# Homeownership Rate Differences Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites 

Regional Variation at the County Level

# Homeownership Rate Differences Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites: <br> Regional Variation at the County Level 

## Empirical Studies

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## Executive Summary

Most studies have identified homeownership rate gaps between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites at the broad regional level that are in the range of 20-to-40 percent. The lower homeownership rates of Hispanic headed households compared to those headed by non-Hispanic whites have usually been explained by variables that include age structure, immigrant status and duration of residence in the U.S., country of origin and citizenship, income and wealth, and household type.

Because Hispanics are geographically concentrated both in specific markets and even in locations within specific metropolitan areas, a more accurate measure of homeownership rate gaps should be specific to those geographic areas where Hispanics live. Hispanic household heads are highly skewed toward younger ages relative to non-Hispanic whites, and since homeownership rates are higher for older households, gaps in total homeownership rates overstate the true age specific differences. On average, homeownership rate gaps for younger households are not as large as generally discussed. This paper focuses especially on homeownership rate gaps for young adults age 25 to 34 where movement into first-time homeownership typically takes place.

This study examines the 25 counties in each of the four Census Regions of the United States with the largest regional Hispanic population in 2000. The non-Hispanic white/ Hispanic homeownership rate gap for 25-34 year olds in this sample of 100 counties is examined against other economic and demographic differences between non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics in order to better understand the importance of these explanatory variables in accounting for homeownership rate gaps. The 25-34 age group is the focus of this study because it is the age range in which the largest cohort gain in homeownership typically takes place. Homeownership rate differences in older age groups, while important, could have emerged during earlier decades when social, demographic, economic and housing market conditions were very different from the 1990s. The goal is to better understand the reasons for homeownership rate gaps that are emerging today. Key findings are:

1) There are distinct regional differences in homeownership rate gaps, with much smaller gaps in the South, the West, and the largest gaps in the Northeast;
2) Homeownership gap patterns between noon-Hispanic whites and Hispanics are well established by the time a cohort reaches age 25-34;
3) The higher the average county homeownership rate for whites, the smaller the homeownership rate gap;
4) Hispanic owners spend a higher share of their income on housing, and the greater the Hispanic share spent, the greater the divergence from non-Hispanic whites' levels of spending;
5) The higher levels of new housing construction in the West and South appear to enable overall higher levels of Hispanic homeownership in these regions, but gaps in the owner occupancy of the newer stock are only weakly related to gaps in young adult homeownership, with the strongest relationships in the West and Northeast;
6) In three of the four Census regions there is close parity between whites and Hispanics in the share of owners living in single-family detached units - only in the Northeast is there a consistent pattern favoring whites, where the larger the gap in the share of owners in singlefamily detached units, the higher the homeownership rate gap for young adults;
7) There is a consistent pattern in the West and South between higher shares of foreign born Hispanics who are not citizens and higher homeownership rate gaps for young adults - while in the Midwest and the Northeast, where Puerto Ricans (not classified as immigrants) are a greater share of Hispanics, citizenship status of Hispanic immigrants explains little of the overall white/ Hispanic homeownership rate gap; and
8) Higher levels of marriage and childbearing of Hispanics, particularly in the South and West, undoubtedly help account for overall higher levels of homeownership of young adult Hispanic households, but it is only in the Midwest and Northeast where gaps in the share married with kids are positively related to the homeownership rate gap for young adults.

A major goal of this study is to identify specific counties that are outliers in the broad regional patterns that we examine. For example, if it can be shown that counties with high housing costs generally have a higher homeownership rate gap between 25-34 year old non-Hispanic white and Hispanic headed households, are there counties in the low range of housing costs for a region that still have high homeownership rate gaps? What other differences might account for the high homeownership rate gaps in these counties? Are there counties that consistently stand out as outliers where lower homeownership rate gaps might have been expected based on their scores on other variables? A series of charts plots the gaps in the homeownership rate for young adults (Y-axis) against various explanatory variables (X-axis). Counties that are above average for their homeownership gaps but average or below average for values on the explanatory variables are of particular interest. In the above example, counties with more affordable housing (by regional standards) but still exhibiting the largest homeownership rate gaps would be identified as potential candidates for improving Hispanic homeownership rates.

The focus in this paper is redirected from the many to the few, from high or low in absolute terms to high or low in relative terms, from values to rankings, and from uniqueness to redundancy. The paper has sought to move the debate away from one presently informed by standard multivariate analyses where the shape of the forest is more important than the location of the trees that define it. Here, the trees are the points of interest, and only the trees that appear a bit "out of line" at that.

After systematically demonstrating the nature of the relationships between homeownership rate gaps and values and gaps in explanatory variables, a concluding section selects five counties in each of the four regions that score high on homeownership rate gaps (top 10 out of 25) but lower on scores of variables typically used to explain homeownership gaps (bottom 15 out of 25). These 20 counties represent places where there are perhaps the best opportunities to improve homeownership opportunities for young Hispanics.

## Introduction

The lower homeownership rates of Hispanic headed households compared to those headed by nonHispanic whites have usually been explained by variables that include age structure, immigrant status and duration of residence in the U.S., country of origin and citizenship, income and wealth, and household type (Abt Associates, 2005). Most studies have identified homeownership rate gaps between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites at the broad regional level that are in the range of 20-to40 percent ${ }^{1}$.

Because Hispanics are geographically concentrated both in specific markets and even in locations within specific metropolitan areas, a more accurate measure of homeownership rate gaps should be specific to those geographic areas where Hispanics live. In addition, since Hispanic household heads are highly skewed toward younger ages relative to non-Hispanic whites, and homeownership rates are higher for older households, gaps in total homeownership rates overstate the true age specific differences. On average, homeownership rate gaps for younger households are not as large as generally discussed. This paper focuses especially on homeownership rate gaps for young adults age 25 to 34 where movement into first-time homeownership typically takes place.

Relatively little attention has been given to geographic variability in homeownership at the local level, particularly in identifying places where homeownership rate gaps are large or are small, especially by regional standards. This report is intended to identify locations where Hispanics appear to be particularly disadvantaged relative to regional benchmarks regarding homeownership.

This study represents a departure from previous studies in several important respects. First, the focus is primarily on 25-34 year old household heads, the ages at which the largest gains in homeownership typically take place. The paper shows how patterns of differences in home-ownership levels and gaps between non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics, once established at ages $25-34$, are reflected by older household heads as well.

Second, the paper focuses separately on each of the four Census Regions of the country. The West and the South each have substantially smaller average homeownership rate gaps for 25-34 year olds compared to the Midwest and Northeast ( 7.8 percent and 6.3 percent versus 17.9 percent and 23.9 percent respectively). The West and South are areas of strong household growth due to in-migration and younger age structures, while the Midwest and the Northeast have much lower rates of household growth and older age structures. Consequently, homeownership opportunities are made available for Hispanic families by both higher levels of new construction and by housing turnover in the West and South, while new construction is more limited and housing turnover plays a more important role in opening up new homeownership opportunities for Hispanics in the Midwest and Northeast. In theory, new construction can be better targeted to meet the demand from Hispanic households for particular

[^0]types, prices and even locations of owner housing, while turnover-supplied housing may or may not meet this new demand in as efficient or timely a manner.

Third, the concern is less about the strength of variables that explain homeownership gaps and more about identifying specific locations that depart from correlations in important ways. Selected as units of analysis are the 25 counties in each of the four census regions that have the largest Hispanic population according to the 2000 Census. These counties are passed through a series of filters to see which counties have high homeownership rate gaps while at the same time might be expected to have lower gaps according to the variable being explored. For example, it is well understood that Hispanics have lower incomes than non-Hispanic whites and consequently, in places where housing prices are high, Hispanics would be at a disadvantage in moving into homeownership compared to higher income non-Hispanics. But what about places where housing prices are moderate? Are there counties that are outliers - where housing is relatively affordable but where the homeownership gaps are still large? What are some of the other characteristics of such counties? Are there counties in each region of the country that stand out consistently across a wide range of comparisons as having larger than average homeownership rate gaps than might have been expected? Such counties are where efforts to promote homeownership gains among Hispanics might best be focused.

The report is divided into six major sections. After this Introduction, a brief Methodology Section describes the approach the analysis takes, which is somewhat unorthodox as the goal is to focus on specific counties within the broader statistical relationships examined. Following is a section describing in detail Hispanic and non-Hispanic white homeownership rate differences among the regions and counties. Two additional sections then analyze variables that are often related to homeownership rate gaps in the literature. The focus is first on economic variables (income, value as a measure of price, and cost as a percent of household income), and then on other housing and household variables (age of housing unit, structure type, citizenship status of foreign born Hispanics, and family structure of Hispanic household heads).

The counties that have been selected are listed in Appendix Tables 1a-1d. Here, the size of the Hispanic, non-Hispanic white and non-Hispanic other minority (residual) populations are given, as well as the number of total and owner households for these three race/Hispanic origin groupings. The relevant characteristics of the 100 selected counties can be summarized as follows:

## Hispanics are Geographically Concentrated

As a whole, the 25 selected counties are home to between two-thirds and three-quarters of all Hispanics living in each region, whereas the same counties include a much smaller regional share of non-Hispanic white regional residents (Table 1). At just over 80 percent, the Northeast has the highest share of its Hispanics resident in the 25 selected counties. The West has over three quarters of its Hispanic population concentrated in the 25 selected counties, and these 25 counties are home to fully 41 percent of non-Hispanic whites, the highest of all regions. The South is the most segregated when considering the proximity of Hispanics to non-Hispanic whites, with almost two thirds of Hispanics living in the top 25 Hispanic counties and only 17 percent of non-Hispanic whites resident in them. The Midwest is also home to two thirds of its Hispanic population and about 27 percent of
non-Hispanic whites in the region, a figure that is mid way between the non-Hispanic white shares in the Northeast and in the South.

Table 1
Regional Shares in the Selected 25 Counties

|  | Northeast | Midwest | South | West |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hispanic |  |  |  |  |
| Population | $82.2 \%$ | $67.0 \%$ | $64.7 \%$ | $77.7 \%$ |
| Households | $83.8 \%$ | $66.6 \%$ | $66.1 \%$ | $76.4 \%$ |
| Owners | $74.2 \%$ | $65.3 \%$ | $67.1 \%$ | $73.4 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Non-Hispanic White |  |  |  |  |
| Population | $36.0 \%$ | $26.7 \%$ | $17.0 \%$ | $45.9 \%$ |
| Households | $37.0 \%$ | $27.7 \%$ | $17.7 \%$ | $47.5 \%$ |
| Owners | $33.5 \%$ | $26.9 \%$ | $16.6 \%$ | $45.9 \%$ |

## Hispanic Household Heads are Younger

About 60 percent of all Hispanic household heads in the selected counties are under the age of 45, whereas about 60 percent of non-Hispanic white heads are over the age of 45 (Table 2). There is not much difference in this pattern across the four regions, with the Midwest being only slightly younger for both Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites.

Table 2
Share of Selected 25 County Households by Race in Each Age Group

|  | Northeast | Midwest | South | West |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Hispanic |  |  |  |  |
| All Ages | $100.0 \%$ | $100.0 \%$ | $100.0 \%$ | $100.0 \%$ |
| $<25$ | $6.7 \%$ | $10.0 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $7.7 \%$ |
| $25-34$ | $25.1 \%$ | $31.2 \%$ | $24.9 \%$ | $28.3 \%$ |
| $35-44$ | $26.9 \%$ | $27.1 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ | $28.4 \%$ |
| $45-54$ | $19.1 \%$ | $16.7 \%$ | $18.0 \%$ | $17.6 \%$ |
| $55-64$ | $11.7 \%$ | $8.1 \%$ | $10.6 \%$ | $8.9 \%$ |
| $65+$ | $10.4 \%$ | $6.9 \%$ | $12.7 \%$ | $9.0 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Non-Hispanic White |  |  |  |  |
| All Ages | $100.0 \%$ | $100.0 \%$ | $100.0 \%$ | $100.0 \%$ |
| $<25$ | $2.8 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ | $4.6 \%$ | $3.8 \%$ |
| $25-34$ | $15.2 \%$ | $17.4 \%$ | $16.2 \%$ | $15.3 \%$ |
| $35-44$ | $21.1 \%$ | $22.6 \%$ | $22.4 \%$ | $21.9 \%$ |
| $45-54$ | $20.1 \%$ | $20.5 \%$ | $20.8 \%$ | $20.8 \%$ |
| $55-64$ | $14.2 \%$ | $13.1 \%$ | $13.6 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ |

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## Homeownership Rate Gaps are Lowest Among Younger Age Groups

The gaps between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white homeownership rates are smallest in the youngest age groups. There are important regional differences in this pattern, with Hispanic homeownership rate levels in the Northeast being significantly lower and the gaps significantly higher compared to the other regions (Table 3). Homeownership rate gaps across all age groups in the South and West are rarely above 15 percentage points.

