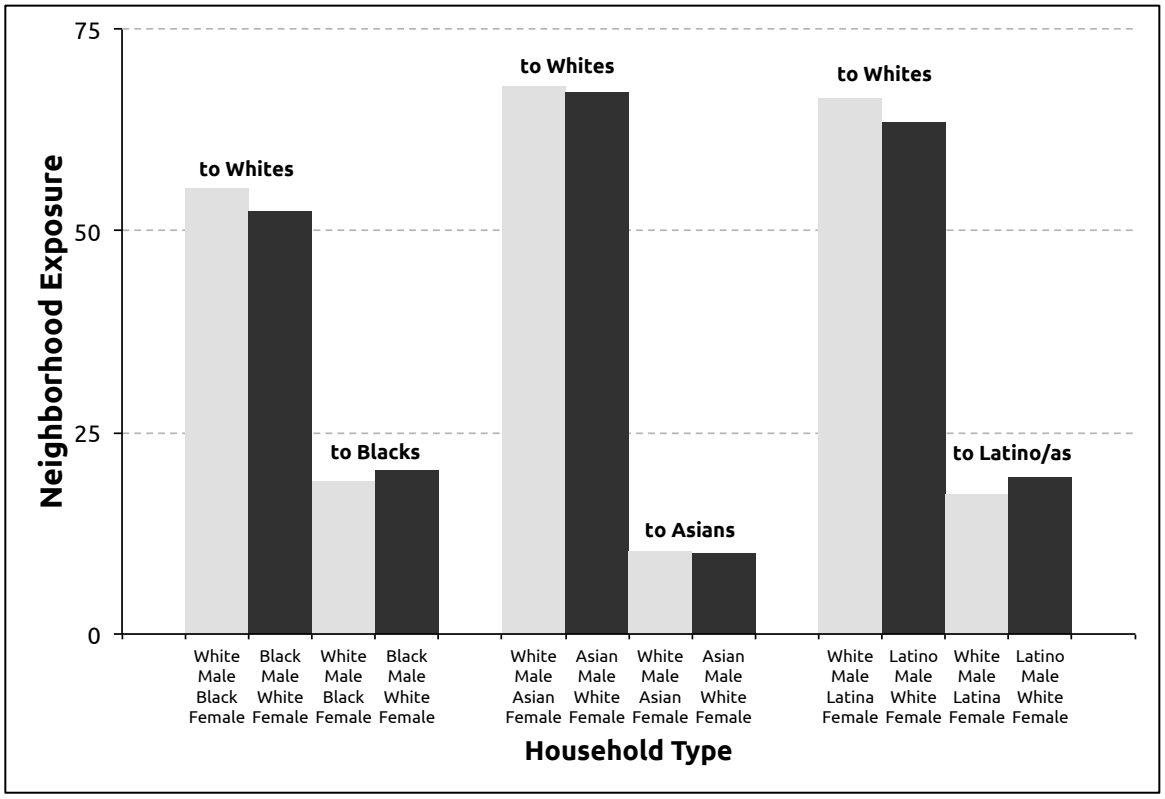

Figure 2A: White-Black Couple Neighborhood Exposure

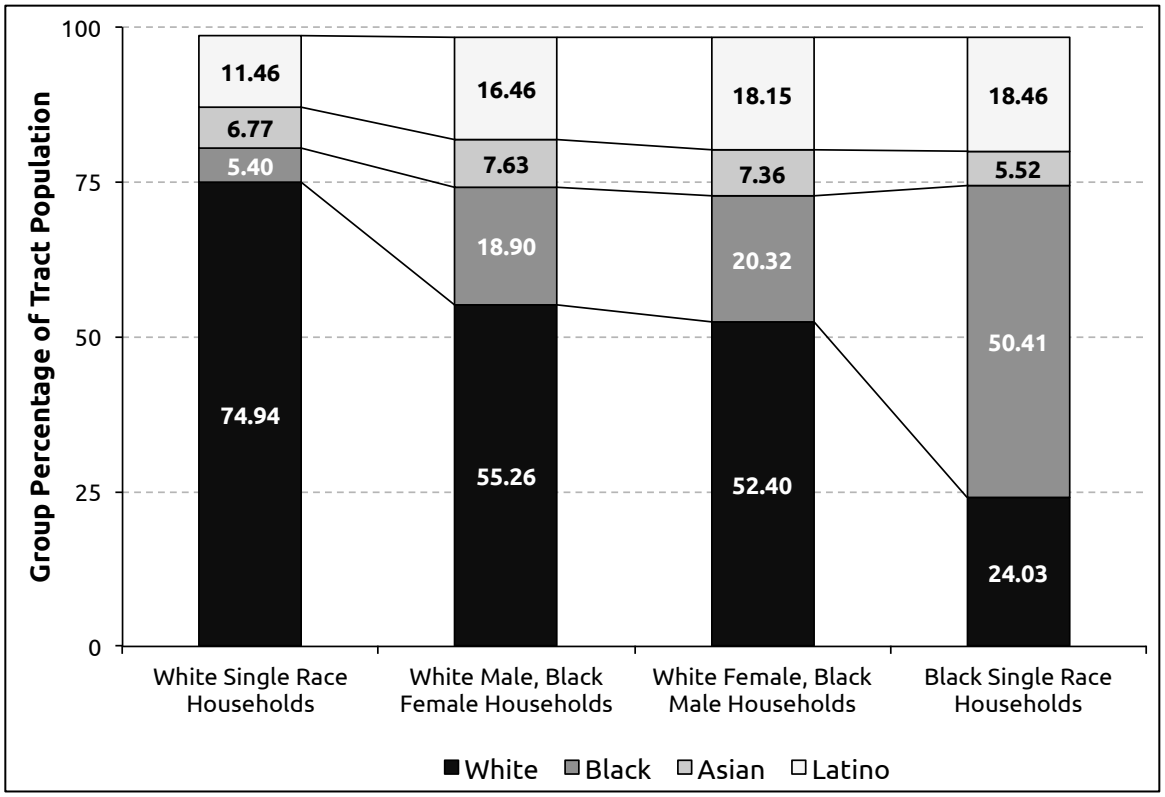

Figure 2B: White-Asian Couple Neighborhood Exposure

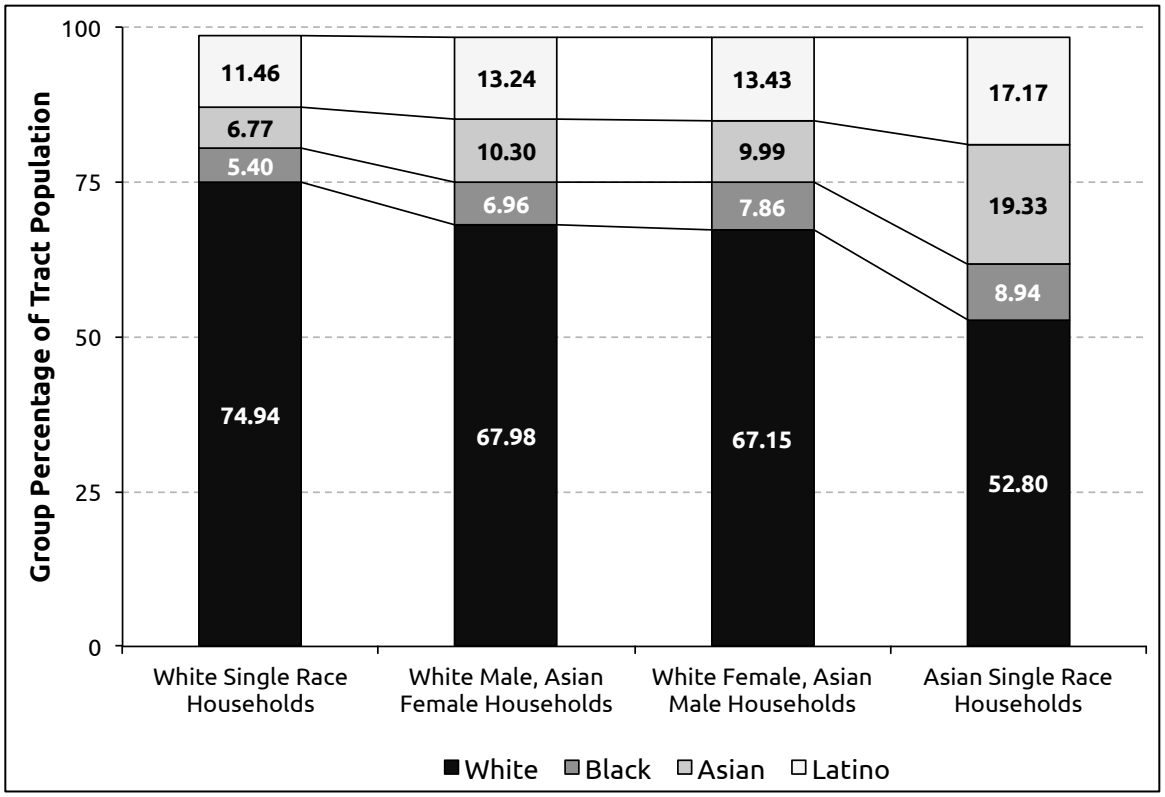