Table 3
Average 25 County Homeownership Rates by Age of Head

|  | Northeast | Midwest | South | West |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hispanic |  |  |  |  |
| All Ages | $22.2 \%$ | $47.2 \%$ | $54.0 \%$ | $45.1 \%$ |
| $<25$ | $7.4 \%$ | $15.7 \%$ | $17.6 \%$ | $14.7 \%$ |
| $25-34$ | $15.7 \%$ | $36.0 \%$ | $39.3 \%$ | $30.9 \%$ |
| $35-44$ | $24.2 \%$ | $53.9 \%$ | $57.0 \%$ | $47.2 \%$ |
| $45-54$ | $27.8 \%$ | $61.9 \%$ | $65.1 \%$ | $56.9 \%$ |
| $55-64$ | $29.0 \%$ | $63.7 \%$ | $71.5 \%$ | $64.0 \%$ |
| $65+$ | $24.1 \%$ | $63.1 \%$ | $68.4 \%$ | $67.0 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Non-Hispanic White |  |  |  |  |
| All Ages | $63.8 \%$ | $72.4 \%$ | $70.3 \%$ | $65.3 \%$ |
| $<25$ | $12.3 \%$ | $17.5 \%$ | $13.7 \%$ | $13.4 \%$ |
| $25-34$ | $39.6 \%$ | $53.9 \%$ | $45.6 \%$ | $38.8 \%$ |
| $35-44$ | $65.5 \%$ | $76.0 \%$ | $70.6 \%$ | $62.4 \%$ |
| $45-54$ | $72.8 \%$ | $81.6 \%$ | $78.4 \%$ | $72.2 \%$ |
| $55-64$ | $75.1 \%$ | $84.1 \%$ | $83.5 \%$ | $78.8 \%$ |
| $65+$ | $68.9 \%$ | $78.6 \%$ | $83.9 \%$ | $79.1 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Gap |  |  |  |  |
| All Ages | $41.7 \%$ | $25.2 \%$ | $16.3 \%$ | $20.2 \%$ |
| $<25$ | $4.9 \%$ | $1.8 \%$ | $-3.8 \%$ | $-1.3 \%$ |
| $25-34$ | $23.9 \%$ | $17.9 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $7.8 \%$ |
| $35-44$ | $41.3 \%$ | $22.2 \%$ | $13.6 \%$ | $15.2 \%$ |
| $45-54$ | $45.0 \%$ | $19.7 \%$ | $13.3 \%$ | $15.3 \%$ |
| $55-64$ | $46.1 \%$ | $20.4 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ | $14.7 \%$ |
| $65+$ | $44.8 \%$ | $15.5 \%$ | $15.4 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ |

## Hispanic Share of All Owners in Younger Age Groups is Significant

Especially in the South and West, the combination of a high share of Hispanic household heads being in younger age groups and the smaller homeownership rate gaps in these regions, results in a significant share of younger owner households being Hispanic. Over 30 percent of all owner households in the selected counties in the South and West with heads under age 35 are Hispanic (Table 4). Low Hispanic presence outside of the 25 selected counties in each region can be seen in the low shares of owner households that are Hispanic, although in the West in particular, Hispanic owner presence outside the 25 selected counties for the two youngest age groups is not insignificant.

Table 4
Share of Selected 25 County Homeowners that are Hispanic

|  | Northeast | Midwest | South | West |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All Ages | 5.8\% | 4.7\% | 21.1\% | 18.0\% |
| <25 | 16.5\% | 12.7\% | 40.2\% | 39.1\% |
| 25-34 | 10.0\% | 8.3\% | 30.0\% | 30.5\% |
| 35-44 | 7.5\% | 6.0\% | 23.8\% | 22.8\% |
| 45-54 | 5.9\% | 4.4\% | 19.5\% | 17.2\% |
| 55-64 | 5.3\% | 3.3\% | 18.9\% | 13.9\% |
| 65+ | 2.5\% | 1.9\% | 15.2\% | 10.0\% |
| Share of Remainder of Region Owners that are Hispanic |  |  |  |  |
|  | Northeast | Midwest | South | West |
| All Ages | 1.2\% | 1.1\% | 2.7\% | 7.0\% |
| <25 | 3.4\% | 3.0\% | 6.0\% | 16.3\% |
| 25-34 | 2.2\% | 2.0\% | 4.6\% | 12.0\% |
| 35-44 | 1.7\% | 1.4\% | 3.6\% | 8.7\% |
| 45-54 | 1.2\% | 1.0\% | 2.6\% | 6.3\% |
| 55-64 | 1.0\% | 0.8\% | 2.0\% | 5.4\% |
| 65+ | 0.5\% | 0.5\% | 1.5\% | 4.3\% |

## Methodology

Data are from various Summary File Tables of the 2000 Census. The analysis of non-Hispanic white/Hispanic homeownership rate gaps relies heavily upon a series of two types of charts that describe the variation among counties on a number of measures. The first type plots Hispanic values on the X-axis against values for non-Hispanic whites on the Y-axis. A 45-degree diagonal line bisects these charts, defining the points at which whites ${ }^{2}$ and Hispanics are equal on the variable being plotted. Points that fall below this line are counties where the Hispanic values exceed the nonHispanic white values. Points above the diagonal are counties where the white values exceed the

[^1]Hispanic. Also included on the chart is a shorter, darker line representing the line of best fit describing the relationship between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white values for the region. The distances between the lines of best fit and the 45-degree diagonals describe the average degree to which whites exceed Hispanics if the line is above the diagonal, and the reverse if the line is below the diagonal. The angle between the line of best fit and the diagonal describes whether the values are becoming more equal the higher the value of the variable being plotted (the two lines converge), less equal (the two lines diverge), or whether the inequality is preserved across all values (the two lines are parallel). The purpose of this analysis is to further describe the variability between non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics on key variables typically used to explain homeownership rate differences, and to identify counties that are outliers from the lines of best fit.

The second type of chart plots the Hispanic values or the gap in values between Hispanics and whites for a particular variable against the homeownership rate gap for 25-34 year old Hispanic household heads. These charts are each accompanied by a set of tables containing the plotted data that rank the counties on the X -axis variable. The purpose of this analysis is to link more directly the explanatory variables, one at a time, to observed homeownership rate gaps. As will be seen, the relationships between explanatory variables and homeownership gaps are generally weak. But our incentive is to identify outliers from the relationship, however strong, that might be candidates for focused efforts at improving Hispanic homeownership opportunities.

## Regional Variation in Homeownership Rates

This section begins with a series of charts that plot the homeownership rates for Hispanics (X-axis) against non-Hispanic whites (Y-axis) for the 25 counties with the highest percentage Hispanic population in each of the four census regions for four age groups of household heads (less than 25, $25-34,35-44$, and 45-54). Homeownership rate comparisons for household heads age 55 and older are not presented because of the relatively small numbers of Hispanic owners in many of the counties in our sample in the oldest age groups. The data for the West are presented first (upper left quadrant) because they generally reveal the smallest differences between Hispanics and whites in homeownership rates, and serve as a benchmark to gauge variability in the other three regions. Following the West are the charts for the South (upper right quadrant), then the Midwest (lower left quadrant), and lastly the Northeast (lower right quadrant). This format is followed by both the charts and by the tables that accompany them. As we shall see, the Northeast is consistently unique in several important respects.

Homeownership rates for heads under the age of 25 generally range from between 5 percent and 30 percent across all regions. The homeownership rate gaps for owners under the age of 25 are negative for a majority of the 25 selected counties the West and South regions (below the diagonal), meaning that Hispanic rates are higher than non-Hispanic white rates, with Hispanic rates for this youngest age group exceeding those for whites in 16 counties in the West and in 19 counties in the South (Figures 1a and 2a). Higher Hispanic ownership among the youngest adults is likely due to the earlier age at family formation of Hispanic men and women. In the Midwest and Northeast, however, the data points are above the diagonal meaning whites overwhelmingly have higher homeownership rates than

Hispanics in this youngest age group (Figures 3a and 4a). This indicates that there is more than just the timing of family formation at play when explaining homeownership rate gaps under age 25.

It is not until the 25-34 age group (Figures 1b-4b), where homeownership rates average about 40 percent for Hispanic households and 50 percent for non-Hispanic white households, that the majority of counties fall above the diagonal where white homeownership exceeds Hispanic. By age 25-34, the basic pattern of levels and gaps has been determined for each region, and outliers can be identified. There is little departure in the basic regional patterns for $35-44$ and $45-54$ year olds from the pattern observed for 25-34 year old households. For 25-34 year old owners, some of the outlying counties that will reappear as outliers as the analysis proceeds are labeled in Figures 1b-4b..

Within each region and within each age group, except in the Northeast, the higher the level of homeownership, the smaller the gap. This fact is represented in Figures 1-4 by the lines of best-fit leaning toward the diagonals as the charts are read from lower to higher Hispanic homeownership levels (left to right) - as Hispanic rates rise, the line of best-fit leans toward the diagonal line representing parity in rates. Among 25-34 year olds in the West, the line of best fit and the diagonal are almost identical indicating parity in rates. In the Northeast, for both the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups of owners, the large average gap is maintained across all levels of homeownership.

Even by age 45-54, the Northeast's homeownership gaps between Hispanics and whites have barely begun to close for the higher homeownership counties. This persistence of a large homeownership rate gap across all age groups and across all 25 Northeast counties that have very different ownership opportunities suggests that perhaps the Northeast needs to be thought of differently when addressing what is necessary to narrow the Hispanic/ non-Hispanic white homeownership gaps in the U.S. as a whole.

Finally, Figures 1-4 reveal that the regions differ in how one might characterize the variability in homeownership levels and gaps within each region. The West shows both the smallest average gaps (with the lines of best-fit most closely following the diagonals), and the least divergence among the 25 selected counties from the lines of best fit (counties cluster closely around lines of best-fit). This latter generalization is particularly true for the $35-44$ and $45-54$ age groups of owners. The South, while showing a strong tendency for higher homeownership counties to have the smallest or the most negative gaps, the variability around the lines of best fit is much higher than in the West. The Midwest falls between the West and the South on the range of variability in homeownership levels from low to high, and has consistently larger gaps than both the West and the South. The Northeast has the largest homeownership gaps favoring whites for all age groups at all homeownership rate levels. There is a fairly high goodness of fit among the counties in the Northeast around the trend line, but this is somewhat misleading because the range of homeownership rates from low to high is so large. Furthermore, there are three distinct clusters of counties in the low, medium and high Hispanic ownership rate positions, with each cluster having a weak relationship between the two race/Hispanic origin populations (see Figure 4c).

Hispanic vs White Home Ownership Rates
West: Owners Age Less than 25


Hispanic vs White Home Ownership Rates
West: Owners Age 25-34




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Figures 5a-5d plot the actual homeownership rate gaps between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites for two successive age groups, 25-34 year old owner heads on the X-axis and 35-44 year old owner heads on the Y-axis. Here, the diagonal line demarcates whether the gaps are larger in the older age group (points above the diagonal) or smaller (below the diagonal). In the vast majority of the 100 counties in our sample the gaps are larger for the $35-44$ year olds than for the $25-34$ year olds, except for eight counties in the Midwest where the 35-44 gap is lower than the 25-34 gap, and two counties in the South and one in the Northeast where the gap is nearly identical for both age groups. This increase in the gaps between the two age groups can be explained in at least two ways: 1 ) the homeownership gains for whites tend to exceed those for Hispanics as cohorts aged from 25-34 to 3544, or, alternatively; 2) younger cohorts of Hispanics have been better at moving into homeownership at this critical stage in the life course more on a par with whites than the cohorts that preceded them in the age structure 10 years or more earlier. The first explanation might focus on such things as longterm differences between whites and Hispanics in education, income gains, and occupational mobility as a cohort ages from 25-34 to 35-44. The second explanation might focus on things such as the changes in mortgage lending or homeownership opportunities that emerged for minorities in the 1990s when 25-34 year old Hispanics entered the housing market. The first kind of argument implies that the growing gaps over the life course are likely to persist. The second explanation could mean that the pattern of gaps for today's 25-34 year olds will carry over to when the same cohorts are 35-44 years old in ten years. Probably some of both sets of explanatory factors are at play.

Figure 5a confirms that the West has the lowest homeownership gaps among all regions with all counties showing gaps of less than 20 percent for $25-34$ year olds and all but two counties showing the same for 35-44 year olds. This contrasts with the pattern in the Northeast where the vast majority of 25-34 year old gaps are above 20 percentage points and only two counties for $35-44$ year olds are below this number. A large number of counties in the Northeast have gaps that exceeded 30 percent for 25-34 year olds and 40 percent for 35-44 year olds (Figure 5d).

Figure 5 b confirms that the South has the largest range of homeownership rate gaps because of a few counties with extreme values (both negative and positive), but the bulk of the 25 counties in the South have gap levels that are only slightly larger than those in the West. The Midwest gaps plotted in Figure 5c cluster almost as tightly as in the West, but at values that are about 10 percentage points higher on average. The Midwest is also somewhat unique in that about a third of the 25 counties display gaps for the $35-44$ year old owners that are smaller than the gaps for the $25-34$ year olds. The Northeast, in addition to having the largest average homeownership gaps of all four regions, has the largest average difference in gaps between the two successive age groups (Figure 5d).





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## Income, Housing Values, and Housing Costs

Key variables affecting the white/Hispanic homeownership rate gap for young adults are economic, and the analysis begins with charts that focus on median income, the share of $25-34$ year old heads earning $\$ 40,000$ or more, house value (as a proxy for price), and owner cost burdens (median monthly owner costs as a percent of income). With very few exceptions, it is indeed the case that median household income for non-Hispanic white households exceeds that for Hispanic households across all four regions (Figures 6a-6d). The income gap remains consistent at all income levels as the line of best fit roughly parallels the diagonal line of equal incomes.

To examine the relationship between the gaps in income and the gaps in the $25-34$ year old homeownership rates, Figures 7a-7b plot the gaps in the share of each group of $25-34$ year olds earning $\$ 40,000$ or more against the $25-34$ year old homeownership rate gap. The motivation is to examine whether there is a strong advantage for whites in household income among those for which incomes are probably sufficient to move households into some form of homeownership. The $\$ 40,000$ figure is above the median income of Hispanic households in all four regions, which falls in the mid$\$ 35,000$ range in the 2000 census data.

Figures 7a and 7d show that there is a weak positive relationship in both the West and the Northeast between the upper income gap and the homeownership rate gap for 25-34 year olds. Several counties that we have identified as outliers having high homeownership rate gaps by regional standards, namely Maricopa, AZ, Fresno, CA and Orange, CA in the West and Worcester, MA, Hartford, CT and Hampden, MA in the Northeast, all have larger advantages on the income side for young adult non-Hispanic whites. Other counties including Clark, NV and San Mateo, CA in the West and Suffolk, NY and Bergen, NJ in the Northeast have less of an income advantage for whites but still have high homeownership gaps by regional standards.

The South and the Midwest, on the other hand, show only a weak relationship between the gap in share of above average income households and the homeownership rate gap for young adults. While Fort Bend, TX has a high income gap, several Southern counties with higher homeownership rate gaps have much lower income gaps, including Gwinnett and DeKalb, GA, Denton, TX and Prince George's, MD. Other Southern counties with negative homeownership rate gaps span the range in the upper income gap, from Cameron, TX with the highest income gap to Webb, TX with one of the lowest income gaps, showing that other circumstances can trump income disparities when determining relative homeownership rates. In the Midwest the range of variation in the income gap is quite small with all counties falling well within the 10 percent- 30 percent range. At the upper end of this range are Johnson, KS, Hennepin, MN and Lorain, OH, all previously identified as outliers with high homeownership rate gaps. But Marion, IN, McHenry, IL and Kent, MI, also with high homeownership rate gaps, are in the bottom half of Midwestern counties on the gap in the share of $25-34$ year old households with annual income of at least $\$ 40 \mathrm{k}$.