Figure 2C: White-Latino/a Couple Neighborhood Exposure

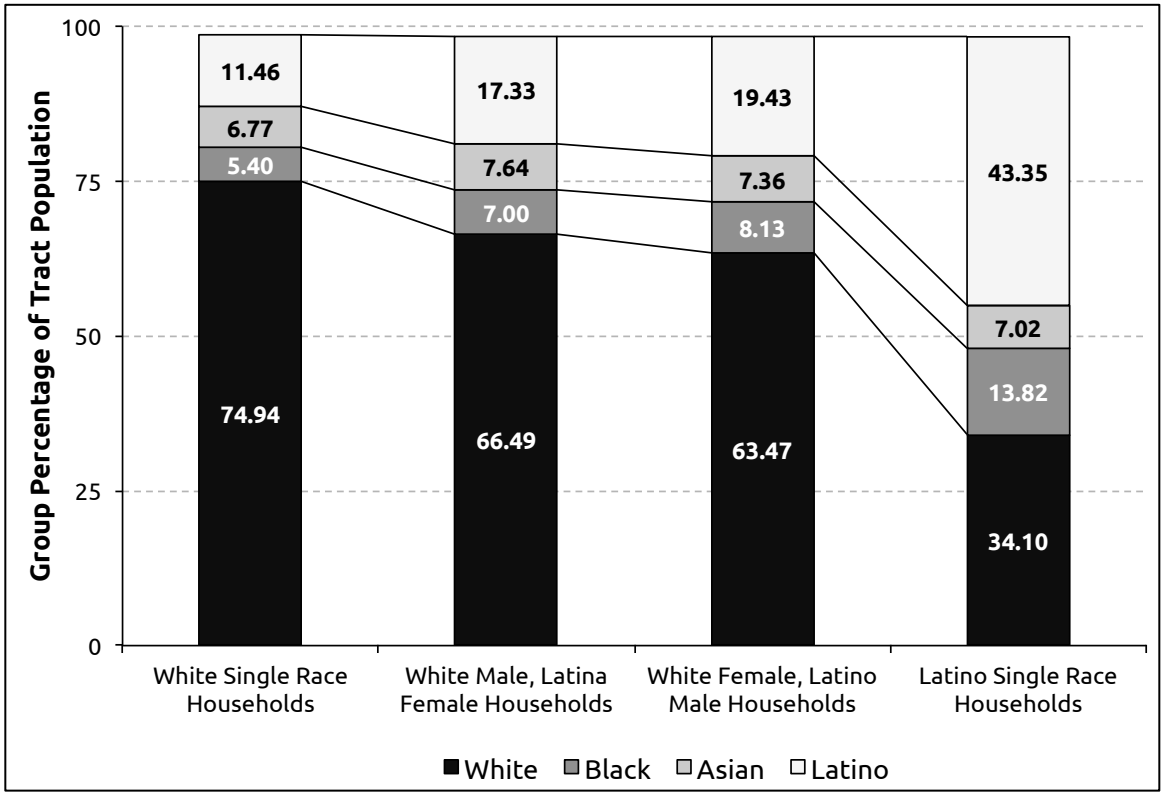

Figure 3: Exposure to Neighborhood Diversity