The bottom line is that the simple relationship between the income gap and the homeownership rate gap for younger households is only a weak one, and might only be a defining influence in relatively few counties. In most counties, it is more likely that other factors such as the availability of affordable housing alternatives come more into play.

One might hypothesize that counties with higher housing prices should have the largest homeownership gaps, with price acting as a factor to keep Hispanics from purchasing homes. Figures 8a-8d plot the median value of Hispanic owner occupied housing against the median value for nonHispanic whites. Clearly, Hispanics are living in lower valued units in all four regions. Note that the value scale for the West is twice as large as for the other regions. If the West's value scale were adjusted to make $\$ 300,000$ also the maximum, all of the labeled counties for the West would disappear off the chart. In the West in particular, the higher the value the greater the gap between Hispanic and white median values, although this is slightly true in all regions.

However, when median value of all owner housing is plotted against the homeownership gap for 2534 year olds, again the relationship is generally a weak one (Figures 9a-9d). There are many examples in all four regions of large homeownership rate gaps with high housing values and large gaps with low housing values. In the West, the relatively high ownership rate gap in San Mateo County would need to overcome a high price barrier before Hispanic homeownership rates could be raised. But in Clark, NV, Maricopa, AZ, and Fresno, CA, price is less of an obstacle. In San Mateo, CA it is probably unlikely that a home will ever come on the market at the median price of homes in Maricopa, AZ and Clark, NV.





Homeownership Rate Differences Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites:
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Table 5a

| West | Age 25-34 HO Gap | Share Households with a non-Hispanic White Alone householder who is $\mathbf{2 5}$ to 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Share Households with a Hispanic or Latino householder who is 25 to 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Age 25-34 Income Gap |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Maricopa County, Arizona | 14.8\% | 64.8\% | 37.5\% | 27.3\% |
| Los Angeles County, California | 3.9\% | 63.8\% | 37.6\% | 26.2\% |
| Fresno County, California | 11.5\% | 53.1\% | 28.2\% | 24.9\% |
| Tulare County, California | 8.1\% | 50.6\% | 26.3\% | 24.3\% |
| Orange County, California | 15.6\% | 76.2\% | 52.1\% | 24.0\% |
| San Diego County, California | 8.2\% | 63.1\% | 39.5\% | 23.6\% |
| Dona Ana County, New Mexico | -12.0\% | 44.3\% | 21.0\% | 23.3\% |
| Kern County, California | 4.8\% | 50.0\% | 28.0\% | 22.0\% |
| Santa Barbara County, California | 4.8\% | 61.9\% | 40.0\% | 21.9\% |
| Denver County, Colorado | 3.1\% | 59.7\% | 38.6\% | 21.1\% |
| Ventura County, California | 12.7\% | 75.3\% | 54.6\% | 20.7\% |
| San Joaquin County, California | 10.4\% | 60.9\% | 40.2\% | 20.6\% |
| Riverside County, California | 6.8\% | 63.4\% | 43.5\% | 19.9\% |
| Contra Costa County, California | 8.3\% | 77.8\% | 58.5\% | 19.3\% |
| Monterey County, California | -4.1\% | 63.9\% | 45.4\% | 18.5\% |
| San Mateo County, California | 12.9\% | 83.3\% | 65.0\% | 18.3\% |
| Santa Clara County, California | 7.5\% | 83.9\% | 66.0\% | 17.9\% |
| Clark County, Nevada | 10.7\% | 64.1\% | 46.9\% | 17.2\% |
| San Francisco County, California | -0.5\% | 80.6\% | 63.5\% | 17.2\% |
| San Bernardino County, California | -0.7\% | 57.4\% | 43.7\% | 13.7\% |
| Sacramento County, California | 3.7\% | 57.5\% | 43.9\% | 13.6\% |
| Pima County, Arizona | 1.0\% | 45.1\% | 31.9\% | 13.2\% |
| Stanislaus County, California | 4.3\% | 55.3\% | 42.2\% | 13.1\% |
| Bernalillo County, New Mexico | -5.2\% | 48.6\% | 36.3\% | 12.4\% |
| Alameda County, California | 5.5\% | 72.4\% | 60.6\% | 11.9\% |

Table 5b

| South | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Households with a non-Hispanic White Alone householder who is 25 to 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Share Households with a Hispanic or Latino householder who is 25 to 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Age 25-34 <br> Income Gap |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cameron County, Texas | -0.7\% | 63.1\% | 21.9\% | 41.2\% |
| Hidalgo County, Texas | -11.5\% | 55.4\% | 22.5\% | 32.9\% |
| Fort Bend County, Texas | 10.2\% | 80.8\% | 48.8\% | 32.0\% |
| Harris County, Texas | 9.4\% | 65.7\% | 34.4\% | 31.3\% |
| Dallas County, Texas | 8.1\% | 65.6\% | 37.3\% | 28.2\% |
| El Paso County, Texas | -11.9\% | 52.2\% | 27.2\% | 25.0\% |
| Bexar County, Texas | 1.8\% | 56.8\% | 33.4\% | 23.4\% |
| Tarrant County, Texas | 8.4\% | 61.1\% | 38.7\% | 22.4\% |
| Brazoria County, Texas | 7.8\% | 64.9\% | 43.0\% | 21.9\% |
| Nueces County, Texas | 4.3\% | 51.6\% | 31.1\% | 20.5\% |
| Palm Beach County, Florida | 13.5\% | 64.5\% | 44.2\% | 20.4\% |
| Denton County, Texas | 14.4\% | 69.8\% | 49.5\% | 20.3\% |
| Fairfax County, Virginia | 13.3\% | 84.7\% | 64.5\% | 20.2\% |
| Orange County, Florida | 7.6\% | 61.1\% | 41.1\% | 20.0\% |
| Gwinnett County, Georgia | 26.9\% | 75.4\% | 55.7\% | 19.6\% |
| DeKalb County, Georgia | 29.9\% | 73.8\% | 54.3\% | 19.5\% |
| Hillsborough County, Florida | 8.1\% | 58.5\% | 39.4\% | 19.2\% |
| Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | 11.4\% | 44.0\% | 25.1\% | 18.9\% |
| Montgomery County, Maryland | 12.8\% | 80.5\% | 63.8\% | 16.7\% |
| Travis County, Texas | 6.5\% | 61.9\% | 46.2\% | 15.7\% |
| Lubbock County, Texas | 7.6\% | 44.6\% | 29.2\% | 15.5\% |
| Webb County, Texas | -15.0\% | 43.8\% | 29.2\% | 14.6\% |
| Miami-Dade County, Florida | -3.0\% | 60.5\% | 46.0\% | 14.4\% |
| Prince George's County, Maryland | 18.3\% | 66.5\% | 52.4\% | 14.0\% |

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Table 5c

| Midwest | $\begin{gathered} \text { Age } 25-34 \\ \text { HO Gap } \end{gathered}$ | Share Households with a non-Hispanic White Alone householder who is 25 to <br> 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Share Households with a Hispanic or Latino householder who is 25 to 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Age 25-34 <br> Income Gap |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Kane County, Illinois | 17.2\% | 78.6\% | 51.6\% | 27.0\% |
| Lake County, Illinois | 19.7\% | 78.1\% | 52.0\% | 26.0\% |
| Sedgwick County, Kansas | 20.0\% | 56.7\% | 31.6\% | 25.1\% |
| Cuyahoga County, Ohio | 16.2\% | 59.7\% | 34.9\% | 24.8\% |
| Hennepin County, Minnesota | 28.8\% | 68.1\% | 43.8\% | 24.3\% |
| Milwaukee County, Wisconsin | 16.1\% | 59.2\% | 35.1\% | 24.1\% |
| Lorain County, Ohio | 26.1\% | 62.5\% | 38.8\% | 23.7\% |
| Cook County, Illinois | 10.6\% | 70.3\% | 46.8\% | 23.5\% |
| Lake County, Indiana | 15.4\% | 65.8\% | 43.9\% | 21.9\% |
| Jackson County, Missouri | 16.4\% | 57.3\% | 35.6\% | 21.7\% |
| Johnson County, Kansas | 31.5\% | 73.2\% | 52.3\% | 21.0\% |
| Oakland County, Michigan | 23.5\% | 73.3\% | 53.0\% | 20.3\% |
| Kent County, Michigan | 26.0\% | 62.6\% | 42.6\% | 20.0\% |
| Franklin County, Ohio | 25.6\% | 60.4\% | 40.9\% | 19.5\% |
| Ramsey County, Minnesota | 22.4\% | 60.2\% | 41.1\% | 19.1\% |
| Wayne County, Michigan | 22.0\% | 66.5\% | 47.5\% | 19.0\% |
| Lucas County, Ohio | 15.1\% | 53.9\% | 35.0\% | 18.9\% |
| McHenry County, Illinois | 29.0\% | 79.5\% | 62.1\% | 17.4\% |
| Winnebago County, Illinois | 9.3\% | 59.4\% | 42.2\% | 17.2\% |
| DuPage County, Illinois | 20.3\% | 80.4\% | 63.8\% | 16.7\% |
| Will County, Illinois | 16.3\% | 81.0\% | 65.6\% | 15.4\% |
| Marion County, Indiana | 29.0\% | 58.2\% | 43.3\% | 14.9\% |
| Finney County, Kansas | -9.9\% | 45.8\% | 31.3\% | 14.5\% |
| Douglas County, Nebraska | 16.6\% | 58.2\% | 44.4\% | 13.8\% |
| Wyandotte County, Kansas | 10.6\% | 49.2\% | 36.5\% | 12.7\% |

Table 5d

| Northeast | $\begin{gathered} \text { Age } 25-34 \\ \text { HO Gap } \end{gathered}$ | Share Households with a non-Hispanic White Alone householder who is 25 to 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Share Households with a Hispanic or Latino householder who is 25 to 34 years; earning \$40;000+ | Age 25-34 <br> Income Gap |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hampden County, Massachusetts | 33.3\% | 59.9\% | 20.3\% | 39.5\% |
| New York County, New York | 10.2\% | 77.6\% | 38.5\% | 39.1\% |
| Essex County, Massachusetts | 29.5\% | 70.6\% | 32.9\% | 37.7\% |
| Hartford County, Connecticut | 33.9\% | 71.4\% | 34.1\% | 37.3\% |
| Suffolk County, Massachusetts | 10.4\% | 71.0\% | 36.6\% | 34.5\% |
| Camden County, New Jersey | 24.8\% | 70.1\% | 36.4\% | 33.8\% |
| Passaic County, New Jersey | 33.3\% | 77.0\% | 44.3\% | 32.6\% |
| Essex County, New Jersey | 26.2\% | 75.9\% | 43.7\% | 32.2\% |
| Providence County, Rhode Island | 24.9\% | 55.9\% | 23.8\% | 32.1\% |
| New Haven County, Connecticut | 29.0\% | 67.3\% | 35.3\% | 32.0\% |
| Bronx County, New York | 13.4\% | 59.7\% | 27.8\% | 31.9\% |
| Westchester County, New York | 29.8\% | 78.4\% | 46.6\% | 31.9\% |
| Fairfield County, Connecticut | 32.8\% | 81.8\% | 50.1\% | 31.7\% |
| Worcester County, Massachusetts | 34.3\% | 65.2\% | 33.5\% | 31.7\% |
| Hudson County, New Jersey | 9.6\% | 73.6\% | 45.8\% | 27.8\% |
| Union County, New Jersey | 28.3\% | 80.0\% | 53.1\% | 26.9\% |
| Richmond County, New York | 22.9\% | 76.0\% | 49.2\% | 26.8\% |
| Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania | -2.5\% | 53.3\% | 27.0\% | 26.3\% |
| Middlesex County, Massachusetts | 22.0\% | 76.0\% | 50.3\% | 25.7\% |
| Nassau County, New York | 31.2\% | 84.5\% | 58.8\% | 25.7\% |
| Kings County, New York | 10.0\% | 58.4\% | 33.4\% | 25.0\% |
| Middlesex County, New Jersey | 23.8\% | 76.2\% | 55.3\% | 20.9\% |
| Suffolk County, New York | 21.0\% | 80.6\% | 63.4\% | 17.1\% |
| Queens County, New York | 9.8\% | 64.8\% | 49.5\% | 15.3\% |

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In the South, housing is more affordable across a wider range of its counties with high Hispanic presence; yet still certain counties stand out with large homeownership gaps. Homes in DeKalb County, GA and Gwinnett County, GA both are fairly pricey by Georgia standards, but the median values are not far from the national average, and price should not be prohibitive in closing the Hispanic/white homeownership gap. This might not be as true about Fairfax County, VA and Montgomery County, MD, where high prices will act as a drag on Hispanic ownership gains. But Denton County, TX, Palm Beach County, FL, and even Prince George's County, MD are places where price should not be a reason to expect the large ownership gaps to be especially difficult to close. Fort Bend County, TX has fairly high level of homeownership for both Hispanics (59.5 percent) and whites ( 69.7 percent), yet the high level of affordability of owner occupied housing in this county should leave room for further gains in Hispanic homeownership. Oklahoma County, OK stands out as having low Hispanic homeownership ( 34.0 percent), a fairly large homeownership gap between 25-34 year old Hispanics and whites (11.4 percent), and an affordable owner occupied housing stock (median value $=\$ 75,800$ ).

In the Midwest, the largest homeownership gaps are in McHenry County, IL, Marion County, IN, Hennepin County, MN, and Johnson County, KS - the last three counties with very low Hispanic homeownership rates for 25-34 year old households (in the neighborhood of 20-25 percent). Of these three, Marion County is the most affordable and Johnson County the least. Four Midwest counties with higher levels of Hispanic homeownership but nonetheless high homeownership gaps are Kent County, MI, Lorain County, OH, Oakland County, MI and Wayne County, MI. Only Oakland County can be thought of as having a high median housing value, with the other three quite affordable by Midwest standards.

Finally, a large group of counties across a large range of housing values also stand out in the Northeast region as having homeownership gaps above the average for the region. Among them, Fairfield County, CT and Nassau County, NY and Passaic County, NJ have some of the highest median housing values in the region, but Hampden County, MA, Worcester County, MA and Hartford County, CT have a much wider range of affordable owner occupied housing. Another half dozen counties sit just below these latter three and could easily be added to the more affordable list that have homeownership gaps between young Hispanic and white households of more than 20 percent.

While the West and East are similar in having generally higher prices, they are at opposite extremes in terms of homeownership gaps. The majority of the selected counties in the West have homeownership gaps below 10 percent for 25-34 year olds, while the majority of counties in the Northeast have homeownership gaps above 20 percent. As we saw in Figures 7a-7d, the differences between the West and the Northeast in the gap in the share earning at least $\$ 40,000$ would explain some of this difference, with the income gap in the Northeast being much larger on average. To pursue the connection between income and price, we now turn to examining cost as a percent of income. This comparison is limited to owner households with a mortgage to eliminate the effect of the large number of elderly (mostly white households) without a mortgage and with much reduced average housing costs.


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## Correlation Between Median Value and 25-34 HO Gap - Northeast



Table 6a

| West | Age 25-34 HO <br> Gap | Median value non- <br> Hispanic white <br> owner units | Median value <br> Hispanic <br> owner units | Median value <br> All owner <br> units |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| San Mateo County, California | $12.9 \%$ | $\$ 526,200$ | $\$ 362,000$ | $\$ 469,200$ |
| Santa Clara County, California | $7.5 \%$ | $\$ 482,000$ | $\$ 338,000$ | $\$ 446,400$ |
| San Francisco County, California | $-0.5 \%$ | $\$ 471,400$ | $\$ 332,200$ | $\$ 396,400$ |
| Alameda County, California | $5.5 \%$ | $\$ 332,000$ | $\$ 241,600$ | $\$ 303,100$ |
| Santa Barbara County, California | $4.8 \%$ | $\$ 334,000$ | $\$ 162,000$ | $\$ 293,000$ |
| Orange County, California | $15.6 \%$ | $\$ 286,500$ | $\$ 197,100$ | $\$ 270,000$ |
| Contra Costa County, California | $8.3 \%$ | $\$ 297,100$ | $\$ 182,100$ | $\$ 267,800$ |
| Monterey County, California | $-4.1 \%$ | $\$ 333,400$ | $\$ 170,300$ | $\$ 265,800$ |
| Ventura County, California | $12.7 \%$ | $\$ 266,400$ | $\$ 191,000$ | $\$ 248,700$ |
| San Diego County, California | $8.2 \%$ | $\$ 243,500$ | $\$ 170,600$ | $\$ 227,200$ |
| Los Angeles County, California | $3.9 \%$ | $\$ 263,500$ | $\$ 164,900$ | $\$ 209,300$ |
| Denver County, Colorado | $3.1 \%$ | $\$ 185,000$ | $\$ 130,100$ | $\$ 165,800$ |
| Riverside County, California | $6.8 \%$ | $\$ 158,400$ | $\$ 113,500$ | $\$ 146,500$ |
| Sacramento County, California | $3.7 \%$ | $\$ 149,700$ | $\$ 118,500$ | $\$ 144,200$ |
| San Joaquin County, California | $10.4 \%$ | $\$ 151,000$ | $\$ 115,100$ | $\$ 142,400$ |
| Clark County, Nevada | $10.7 \%$ | $\$ 143,900$ | $\$ 116,300$ | $\$ 139,500$ |
| San Bernardino County, California | $-0.7 \%$ | $\$ 136,200$ | $\$ 118,000$ | $\$ 131,500$ |
| Maricopa County, Arizona | $14.8 \%$ | $\$ 136,600$ | $\$ 89,900$ | $\$ 129,200$ |
| Bernalillo County, New Mexico | $-5.2 \%$ | $\$ 140,600$ | $\$ 107,800$ | $\$ 128,300$ |
| Stanislaus County, California | $4.3 \%$ | $\$ 131,200$ | $\$ 105,800$ | $\$ 125,300$ |
| Pima County, Arizona | $1.0 \%$ | $\$ 125,000$ | $\$ 85,100$ | $\$ 114,600$ |
| Fresno County, California | $11.5 \%$ | $\$ 120,200$ | $\$ 85,100$ | $\$ 104,900$ |
| Tulare County, California | $8.1 \%$ | $\$ 111,100$ | $\$ 84,700$ | $\$ 97,800$ |
| Kern County, California | $\$ 100,500$ | $\$ 80,200$ | $\$ 93,300$ |  |
| Dona Ana County, New Mexico | $-12 \%$ | $\$ 112,000$ | $\$ 72,400$ | $\$ 90,900$ |

Table 6b

| South | $\begin{gathered} \text { Age 25-34 HO } \\ \text { Gap } \end{gathered}$ | Median value nonHispanic white owner units | Median value Hispanic owner units | Median value All owner units |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Fairfax County, Virginia | 13.3\% | \$243,300 | \$172,900 | \$233,300 |
| Montgomery County, Maryland | 12.8\% | \$238,600 | \$161,900 | \$221,800 |
| Prince George's County, Maryland | 18.3\% | \$147,500 | \$137,900 | \$145,600 |
| Gwinnett County, Georgia | 26.9\% | \$143,600 | \$123,000 | \$142,100 |
| Palm Beach County, Florida | 13.5\% | \$144,500 | \$100,100 | \$135,200 |
| DeKalb County, Georgia | 29.9\% | \$195,500 | \$131,900 | \$135,100 |
| Travis County, Texas | 6.5\% | \$152,700 | \$90,600 | \$134,700 |
| Denton County, Texas | 14.4\% | \$134,400 | \$112,400 | \$133,200 |
| Broward County, Florida | 0.8\% | \$139,300 | \$127,100 | \$128,600 |
| Miami-Dade County, Florida | -3.0\% | \$155,300 | \$128,100 | \$124,000 |
| Fort Bend County, Texas | 10.2\% | \$134,300 | \$76,100 | \$115,100 |
| Orange County, Florida | 7.6\% | \$117,400 | \$96,100 | \$107,500 |
| Hillsborough County, Florida | 8.1\% | \$106,400 | \$85,100 | \$97,700 |
| Dallas County, Texas | 8.1\% | \$109,400 | \$66,500 | \$92,700 |
| Tarrant County, Texas | 8.4\% | \$97,800 | \$58,400 | \$90,300 |
| Brazoria County, Texas | 7.8\% | \$90,600 | \$66,000 | \$88,500 |
| Harris County, Texas | 9.4\% | \$106,300 | \$63,700 | \$87,000 |
| Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | 11.4\% | \$80,400 | \$45,700 | \$75,800 |
| Webb County, Texas | -15.2\% | \$96,100 | \$72,900 | \$74,600 |
| Bexar County, Texas | 1.8\% | \$95,100 | \$54,500 | \$74,100 |
| Nueces County, Texas | 4.3\% | \$86,700 | \$51,900 | \$70,100 |
| El Paso County, Texas | -11.9\% | \$86,300 | \$64,900 | \$69,600 |
| Lubbock County, Texas | 7.6\% | \$78,600 | \$38,500 | \$69,100 |
| Cameron County, Texas | -0.7\% | \$87,000 | \$45,800 | \$53,000 |
| Hidalgo County, Texas | -11.5\% | \$85,200 | \$47,300 | \$52,400 |

Table 6c

| Midwest | Age 25-34 HO <br> Gap | Median value non- <br> Hispanic white <br> owner units | Median value <br> Hispanic <br> owner units | Median value <br> All owner <br> units |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lake County, Illinois | $19.7 \%$ | $\$ 212,200$ | $\$ 122,600$ | $\$ 198,200$ |
| DuPage County, Illinois | $20.3 \%$ | $\$ 196,800$ | $\$ 158,900$ | $\$ 195,000$ |
| Oakland County, Michigan | $23.5 \%$ | $\$ 183,600$ | $\$ 152,400$ | $\$ 181,200$ |
| McHenry County, Illinois | $29.0 \%$ | $\$ 168,900$ | $\$ 143,000$ | $\$ 168,100$ |
| Kane County, Illinois | $17.2 \%$ | $\$ 171,100$ | $\$ 109,300$ | $\$ 160,400$ |
| Cook County, Illinois | $10.6 \%$ | $\$ 176,300$ | $\$ 133,100$ | $\$ 157,700$ |
| Will County, Illinois | $16.3 \%$ | $\$ 158,000$ | $\$ 122,500$ | $\$ 154,300$ |
| Johnson County, Kansas | $31.5 \%$ | $\$ 150,600$ | $\$ 133,400$ | $\$ 150,100$ |
| Hennepin County, Minnesota | $28.8 \%$ | $\$ 145,700$ | $\$ 122,500$ | $\$ 143,400$ |
| Ramsey County, Minnesota | $22.4 \%$ | $\$ 129,100$ | $\$ 94,500$ | $\$ 126,400$ |
| Franklin County, Ohio | $25.6 \%$ | $\$ 121,600$ | $\$ 110,800$ | $\$ 116,200$ |
| Kent County, Michigan | $26.0 \%$ | $\$ 118,500$ | $\$ 77,000$ | $\$ 115,100$ |
| Lorain County, Ohio | $26.1 \%$ | $\$ 118,700$ | $\$ 84,700$ | $\$ 115,100$ |
| Cuyahoga County, Ohio | $16.2 \%$ | $\$ 123,400$ | $\$ 84,000$ | $\$ 113,800$ |
| Milwauke County, Wisconsin | $16.1 \%$ | $\$ 110,900$ | $\$ 74,900$ | $\$ 103,200$ |
| Douglas County, Nebraska | $16.6 \%$ | $\$ 105,900$ | $\$ 67,900$ | $\$ 100,800$ |
| Wayne County, Michigan | $22.0 \%$ | $\$ 122,100$ | $\$ 78,100$ | $\$ 99,400$ |
| Marion County, Indiana | $29.0 \%$ | $\$ 103,300$ | $\$ 87,500$ | $\$ 99,000$ |
| Lake County, Indiana | $15.4 \%$ | $\$ 110,300$ | $\$ 81,200$ | $\$ 97,500$ |
| Winnebago County, Illinois | $9.3 \%$ | $\$ 94,300$ | $\$ 70,400$ | $\$ 91,900$ |
| Lucas County, Ohio | $15.1 \%$ | $\$ 95,700$ | $\$ 64,600$ | $\$ 90,700$ |
| Jackson County, Missouri | $16.4 \%$ | $\$ 91,400$ | $\$ 60,700$ | $\$ 85,000$ |
| Finney County, Kansas | $9.9 \%$ | $\$ 90,000$ | $\$ 64,200$ | $\$ 83,800$ |
| Sedgwick County, Kansas | $\$ 86,500$ | $\$ 57,600$ | $\$ 83,600$ |  |
| Wyandotte County, Kansas | $\$ 58,500$ | $\$ 42,900$ | $\$ 54,300$ |  |

Table 6d

| Northeast | Age 25-34 HO <br> Gap | Median value non- <br> Hispanic white <br> owner units | Median value <br> Hispanic <br> owner units | Median value <br> All owner <br> units |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| New York County, New York | $10.2 \%$ | $\$ 1,000,001$ | $\$ 245,000$ | $\$ 1,000,001$ |
| Westchester County, New York | $29.8 \%$ | $\$ 341,300$ | $\$ 260,500$ | $\$ 325,800$ |
| Fairfield County, Connecticut | $32.8 \%$ | $\$ 302,100$ | $\$ 168,100$ | $\$ 288,900$ |
| Bergen County, New Jersey | $18.9 \%$ | $\$ 256,500$ | $\$ 209,800$ | $\$ 250,300$ |
| Middlesex County, Massachusetts | $22.0 \%$ | $\$ 248,100$ | $\$ 203,800$ | $\$ 247,900$ |
| Nassau County, New York | $31.2 \%$ | $\$ 249,300$ | $\$ 210,000$ | $\$ 242,300$ |
| Kings County, New York | $10.0 \%$ | $\$ 265,400$ | $\$ 190,000$ | $\$ 224,100$ |
| Essex County, Massachusetts | $29.5 \%$ | $\$ 222,000$ | $\$ 136,200$ | $\$ 220,000$ |
| Queens County, New York | $9.8 \%$ | $\$ 251,100$ | $\$ 207,200$ | $\$ 212,600$ |
| Richmond County, New York | $22.9 \%$ | $\$ 217,500$ | $\$ 173,100$ | $\$ 209,100$ |
| Essex County, New Jersey | $26.2 \%$ | $\$ 241,300$ | $\$ 159,100$ | $\$ 208,400$ |
| Passaic County, New Jersey | $33.3 \%$ | $\$ 196,600$ | $\$ 157,400$ | $\$ 190,600$ |
| Bronx County, New York | $13.4 \%$ | $\$ 202,300$ | $\$ 183,800$ | $\$ 190,400$ |
| Union County, New Jersey | $28.3 \%$ | $\$ 210,400$ | $\$ 156,100$ | $\$ 188,800$ |
| Suffolk County, Massachusetts | $10.4 \%$ | $\$ 196,800$ | $\$ 177,500$ | $\$ 187,300$ |
| Suffolk County, New York | $21.0 \%$ | $\$ 190,500$ | $\$ 154,400$ | $\$ 185,200$ |
| Middlesex County, New Jersey | $23.8 \%$ | $\$ 167,700$ | $\$ 150,400$ | $\$ 168,500$ |
| New Haven County, Connecticut | $29.0 \%$ | $\$ 155,600$ | $\$ 115,100$ | $\$ 151,900$ |
| Hudson County, New Jersey | $9.6 \%$ | $\$ 156,100$ | $\$ 154,900$ | $\$ 150,300$ |
| Hartford County, Connecticut | $33.9 \%$ | $\$ 150,400$ | $\$ 114,400$ | $\$ 147,300$ |
| Worcester County, Massachusetts | $34.3 \%$ | $\$ 146,200$ | $\$ 129,100$ | $\$ 146,000$ |
| Providence County, Rhode Island | $24.9 \%$ | $\$ 125,800$ | $\$ 93,400$ | $\$ 123,900$ |
| Hampden County, Massachusetts | $33.3 \%$ | $\$ 120,100$ | $\$ 87,400$ | $\$ 117,400$ |
| Camden County, New Jersey | $24.8 \%$ | $\$ 116,600$ | $\$ 61,200$ | $\$ 111,200$ |
| Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania | $-2.5 \%$ | $\$ 73,300$ | $\$ 40,300$ | $\$ 59,700$ |

In spite of living in less expensive housing, Hispanics in all regions spend a greater share of their household income on housing (Figures 10a-10d). As Hispanics pay more for housing, whites do too - but increases in the housing payment share are greater for Hispanics than whites, resulting in the general pattern that the higher the owner housing costs as a percentage of income, the more Hispanic owners diverge from white owners. This pattern is particularly strong in the three regions outside the West.

What stands out in Figures 10a-10d is the basic similarity between regions in the pattern of owner costs as a percent of income in contrast to the distinctiveness of regions in the other comparisons made in these sections. Roughly speaking, the average white owner spends between 20 and 25 percent of income on housing while the average Hispanic owner spends between 20 and 30 percent in all regions. Median costs as a percent of income are lowest for both race/Hispanic origin groups in the South, followed by the Midwest, West and Northeast in that order. In counties where Hispanic cost as a percent of income is high, income constraints might be important in limiting additional Hispanic households’ abilities to qualify for a mortgage. Consequently, those counties where owner costs as a percent of income are the lowest would seem to be the best candidates to expect a pay-off from efforts at further increasing homeownership opportunities for Hispanics.

Surprisingly perhaps, average Hispanic cost as a percent of income for those with a mortgage has practically no relationship to the homeownership rate gaps for 25-34 year olds. Figures 11a-11d and Tables 7a-7d demonstrate this lack of correlation. Furthermore, many of the counties identified earlier as moderate price but high homeownership rate gap are also the counties at the low end of the range on costs as a percent of income. These include Maricopa, AZ, Clark, NV, Fresno, CA and Ventura, CA in the West, DeKalb, GA and Denton, TX in the South, Wayne, MI, Kent, MI, Johnson, KS and Hennepin, MN in the Midwest, and Worcester, MA, Hartford, CT, Hampden, MA and Camden NJ in the Northeast. Lower Hispanic incomes in these places are matched by relatively low housing prices to keep housing costs as a percentage of income also relatively low.

## Structure Characteristics

This section examines county variation in three structure characteristics - the share of the housing stock built since 1980, the share of the housing stock that is single-family detached, and the share of the housing stock that is mobile home, all for owner households only. The share built since 1980 allows us to identify counties where "recent" additions to the housing stock have been the greatest. New construction could have a positive effect on boosting Hispanic homeownership rates through two channels. First, newer housing developments could open up more opportunities for Hispanics if the housing coming on line is reasonably priced and/or if the network of realtors and bankers that close the deals are less under "cultural" constraints that prevent Hispanics from competing for owner housing in older established non-Hispanic neighborhoods with established racial compositions. Second, even if new construction is not available to Hispanic households because of price or prejudice, non-Hispanic white households that are moving into these newer units are freeing up older housing that might be more affordable for Hispanic households in older neighborhoods that are often undergoing racial or ethnic turnover.


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Table 7a $\quad \begin{gathered}\text { Median selected monthly owner costs as a percentage of } \\ \text { household income in 1999; Housing units with a mortgage }\end{gathered}$

| West | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | NH White | Hispanic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Los Angeles County, California | $3.9 \%$ | 24.8 | 29.0 |
| San Francisco County, California | $-0.5 \%$ | 24.1 | 28.5 |
| Santa Barbara County, California | $4.8 \%$ | 26.0 | 28.1 |
| San Diego County, California | $8.2 \%$ | 24.9 | 28.0 |
| San Mateo County, California | $12.9 \%$ | 25.0 | 27.7 |
| Orange County, California | $15.6 \%$ | 24.5 | 2.6 |
| Monterey County, California | $-4.1 \%$ | 25.6 | 27.6 |
| Kern County, California | $4.8 \%$ | 22.0 | 27.4 |
| Santa Clara County, California | $7.5 \%$ | 23.4 | 26.9 |
| Contra Costa County, California | $8.3 \%$ | 24.1 | 26.9 |
| Riverside County, California | $6.8 \%$ | 24.7 | 26.9 |
| San Bernardino County, California | $-0.7 \%$ | 23.6 | 26.8 |
| San Joaquin County, California | $10.4 \%$ | 23.5 | 26.7 |
| Tulare County, California | $8.1 \%$ | 23.1 | 26.6 |
| Alameda County, California | $5.5 \%$ | 24.1 | 26.6 |
| Ventura County, California | $12.7 \%$ | 24.8 | 26.4 |
| Fresno County, California | $11.5 \%$ | 23.0 | 26.0 |
| Stanislaus County, California | $4.3 \%$ | 23.6 | 25.8 |
| Denver County, Colorado | $3.1 \%$ | 22.0 | 25.7 |
| Sacramento County, California | $3.7 \%$ | 23.1 | 25.6 |
| Clark County, Nevada | $10.7 \%$ | 23.3 | 25.4 |
| Bernalillo County, New Mexico | $-5.2 \%$ | 21.9 | 24.9 |
| Maricopa County, Arizona | $14.8 \%$ | 21.6 | 23.5 |
| Pima County, Arizona | $1.0 \%$ | 21.9 | 23.5 |
| Dona Ana County, New Mexico | $-12.0 \%$ | 19.3 | 23.0 |

Table 7b
Median selected monthly owner costs as a percentage of household income in 1999; Housing units with a mortgage

| South | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | NH White | Hispanic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Miami-Dade County, Florida | $-3.0 \%$ | 23.3 | 27.9 |
| Orange County, Florida | $7.6 \%$ | 21.6 | 2.2 |
| Prince George's County, Maryland | $18.3 \%$ | 21.4 | 26.5 |
| Broward County, Florida | $0.8 \%$ | 23.4 | 26.0 |
| Montgomery County, Maryland | $12.8 \%$ | 20.4 | 25.9 |
| Palm Beach County, Florida | $13.5 \%$ | 22.6 | 2.9 |
| Fairfax County, Virginia | $13.3 \%$ | 19.7 | 24.5 |
| Gwinnett County, Georgia | $26.9 \%$ | 19.9 | 24.3 |
| Webb County, Texas | $-15.2 \%$ | 21.4 | 24.2 |
| Hillsborough County, Florida | $8.1 \%$ | 21.0 | 23.8 |
| Hidalgo County, Texas | $-11.5 \%$ | 19.8 | 23.7 |
| Cameron County, Texas | $-0.7 \%$ | 19.3 | 23.3 |
| El Paso County, Texas | $-11.9 \%$ | 19.0 | 22.9 |
| Travis County, Texas | $6.5 \%$ | 20.8 | 22.5 |
| Dallas County, Texas | $8.1 \%$ | 19.6 | 21.3 |
| Nueces County, Texas | $4.3 \%$ | 21.3 | 21.9 |
| Harris County, Texas | $9.4 \%$ | 19.0 | 21.6 |
| Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | $11.4 \%$ | 19.5 | 21.5 |
| Fort Bend County, Texas | $10.2 \%$ | 19.3 | 21.4 |
| DeKalb County, Georgia | $29.9 \%$ | 19.4 | 21.3 |
| Tarrant County, Texas | $8.4 \%$ | 20.0 | 21.2 |
| Denton County, Texas | $14.4 \%$ | 20.4 | 21.1 |
| Bexar County, Texas | $1.8 \%$ | 19.8 | 19.1 |
| Brazoria County, Texas | $7.8 \%$ | 18.1 | 19.0 |
| Lubbock County, Texas | $7.6 \%$ | 19.7 |  |

Table 7c $\quad \begin{gathered}\text { Median selected monthly owner costs as a percentage of } \\ \text { household income in 1999; Housing units with a mortgage }\end{gathered}$

| Midwest | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | NH White | Hispanic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| McHenry County, Illinois | $29.0 \%$ | 23.2 | 27.5 |
| Lake County, Illinois | $19.7 \%$ | 22.7 | 26.2 |
| Cook County, Illinois | $10.6 \%$ | 22.2 | 25.7 |
| DuPage County, Illinois | $20.3 \%$ | 22.0 | 25.2 |
| Kane County, Illinois | $17.2 \%$ | 22.7 | 24.1 |
| Cuyahoga County, Ohio | $16.2 \%$ | 21.5 | 23.4 |
| Will County, Illinois | $16.3 \%$ | 22.5 | 22.4 |
| Lorain County, Ohio | $26.1 \%$ | 20.9 | 22.3 |
| Franklin County, Ohio | $25.6 \%$ | 21.0 | 22.1 |
| Marion County, Indiana | $29.0 \%$ | 19.7 | 21.6 |
| Oakland County, Michigan | $23.5 \%$ | 19.8 | 21.5 |
| Hennepin County, Minnesota | $28.8 \%$ | 19.9 | 21.3 |
| Milwaukee County, Wisconsin | $16.1 \%$ | 21.0 | 21.2 |
| Winnebago County, Illinois | $9.3 \%$ | 20.6 | 21.0 |
| Ramsey County, Minnesota | $22.4 \%$ | 19.7 | 20.9 |
| Johnson County, Kansas | $31.5 \%$ | 19.6 | 20.9 |
| Lucas County, Ohio | $15.1 \%$ | 19.7 | 20.8 |
| Finney County, Kansas | $-9.9 \%$ | 20.6 | 19.8 |
| Jackson County, Missouri | $16.4 \%$ | 19.4 | 19.8 |
| Douglas County, Nebraska | $16.6 \%$ | 19.7 | 19.8 |
| Lake County, Indiana | $15.4 \%$ | 19.8 | 19.7 |
| Kent County, Michigan | $26.0 \%$ | 19.3 | 19.5 |
| Wayne County, Michigan | $22.0 \%$ | 19.3 | 19.4 |
| Sedgwick County, Kansas | $20.0 \%$ | 19.2 | 19.0 |
| Wyandotte County, Kansas | $10.6 \%$ | 19.0 |  |

## Table 7d

Median selected monthly owner costs as a percentage of household income in 1999; Housing units with a mortgage

| Northeast | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | NH White | Hispanic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Queens County, New York | $9.8 \%$ | 24.0 | 31.2 |
| Hudson County, New Jersey | $9.6 \%$ | 24.6 | 30.7 |
| Bronx County, New York | $13.4 \%$ | 24.6 | 30.3 |
| Nassau County, New York | $31.2 \%$ | 24.1 | 29.2 |
| Suffolk County, New York | $21.0 \%$ | 24.8 | 28.9 |
| Bergen County, New Jersey | $18.9 \%$ | 24.0 | 28.2 |
| Westchester County, New York | $29.8 \%$ | 23.4 | 27.8 |
| Kings County, New York | $10.0 \%$ | 24.7 | 27.8 |
| Passaic County, New Jersey | $33.3 \%$ | 24.4 | 27.7 |
| Essex County, New Jersey | $26.2 \%$ | 23.1 | 27.5 |
| Providence County, Rhode Island | $24.9 \%$ | 22.4 | 27.0 |
| Fairfield County, Connecticut | $32.8 \%$ | 22.7 | 26.8 |
| Union County, New Jersey | $28.3 \%$ | 22.8 | 26.7 |
| Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania | $-2.5 \%$ | 2.0 | 25.8 |
| Suffolk County, Massachusetts | $10.4 \%$ | 22.0 | 25.8 |
| Middlesex County, New Jersey | $23.8 \%$ | 22.9 | 25.4 |
| New Haven County, Connecticut | $29.0 \%$ | 22.6 | 24.9 |
| Richmond County, New York | $22.9 \%$ | 23.0 | 24.9 |
| Hampden County, Massachusetts | $33.3 \%$ | 21.4 | 24.6 |
| Middlesex County, Massachusetts | $22.0 \%$ | 21.6 | 23.9 |
| Essex County, Massachusetts | $29.5 \%$ | 22.2 | 23.9 |
| Camden County, New Jersey | $24.8 \%$ | 23.0 | 23.8 |
| Hartford County, Connecticut | $33.9 \%$ | 21.6 | 23.7 |
| Worcester County, Massachusetts | $34.3 \%$ | 21.1 | 22.6 |
| New York County, New York | $10.2 \%$ | 18.7 | 15.5 |

The share of housing that is single-family detached is also possibly a good marker for a better understanding of homeownership gaps. Counties with lower shares of single-family detached housing among owners are those in which more affordable condominiums, town houses and mobile homes are more likely to be available. Mobile homes are a structure type that is both single-family detached (although not coded that way) and generally more affordable, but are only a significant part of the housing stock in a few counties in the South and West. Mobile home occupancy is examined below.

In general, where there are large imbalances between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites in the types of housing being occupied it should raise red flags. While some of the variation in structure type will always be explained by differences in household composition, household resources, or other household characteristics such as recency of arrival of foreign-born Hispanics or citizenship status, counties with large gaps in owner structure type also suggest opportunities to improve Hispanic occupancy in those structure types in which they are underrepresented.

Figures 12a-12d show the differences between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white owners in the share living in units built since 1980. In counties with older stock (lower shares built since 1980) white representation is greater than Hispanic representation in newer units. In counties with a higher share of newer owner units, white and Hispanic shares in the newer stock are more equal. Not surprising, the regions with the greatest shares of newer housing are the South and the West, with quite a few counties in the South having more than half of Hispanic and non-Hispanic owners living in units built since 1980.

The relationships between the gaps in the share in newer units and the young adult homeownership rate gaps are given in Figures 13a-13d. Tables 8a-8d rank the counties within each region by gap in the share in units built since 1980. Once again, a couple of counties stand out in each region as having both higher ownership gaps and higher gaps in shares of owners in newer units. Maricopa, AZ and Clark, NV in the West, Fort Bend, TX and Oklahoma, OK in the South, Lorain, OH and Kent, MI in the Midwest, and Hartford, CT and Worcester, MA in the Northeast are counties where a focus on differing homeownership opportunities in the newer stock deserves attention.

In Figure 13a (West), two outlying counties have been identified (Stanislaus, CA and Monterey, CA) as have a higher percentage of Hispanic owners in newer housing than white owners. Each of these counties has a small homeownership rate gap for the 25-34 age group (Monterey $=-4.1$ percent, Stanislaus $=4.3$ percent). The South has half a dozen counties that stand out as having an equal or higher percentage of Hispanic owners in newer housing, and all but one have negative homeownership gaps for 25-34 year olds. The Midwest has only one county where the share Hispanic in newer units is greater (Finney, KS) and the Northeast has none. As will be seen below, the very high share of Hispanic owners in Finney, KS living in mobile homes explains its singularity.

Figures 14a-14d compare Hispanics with whites on the percent of owners who live in single-family detached units. Once again, the higher the share of the owner stock in a county that is single-family detached, the greater the parity between Hispanics and whites - except for the Northeast. Both the West and Midwest show little variation in the share of Hispanic and non-Hispanic white owners living in single-family detached units; both regions have generally high values with only a couple of

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outliers from the general regional pattern. The South and especially the Northeast, on the other hand, show quite a bit of variation with several counties standing out where white shares significantly exceed Hispanic shares. In the South, Fairfax, VA and Montgomery, MD have a greater proportion of white owners living in single-family detached housing, have moderately high homeownership rate gaps, and also have extremely high median housing values. This leads one to believe that young Hispanics in these counties will have difficulty increasing their share of ownership in this stock. Brazoria, TX and Fort Bend, TX are Southern counties with a high occupancy imbalance with much more affordable housing, suggesting that there is room for greater movement of Hispanic owners into the detached single-family stock.

The Northeast has by far the greatest variation in the shares of the owner-occupied stock that is single-family detached (Figure 14d). While a handful of counties across the entire range has white and Hispanic occupancy rates that are about equal, in the vast majority of counties in the Northeast the white share exceeds the Hispanic share. In not a single Northeast county is the opposite true. Several counties stand out as outliers, and at least three of these can be categorized as having extremely high single-family occupancy favoring whites and, as we have seen previously, as having a median value for owner housing that is affordable (Camden, NJ, Essex, MA and Providence, RI).

The West and the Midwest, because of the small variability in share single-family detached occupied by both groups, show little of note when the gap in the differences between shares is plotted against the gap in the 25-34 year old homeownership rate (Figures 15a-15d and Tables 9a-9d). Denver, CO and San Francisco, CA both have negative gaps in single-family detached housing and very low homeownership rate gaps. Non-Hispanic whites in Dona Ana, NM are more concentrated in singlefamily detached units, but as shown below, that is explained by the very high Hispanic presence in mobile homes. Similarly for Finney, KS as we previously observed.

In the South and the Northeast, however, there appears to be a definite pattern where the higher the gap in the share of owners living in single-family detached units, the higher the homeownership rate gap for young adults, especially in the Northeast. Worcester, MA, New Haven, CT, and Hampden, MA all have single-family detached share gaps above 20 percent and homeownership rate gaps that place them above the line of best-fit. However, because homeownership rate gaps in the Northeast are so high overall, one can include a few counties falling below the line of best-fit that also have high shares of single-family detached gaps (above 30 percent) and high homeownership rate gaps (above 20 percent). These are Essex, MA, Providence, RI, Camden, NJ and Essex, NJ.

In the South, the gaps on both scales are 10 points lower than in the Northeast, and at least some of the higher homeownership rate gap counties are also counties in which the high single-family detached gap is accompanied by either high priced housing (Montgomery, MD and Fairfax, VA) or a high Hispanic share living in mobile homes (Fort Bend, TX, Denton, TX, and Brazoria, TX). The single-family detached gaps in the highest homeownership gap counties (Gwinnett, GA and DeKalb, GA) are small because almost 90 percent of the owner occupied housing stock in these counties is single-family detached. Even so, the single-family detached gaps in these two counties are larger than three quarters of other counties in the South.


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Table 8a

| West | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share White <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 | Share Hispanic <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 | Gap White-Hispanic <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Maricopa County, Arizona | $14.8 \%$ | $58.1 \%$ | $38.6 \%$ | $19.5 \%$ |
| Clark County, Nevada | $10.7 \%$ | $72.9 \%$ | $57.2 \%$ | $15.7 \%$ |
| Ventura County, California | $12.7 \%$ | $35.8 \%$ | $24.0 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ |
| Orange County, California | $15.6 \%$ | $31.5 \%$ | $21.0 \%$ | $10.5 \%$ |
| Pima County, Arizona | $1.0 \%$ | $47.5 \%$ | $38.1 \%$ | $9.3 \%$ |
| Alameda County, California | $5.5 \%$ | $20.8 \%$ | $13.9 \%$ | $6.9 \%$ |
| San Diego County, California | $8.2 \%$ | $36.7 \%$ | $30.5 \%$ | $6.2 \%$ |
| Kern County, California | $4.8 \%$ | $45.3 \%$ | $40.0 \%$ | $5.3 \%$ |
| Los Angeles County, California | $3.9 \%$ | $18.7 \%$ | $13.4 \%$ | $5.3 \%$ |
| Fresno County, California | $11.5 \%$ | $40.1 \%$ | $35.2 \%$ | $4.8 \%$ |
| Dona Ana County, New Mexico | $-12.0 \%$ | $58.4 \%$ | $54.1 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ |
| San Francisco County, California | $-0.5 \%$ | $9.2 \%$ | $5.8 \%$ | $3.4 \%$ |
| Denver County, Colorado | $3.1 \%$ | $13.8 \%$ | $11.1 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ |
| Riverside County, California | $6.8 \%$ | $57.0 \%$ | $54.7 \%$ | $2.3 \%$ |
| San Mateo County, California | $12.9 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ | $2.2 \%$ |
| Bernalillo County, New Mexico | $-5.2 \%$ | $41.3 \%$ | $39.4 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ |
| Santa Clara County, California | $7.5 \%$ | $19.5 \%$ | $19.0 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ |
| San Bernardino County, California | $-0.7 \%$ | $45.4 \%$ | $45.2 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ |
| Santa Barbara County, California | $4.8 \%$ | $29.2 \%$ | $29.1 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ |
| San Joaquin County, California | $10.4 \%$ | $40.0 \%$ | $40.1 \%$ | $-0.1 \%$ |
| Contra Costa County, California | $8.3 \%$ | $32.5 \%$ | $33.9 \%$ | $-1.4 \%$ |
| Tulare County, California | $8.1 \%$ | $39.1 \%$ | $41.3 \%$ | $-2.2 \%$ |
| Sacramento County, California | $3.7 \%$ | $35.3 \%$ | $40.6 \%$ | $-5.3 \%$ |
| Stanislaus County, California | $4.3 \%$ | $40.1 \%$ | $52.5 \%$ | $-12.4 \%$ |
| Monterey County, California | $-4.1 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ | $43.4 \%$ | $-17.1 \%$ |

Table 8b

| South | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share White <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 | Share Hispanic <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 | Gap White-Hispanic <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bexar County, Texas | $1.8 \%$ | $48.1 \%$ | $30.7 \%$ | $17.5 \%$ |
| Tarrant County, Texas | $8.4 \%$ | $47.4 \%$ | $32.5 \%$ | $14.9 \%$ |
| Nueces County, Texas | $4.3 \%$ | $39.0 \%$ | $26.6 \%$ | $12.5 \%$ |
| Lubbock County, Texas | $7.6 \%$ | $35.8 \%$ | $24.9 \%$ | $10.8 \%$ |
| Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | $11.4 \%$ | $29.9 \%$ | $19.8 \%$ | $10.1 \%$ |
| Harris County, Texas | $9.4 \%$ | $40.5 \%$ | $31.0 \%$ | $9.5 \%$ |
| Dallas County, Texas | $8.1 \%$ | $32.0 \%$ | $23.7 \%$ | $8.3 \%$ |
| Hillsborough County, Florida | $8.1 \%$ | $50.5 \%$ | $43.7 \%$ | $6.8 \%$ |
| Fort Bend County, Texas | $10.2 \%$ | $70.0 \%$ | $63.2 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ |
| Palm Beach County, Florida | $13.5 \%$ | $58.2 \%$ | $51.6 \%$ | $6.6 \%$ |
| Fairfax County, Virginia | $13.3 \%$ | $43.7 \%$ | $40.6 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| Travis County, Texas | $6.5 \%$ | $54.0 \%$ | $51.8 \%$ | $2.2 \%$ |
| Denton County, Texas | $14.4 \%$ | $73.1 \%$ | $71.1 \%$ | $2.0 \%$ |
| Montgomery County, Maryland | $12.8 \%$ | $35.9 \%$ | $34.8 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ |
| Prince George's County, Maryland | $18.3 \%$ | $21.9 \%$ | $21.3 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ |
| Brazoria County, Texas | $7.8 \%$ | $47.7 \%$ | $47.6 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ |
| Cameron County, Texas | $-0.7 \%$ | $51.9 \%$ | $51.8 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ |
| Webb County, Texas | $-15.2 \%$ | $60.6 \%$ | $63.2 \%$ | $-2.6 \%$ |
| Hidalgo County, Texas | $-11.5 \%$ | $60.2 \%$ | $64.4 \%$ | $-4.3 \%$ |
| Gwinnett County, Georgia | $26.9 \%$ | $75.3 \%$ | $80.7 \%$ | $-5.4 \%$ |
| El Paso County, Texas | $-11.9 \%$ | $37.6 \%$ | $44.8 \%$ | $-7.3 \%$ |
| Broward County, Florida | $0.8 \%$ | $40.0 \%$ | $53.7 \%$ | $-13.7 \%$ |
| Miami-Dade County, Florida | $-3.0 \%$ | $27.2 \%$ | $41.7 \%$ | $-14.5 \%$ |
| DeKalb County, Georgia | $29.9 \%$ | $21.6 \%$ | $36.2 \%$ | $-14.6 \%$ |
| Orange County, Florida | $7.6 \%$ | $53.2 \%$ | $70.3 \%$ | $-17.1 \%$ |

Table 8c

| Midwest | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Age 25-34 } \\ & \text { HO Gap } \end{aligned}$ | Share White Owner Units Built Since 1980 | Share Hispanic Owner Units Built Since 1980 | Gap White-Hispanic Owner Units Built Since 1980 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Kane County, Illinois | 17.2\% | 43.2\% | 16.2\% | 27.0\% |
| Will County, Illinois | 16.3\% | 51.1\% | 35.0\% | 16.1\% |
| Lake County, Illinois | 19.7\% | 44.3\% | 30.0\% | 14.2\% |
| Sedgwick County, Kansas | 20.0\% | 37.6\% | 24.1\% | 13.5\% |
| Kent County, Michigan | 26.0\% | 32.5\% | 19.6\% | 12.8\% |
| Douglas County, Nebraska | 16.6\% | 27.7\% | 15.2\% | 12.5\% |
| Jackson County, Missouri | 16.4\% | 26.5\% | 14.4\% | 12.1\% |
| Lorain County, Ohio | 26.1\% | 23.8\% | 11.9\% | 11.9\% |
| Lake County, Indiana | 15.4\% | 22.6\% | 12.8\% | 9.8\% |
| Cook County, Illinois | 10.6\% | 17.3\% | 8.4\% | 8.9\% |
| Winnebago County, Illinois | 9.3\% | 27.3\% | 18.5\% | 8.8\% |
| Wyandotte County, Kansas | 10.6\% | 13.5\% | 7.2\% | 6.3\% |
| Lucas County, Ohio | 15.1\% | 16.2\% | 10.1\% | 6.1\% |
| Wayne County, Michigan | 22.0\% | 13.4\% | 8.2\% | 5.2\% |
| Cuyahoga County, Ohio | 16.2\% | 13.3\% | 8.4\% | 4.8\% |
| Ramsey County, Minnesota | 22.4\% | 19.6\% | 15.1\% | 4.5\% |
| Johnson County, Kansas | 31.5\% | 45.9\% | 43.1\% | 2.8\% |
| Milwaukee County, Wisconsin | 16.1\% | 9.4\% | 7.4\% | 1.9\% |
| Hennepin County, Minnesota | 28.8\% | 26.0\% | 24.1\% | 1.9\% |
| Oakland County, Michigan | 23.5\% | 30.1\% | 29.3\% | 0.8\% |
| DuPage County, Illinois | 20.3\% | 35.3\% | 35.2\% | 0.1\% |
| Marion County, Indiana | 29.0\% | 30.5\% | 31.3\% | -0.7\% |
| McHenry County, Illinois | 29.0\% | 49.4\% | 51.2\% | -1.8\% |
| Finney County, Kansas | -9.9\% | 34.9\% | 37.7\% | -2.8\% |
| Franklin County, Ohio | 25.6\% | 33.9\% | 37.3\% | -3.4\% |

Table 8d

| Northeast | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share White <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 | Share Hispanic <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 | Gap White-Hispanic <br> Owner Units Built <br> Since 1980 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Essex County, Massachusetts | $29.5 \%$ | $22.1 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ | $10.0 \%$ |
| Camden County, New Jersey | $24.8 \%$ | $21.5 \%$ | $13.0 \%$ | $8.4 \%$ |
| Worcester County, Massachusetts | $34.3 \%$ | $29.8 \%$ | $23.5 \%$ | $6.2 \%$ |
| Passaic County, New Jersey | $33.3 \%$ | $13.7 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $6.1 \%$ |
| Providence County, Rhode Island | $24.9 \%$ | $18.5 \%$ | $12.6 \%$ | $5.9 \%$ |
| Hartford County, Connecticut | $33.9 \%$ | $22.8 \%$ | $17.9 \%$ | $4.8 \%$ |
| Westchester County, New York | $29.8 \%$ | $15.0 \%$ | $11.9 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| Middlesex County, New Jersey | $23.8 \%$ | $25.3 \%$ | $23.4 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ |
| Bergen County, New Jersey | $18.9 \%$ | $11.9 \%$ | $10.4 \%$ | $1.5 \%$ |
| New Haven County, Connecticut | $29.0 \%$ | $23.0 \%$ | $21.7 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ |
| Hampden County, Massachusetts | $33.3 \%$ | $17.4 \%$ | $16.3 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ |
| Fairfield County, Connecticut | $32.8 \%$ | $19.7 \%$ | $18.6 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ |
| Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania | $-2.5 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ | $3.4 \%$ | $1.0 \%$ |
| Suffolk County, New York | $21.0 \%$ | $17.7 \%$ | $17.3 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ |
| Nassau County, New York | $31.2 \%$ | $5.7 \%$ | $6.0 \%$ | $-0.3 \%$ |
| Hudson County, New Jersey | $9.6 \%$ | $10.6 \%$ | $11.3 \%$ | $-0.7 \%$ |
| Queens County, New York | $9.8 \%$ | $3.3 \%$ | $4.3 \%$ | $-1.0 \%$ |
| Middlesex County, Massachusetts | $22.0 \%$ | $19.0 \%$ | $20.9 \%$ | $-1.8 \%$ |
| Union County, New Jersey | $28.3 \%$ | $5.3 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $-2.3 \%$ |
| Essex County, New Jersey | $26.2 \%$ | $8.1 \%$ | $10.6 \%$ | $-2.5 \%$ |
| New York County, New York | $10.2 \%$ | $7.9 \%$ | $10.6 \%$ | $-2.7 \%$ |
| Suffolk County, Massachusetts | $10.4 \%$ | $8.2 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $-3.6 \%$ |
| Kings County, New York | $10.0 \%$ | $4.1 \%$ | $8.3 \%$ | $-4.2 \%$ |
| Bronx County, New York | $13.4 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $16.2 \%$ | $-13.8 \%$ |
| Richmond County, New York | $22.9 \%$ | $29.7 \%$ | $45.5 \%$ | $-15.8 \%$ |



Homeownership Rate Differences Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites:
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Table 9a

| West | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Non- <br> Hwner Units Single <br> Family Detached | Share Hispanic <br> Owner Units <br> Single Family <br> Detached | Gap Share Owner <br> Units Single <br> Family Detached |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dona Ana County, New Mexico | $-12.0 \%$ | $72.0 \%$ | $56.5 \%$ | $15.6 \%$ |
| Monterey County, California | $-4.1 \%$ | $86.4 \%$ | $81.4 \%$ | $5.0 \%$ |
| San Mateo County, California | $12.9 \%$ | $82.4 \%$ | $78.6 \%$ | $3.8 \%$ |
| Bernalillo County, New Mexico | $-5.2 \%$ | $85.1 \%$ | $83.1 \%$ | $2.0 \%$ |
| San Diego County, California | $8.2 \%$ | $75.8 \%$ | $74.9 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ |
| Ventura County, California | $12.7 \%$ | $78.9 \%$ | $78.5 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ |
| Santa Clara County, California | $7.5 \%$ | $79.2 \%$ | $79.1 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ |
| Santa Barbara County, California | $4.8 \%$ | $79.1 \%$ | $79.4 \%$ | $-0.3 \%$ |
| Alameda County, California | $5.5 \%$ | $82.9 \%$ | $83.3 \%$ | $-0.4 \%$ |
| San Joaquin County, California | $10.4 \%$ | $89.6 \%$ | $90.4 \%$ | $-0.8 \%$ |
| Orange County, California | $15.6 \%$ | $71.6 \%$ | $73.1 \%$ | $-1.5 \%$ |
| Los Angeles County, California | $3.9 \%$ | $80.7 \%$ | $82.3 \%$ | $-1.6 \%$ |
| Fresno County, California | $11.5 \%$ | $89.1 \%$ | $90.7 \%$ | $-1.6 \%$ |
| Stanislaus County, California | $4.3 \%$ | $89.8 \%$ | $91.9 \%$ | $-2.0 \%$ |
| Tulare County, California | $8.1 \%$ | $87.5 \%$ | $89.7 \%$ | $-2.3 \%$ |
| Contra Costa County, California | $8.3 \%$ | $82.0 \%$ | $84.6 \%$ | $-2.6 \%$ |
| San Bernardino County, California | $-0.7 \%$ | $85.4 \%$ | $88.6 \%$ | $-3.2 \%$ |
| Kern County, California | $4.8 \%$ | $84.4 \%$ | $87.7 \%$ | $-3.3 \%$ |
| Maricopa County, Arizona | $14.8 \%$ | $81.6 \%$ | $85.2 \%$ | $-3.6 \%$ |
| Sacramento County, California | $3.7 \%$ | $87.5 \%$ | $91.5 \%$ | $-4.0 \%$ |
| Pima County, Arizona | $1.0 \%$ | $72.4 \%$ | $76.7 \%$ | $-4.3 \%$ |
| Clark County, Nevada | $10.7 \%$ | $77.5 \%$ | $82.3 \%$ | $-4.8 \%$ |
| Riverside County, California | $6.8 \%$ | $75.2 \%$ | $84.1 \%$ | $-8.9 \%$ |
| San Francisco County, California | $-0.5 \%$ | $40.7 \%$ | $51.9 \%$ | $-11.2 \%$ |
| Denver County, Colorado | $3.1 \%$ | $74.4 \%$ | $86.1 \%$ | $-11.6 \%$ |

Table 9b

| South | $\begin{gathered} \text { Age } 25-34 \\ \text { HO Gap } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | Share NonHispanic White Owner Units Single Family Detached | Share Hispanic Owner Units Single Family Detached | Gap Share Owner Units Single <br> Family Detached |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Fairfax County, Virginia | 13.3\% | 70.1\% | 47.9\% | 22.2\% |
| Brazoria County, Texas | 7.8\% | 84.4\% | 67.2\% | 17.3\% |
| Fort Bend County, Texas | 10.2\% | 95.1\% | 79.0\% | 16.2\% |
| Montgomery County, Maryland | 12.8\% | 73.2\% | 57.8\% | 15.3\% |
| Denton County, Texas | 14.4\% | 90.3\% | 79.0\% | 11.3\% |
| Gwinnett County, Georgia | 26.9\% | 94.2\% | 86.5\% | 7.6\% |
| El Paso County, Texas | -11.9\% | 89.8\% | 83.6\% | 6.2\% |
| DeKalb County, Georgia | 29.9\% | 88.4\% | 84.4\% | 4.1\% |
| Webb County, Texas | -15.2\% | 80.7\% | 76.8\% | 3.9\% |
| Travis County, Texas | 6.5\% | 86.4\% | 82.6\% | 3.8\% |
| Harris County, Texas | 9.4\% | 88.2\% | 85.4\% | 2.9\% |
| Prince George's County, Maryland | 18.3\% | 82.8\% | 80.5\% | 2.3\% |
| Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | 11.4\% | 92.3\% | 90.5\% | 1.8\% |
| Tarrant County, Texas | 8.4\% | 93.5\% | 91.8\% | 1.8\% |
| Lubbock County, Texas | 7.6\% | 88.2\% | 87.7\% | 0.5\% |
| Dallas County, Texas | 8.1\% | 89.6\% | 89.7\% | -0.1\% |
| Orange County, Florida | 7.6\% | 82.8\% | 84.2\% | -1.4\% |
| Bexar County, Texas | 1.8\% | 89.7\% | 91.7\% | -2.1\% |
| Miami-Dade County, Florida | -3.0\% | 61.4\% | 64.3\% | -2.8\% |
| Nueces County, Texas | 4.3\% | 87.7\% | 92.8\% | -5.1\% |
| Hillsborough County, Florida | 8.1\% | 78.9\% | 84.1\% | -5.2\% |
| Broward County, Florida | 0.8\% | 52.9\% | 66.5\% | -13.6\% |
| Palm Beach County, Florida | 13.5\% | 55.4\% | 69.7\% | -14.3\% |
| Cameron County, Texas | -0.7\% | 64.5\% | 84.7\% | -20.2\% |
| Hidalgo County, Texas | -11.5\% | 57.8\% | 82.9\% | -25.1\% |

Table 9c

| Midwest | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Non- <br> Hwner Units Single <br> Family Detached | Share Hispanic <br> Owner Units <br> Single Family <br> Detached | Gap Share Owner <br> Units Single <br> Family Detached |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Finney County, Kansas | $-9.9 \%$ | $89.4 \%$ | $54.3 \%$ | $35.1 \%$ |
| Cook County, Illinois | $10.6 \%$ | $67.7 \%$ | $53.9 \%$ | $13.8 \%$ |
| Winnebago County, Illinois | $9.3 \%$ | $91.4 \%$ | $81.0 \%$ | $10.4 \%$ |
| Milwaukee County, Wisconsin | $16.1 \%$ | $82.3 \%$ | $72.3 \%$ | $10.0 \%$ |
| Kane County, Illinois | $17.2 \%$ | $87.4 \%$ | $79.6 \%$ | $7.8 \%$ |
| Lake County, Indiana | $15.4 \%$ | $89.3 \%$ | $83.2 \%$ | $6.0 \%$ |
| Cuyahoga County, Ohio | $16.2 \%$ | $88.0 \%$ | $82.8 \%$ | $5.2 \%$ |
| McHenry County, Illinois | $29.0 \%$ | $89.6 \%$ | $84.9 \%$ | $4.7 \%$ |
| Hennepin County, Minnesota | $28.8 \%$ | $82.7 \%$ | $78.8 \%$ | $3.9 \%$ |
| Franklin County, Ohio | $25.6 \%$ | $87.2 \%$ | $84.1 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| Lake County, Illinois | $19.7 \%$ | $83.7 \%$ | $80.7 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| DuPage County, Illinois | $20.3 \%$ | $78.7 \%$ | $76.0 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ |
| Wayne County, Michigan | $22.0 \%$ | $89.3 \%$ | $86.6 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ |
| Ramsey County, Minnesota | $22.4 \%$ | $83.0 \%$ | $80.7 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ |
| Will County, Illinois | $16.3 \%$ | $87.5 \%$ | $85.6 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ |
| Douglas County, Nebraska | $16.6 \%$ | $93.3 \%$ | $91.4 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ |
| Sedgwick County, Kansas | $20.0 \%$ | $88.9 \%$ | $87.0 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ |
| Kent County, Michigan | $26.0 \%$ | $85.1 \%$ | $83.6 \%$ | $1.6 \%$ |
| Marion County, Indiana | $29.0 \%$ | $88.1 \%$ | $87.6 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ |
| Jackson County, Missouri | $16.4 \%$ | $93.3 \%$ | $93.4 \%$ | $-0.2 \%$ |
| Lucas County, Ohio | $15.1 \%$ | $90.6 \%$ | $91.1 \%$ | $-0.5 \%$ |
| Oakland County, Michigan | $23.5 \%$ | $86.8 \%$ | $87.5 \%$ | $-0.7 \%$ |
| Johnson County, Kansas | $31.5 \%$ | $92.3 \%$ | $93.5 \%$ | $-1.3 \%$ |
| Lorain County, Ohio | $26.1 \%$ | $91.6 \%$ | $94.5 \%$ | $-2.9 \%$ |
| Wyandotte County, Kansas | $10.6 \%$ | $90.2 \%$ | $93.3 \%$ | $-3.1 \%$ |

Table 9d

| Northeast | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Non- <br> Owner Units Single <br> Family Detached | Share Hispanic <br> Owner Units <br> Single Family <br> Detached | Gap Share Owner <br> Units Single <br> Family Detached |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Essex County, Massachusetts | $29.5 \%$ | $79.0 \%$ | $37.0 \%$ | $42.1 \%$ |
| Providence County, Rhode Island | $24.9 \%$ | $80.4 \%$ | $41.2 \%$ | $39.2 \%$ |
| Passaic County, New Jersey | $33.3 \%$ | $79.3 \%$ | $45.1 \%$ | $34.1 \%$ |
| Camden County, New Jersey | $24.8 \%$ | $83.0 \%$ | $50.6 \%$ | $32.4 \%$ |
| Essex County, New Jersey | $26.2 \%$ | $80.9 \%$ | $49.8 \%$ | $31.1 \%$ |
| Worcester County, Massachusetts | $34.3 \%$ | $84.2 \%$ | $59.7 \%$ | $24.5 \%$ |
| Fairfield County, Connecticut | $32.8 \%$ | $82.5 \%$ | $58.9 \%$ | $23.7 \%$ |
| Union County, New Jersey | $28.3 \%$ | $86.4 \%$ | $63.5 \%$ | $23.0 \%$ |
| Middlesex County, Massachusetts | $22.0 \%$ | $76.9 \%$ | $56.2 \%$ | $20.7 \%$ |
| Hampden County, Massachusetts | $33.3 \%$ | $85.4 \%$ | $65.1 \%$ | $20.3 \%$ |
| New Haven County, Connecticut | $29.0 \%$ | $82.2 \%$ | $62.1 \%$ | $20.1 \%$ |
| Westchester County, New York | $29.8 \%$ | $71.5 \%$ | $55.6 \%$ | $15.9 \%$ |
| Hartford County, Connecticut | $33.9 \%$ | $83.8 \%$ | $73.3 \%$ | $10.5 \%$ |
| Richmond County, New York | $22.9 \%$ | $48.4 \%$ | $38.2 \%$ | $10.2 \%$ |
| Middlesex County, New Jersey | $23.8 \%$ | $78.5 \%$ | $68.9 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ |
| Suffolk County, Massachusetts | $10.4 \%$ | $36.9 \%$ | $27.5 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ |
| Bronx County, New York | $13.4 \%$ | $29.9 \%$ | $20.6 \%$ | $9.3 \%$ |
| Bergen County, New Jersey | $18.9 \%$ | $78.5 \%$ | $73.1 \%$ | $5.4 \%$ |
| Hudson County, New Jersey | $9.6 \%$ | $27.6 \%$ | $23.1 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ |
| Kings County, New York | $10.0 \%$ | $16.9 \%$ | $12.5 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ |
| Queens County, New York | $9.8 \%$ | $35.2 \%$ | $34.3 \%$ | $1.0 \%$ |
| Nassau County, New York | $31.2 \%$ | $90.0 \%$ | $89.2 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ |
| New York County, New York | $10.2 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $-0.2 \%$ |
| Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania | $-2.5 \%$ | $13.2 \%$ | $13.5 \%$ | $-0.3 \%$ |
| Suffolk County, New York | $21.0 \%$ | $91.4 \%$ | $92.0 \%$ | $-0.6 \%$ |

In several places, the discussion has already hinted to the likely importance of mobile home occupancy. In Figures 16a-16d we can see both the levels of mobile home occupancy in each region and the large disparity between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites in the few counties where mobile home occupancy is significant. In the Northeast, mobile home occupancy is simply not a factor. In all but one county in the Midwest (Finney, KS), mobile home shares of owner households are well below 10 percent for both Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites. In the West there are a few more counties with the share of mobile homes in the 5-to-10 percent range, but about half of the counties favor whites and about half favor Hispanics. Only Dona Ana, NM has a very large mobile home presence favoring Hispanics, clearly accounting for the negative homeownership rate gap there. In Riverside, CA a much more modest but nonetheless significant mobile home presence favors nonHispanic whites.

In the South, however, mobile home occupancy approaches or exceeds 20 percent for Hispanic owners in several counties and for white owners in two. Curiously, the three counties with the highest share of Hispanic owners living in mobile homes also have above average homeownership rate gaps for young adults (Brazoria, TX, Fort Bend, TX and Denton, TX). Even the greater availability of mobile homes for Hispanic ownership in these counties was not sufficient to reduce the homeownership gap to parity or better. Even more striking is the fact that Hidalgo, TX, with more than twice the rate of mobile home occupancy for non-Hispanic white owners (34.7 percent) compared to Hispanic (13.5 percent), turns out to have a negative homeownership rate gap for young adults. The conclusion seems to be that mobile home occupancy by Hispanics explains the uniqueness of Finney, KS in the Midwest and Dona Ana, NM in the West, and while Hispanic mobile home ownership in the South affects a handful of counties, it mostly explains the gaps in the shares living in single-family detached homes, but has not been sufficient to close the homeownership rate gap for young adults in such places as Brazoria, TX and Fort Bend, TX.

## Foreign-Born Influence

A large part of the homeownership gap between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites, particularly for young adults, is frequently attributed to the influence of recent immigrants. Immigrants, understandably start out with low rates of homeownership. With increased duration in the U.S., the foreign-born show large gains in homeownership, particularly among those who become citizens, and second generation foreign-born homeownership rates often exceed those of native born, particularly among young adults. But in the short run, an influx of foreign-born immigrants drives homeownership rates down. The higher the share that are foreign born and the higher the share not citizens, the lower the expected homeownership rate. This analysis has examined the relationships between the 25-34 homeownership gap and the share foreign-born for Hispanics and the share that are citizens for foreign-born Hispanics. Not surprisingly, the relationships are very similar for these two immigration variables, and only the citizenship charts are presented here. ${ }^{3}$

[^2]Figures 17a-17d and Tables 10a-10d show that there are positive relationships between the share not citizens and the homeownership gap for young adults in the West and South, and no relationship in the Midwest and Northeast. The high share of Hispanics who are non-citizens in Orange, CA, Clark, NV, DeKalb, GA, Gwinnett, GA, and Prince George's, MD clearly is a factor in the high homeownership gaps among 25-34 year olds for these counties. Especially high Hispanic non-citizen shares in DeKalb, GA ( 65.7 percent) and Gwinnett, GA ( 54.7 percent) surely account in large part for their large homeownership gaps for young adults. On the other hand, many of the high homeownership gap counties discussed previously have shares of Hispanics who are non-citizens that are well below 40 percent. In the Midwest, both Lorain, OH and Hennepin, MN have similarly high homeownership gaps but are at both ends of the extreme on share of Hispanic foreign-born who are not citizens. So, while citizenship status of Hispanics must be taken into account in the counties just listed, for most other high gap counties it cannot be used as a primary reason to explain the gap. This is particularly true for high citizenship counties in the Northeast and Midwest (see Figures 17c and $17 \mathrm{~d}) .{ }^{4}$

## Family Composition

One of the factors that makes Hispanic households good candidates for homeownership is the high percent, relative to non-Hispanic whites, that are married couples with children under 18 at home. Hispanics in both the West and South have significantly higher shares married with kids compared to non-Hispanic white households (Figures 18a and 18b). Partly this is due to a younger Hispanic age profile, but partly it is due to earlier age at marriage and higher fertility of Hispanics. The family composition of Hispanics in the West and South undoubtedly help accounts for the smaller homeownership gaps in these regions.

The Midwest counties appear to fall into two groups, the first where the share married with children present is lower for both whites and Hispanics, and where there is a greater balance between the groups (Figure 18c). The second group of Midwest Counties is a little higher up on the scale, and Hispanics have significantly greater shares married with kids. The Northeast has an entirely different profile, where a significant number of counties have a higher share of white households married with kids than Hispanic (Figure 18d).

The relationship between the differences in shares married with children and the homeownership gap for 25-34 year olds is presented in Figures 19a-19d and Tables 9a-9d. For the West and South the relationship between the family structure gap and the homeownership gap is practically non-existent. That is, while higher Hispanic shares of married couple/children households might help boost homeownership rates for Hispanics, the gaps in homeownership are not well predicted by the gaps in family structure. For the Midwest and the Northeast, however, there is a moderate relationship between family structure gap and homeownership gap. The more that non-Hispanic whites approach or exceed Hispanic shares married with children, the higher the homeownership rate gap for 25-34 year old household heads. Still, in the Midwest, Johnson, KS and McHenry, IL have very different

[^3]family structure gaps and each has quite large homeownership rate gaps for young adults (Figure 19c).

As in the Midwest, counties in the Northeast with high homeownership gaps span almost the full range of values on the family-type gap. Hampden, MA, and Hartford, CT, two Northeastern counties that have consistently been outliers in previous charts, have both some of the highest homeownership rate gaps for young adults, and whites exceed Hispanics in having almost 10 percent higher share married with children. Increasing the homeownership rates for Hispanics in these counties will require greater involvement of Hispanic non-traditional family types in homeownership. Other counties with high homeownership rate gaps, including Middlesex, NJ, Nassau, NY and Passaic, NJ, have a slight advantage for the share of Hispanics married with children under 18, but nowhere as large as the advantages Hispanics have in the South and West.


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Table 10a

| West | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Hispanic or Latino population: <br> Foreign born; Not a citizen |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Orange County, California | $15.6 \%$ | $40.4 \%$ |
| Monterey County, California | $-4.1 \%$ | $38.2 \%$ |
| Clark County, Nevada | $10.7 \%$ | $37.4 \%$ |
| San Mateo County, California | $12.9 \%$ | $37.1 \%$ |
| Los Angeles County, California | $3.9 \%$ | $35.9 \%$ |
| Santa Barbara County, California | $4.8 \%$ | $33.8 \%$ |
| Maricopa County, Arizona | $14.8 \%$ | $33.4 \%$ |
| San Francisco County, California | $-0.5 \%$ | $33.1 \%$ |
| Alameda County, California | $5.5 \%$ | $32.7 \%$ |
| Denver County, Colorado | $3.1 \%$ | $32.4 \%$ |
| Contra Costa County, California | $8.3 \%$ | $30.9 \%$ |
| Santa Clara County, California | $7.5 \%$ | $30.6 \%$ |
| San Diego County, California | $8.2 \%$ | $30.0 \%$ |
| Tulare County, California | $8.1 \%$ | $29.6 \%$ |
| Ventura County, California | $12.7 \%$ | $29.5 \%$ |
| Riverside County, California | $6.8 \%$ | $27.6 \%$ |
| Stanislaus County, California | $4.3 \%$ | $27.4 \%$ |
| Kern County, California | $4.8 \%$ | $26.6 \%$ |
| San Joaquin County, California | $10.4 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ |
| Fresno County, California | $11.5 \%$ | $25.5 \%$ |
| San Bernardino County, California | $-0.7 \%$ | $23.4 \%$ |
| Sacramento County, California | $3.7 \%$ | $19.9 \%$ |
| Dona Ana County, New Mexico | $-12.0 \%$ | $18.1 \%$ |
| Pima County, Arizona | $1.0 \%$ | $17.7 \%$ |
| Bernalillo County, New Mexico | $-5.2 \%$ | $10.2 \%$ |

Table 10b

| South | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Hispanic or Latino population: <br> Foreign born; Not a citizen |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| DeKalb County, Georgia | $29.9 \%$ | $65.7 \%$ |
| Gwinnett County, Georgia | $26.9 \%$ | $54.7 \%$ |
| Fairfax County, Virginia | $13.3 \%$ | $48.1 \%$ |
| Prince George's County, Maryland | $18.3 \%$ | $47.6 \%$ |
| Montgomery County, Maryland | $12.8 \%$ | $44.6 \%$ |
| Dallas County, Texas | $8.1 \%$ | $43.0 \%$ |
| Miami-Dade County, Florida | $-3.0 \%$ | $38.1 \%$ |
| Harris County, Texas | $9.4 \%$ | $36.1 \%$ |
| Palm Beach County, Florida | $13.5 \%$ | $35.3 \%$ |
| Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | $11.4 \%$ | $34.6 \%$ |
| Broward County, Florida | $0.8 \%$ | $31.2 \%$ |
| Tarrant County, Texas | $8.4 \%$ | $31.0 \%$ |
| Denton County, Texas | $14.4 \%$ | $28.4 \%$ |
| Travis County, Texas | $6.5 \%$ | $27.5 \%$ |
| Hidalgo County, Texas | $-11.5 \%$ | $23.1 \%$ |
| Hillsborough County, Florida | $8.1 \%$ | $22.4 \%$ |
| Fort Bend County, Texas | $10.2 \%$ | $20.9 \%$ |
| Webb County, Texas | $-15.2 \%$ | $20.0 \%$ |
| Cameron County, Texas | $-0.7 \%$ | $19.1 \%$ |
| El Paso County, Texas | $-11.9 \%$ | $19.1 \%$ |
| Brazoria County, Texas | $7.8 \%$ | $18.4 \%$ |
| Orange County, Florida | $7.6 \%$ | $18.2 \%$ |
| Bexar County, Texas | $1.8 \%$ | $9.6 \%$ |
| Nueces County, Texas | $4.3 \%$ | $5.1 \%$ |
| Lubbock County, Texas | $7.6 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ |

Table 10c

| Midwest | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Hispanic or Latino population: <br> Foreign born; Not a citizen |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Hennepin County, Minnesota | $28.8 \%$ | $46.6 \%$ |
| Marion County, Indiana | $29.0 \%$ | $43.1 \%$ |
| Lake County, Illinois | $19.7 \%$ | $41.9 \%$ |
| Kane County, Illinois | $17.2 \%$ | $41.0 \%$ |
| Wyandotte County, Kansas | $10.6 \%$ | $39.7 \%$ |
| McHenry County, Illinois | $29.0 \%$ | $39.3 \%$ |
| DuPage County, Illinois | $20.3 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ |
| Douglas County, Nebraska | $16.6 \%$ | $37.1 \%$ |
| Finney County, Kansas | $-9.9 \%$ | $35.1 \%$ |
| Kent County, Michigan | $26.0 \%$ | $34.9 \%$ |
| Winnebago County, Illinois | $9.3 \%$ | $34.0 \%$ |
| Cook County, Illinois | $10.6 \%$ | $33.5 \%$ |
| Franklin County, Ohio | $25.6 \%$ | $30.2 \%$ |
| Johnson County, Kansas | $31.5 \%$ | $29.8 \%$ |
| Sedgwick County, Kansas | $20.0 \%$ | $29.5 \%$ |
| Ramsey County, Minnesota | $22.4 \%$ | $29.0 \%$ |
| Will County, Illinois | $16.3 \%$ | $27.7 \%$ |
| Jackson County, Missouri | $16.4 \%$ | $27.6 \%$ |
| Milwauke County, Wisconsin | $16.1 \%$ | $24.4 \%$ |
| Wayne County, Michigan | $22.0 \%$ | $21.6 \%$ |
| Oakland County, Michigan | $23.5 \%$ | $16.8 \%$ |
| Lake County, Indiana | $15.4 \%$ | $11.1 \%$ |
| Cuyahoga County, Ohio | $16.2 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ |
| Lucas County, Ohio | $15.1 \%$ | $6.5 \%$ |
| Lorain County, Ohio | $26.1 \%$ | $3.8 \%$ |

Table 10d

| Northeast | Age 25-34 <br> HO Gap | Share Hispanic or Latino population: <br> Foreign born; Not a citizen |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Westchester County, New York | $29.8 \%$ | $37.7 \%$ |
| Queens County, New York | $9.8 \%$ | $37.0 \%$ |
| Union County, New Jersey | $28.3 \%$ | $37.0 \%$ |
| Nassau County, New York | $31.2 \%$ | $36.3 \%$ |
| Passaic County, New Jersey | $33.3 \%$ | $34.8 \%$ |
| Suffolk County, Massachusetts | $10.4 \%$ | $34.6 \%$ |
| Hudson County, New Jersey | $9.6 \%$ | $33.5 \%$ |
| Providence County, Rhode Island | $24.9 \%$ | $32.9 \%$ |
| Middlesex County, New Jersey | $23.8 \%$ | $30.8 \%$ |
| Essex County, Massachusetts | $29.5 \%$ | $30.4 \%$ |
| New York County, New York | $10.2 \%$ | $29.2 \%$ |
| Fairfield County, Connecticut | $32.8 \%$ | $28.8 \%$ |
| Bergen County, New Jersey | $18.9 \%$ | $28.3 \%$ |
| Middlesex County, Massachusetts | $22.0 \%$ | $28.1 \%$ |
| Suffolk County, New York | $21.0 \%$ | $27.3 \%$ |
| Essex County, New Jersey | $26.2 \%$ | $25.8 \%$ |
| Kings County, New York | $10.0 \%$ | $24.3 \%$ |
| Bronx County, New York | $13.4 \%$ | $20.9 \%$ |
| Richmond County, New York | $22.9 \%$ | $15.7 \%$ |
| Worcester County, Massachusetts | $34.3 \%$ | $13.5 \%$ |
| New Haven County, Connecticut | $29.0 \%$ | $12.4 \%$ |
| Camden County, New Jersey | $24.8 \%$ | $11.2 \%$ |
| Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania | $-2.5 \%$ | $8.1 \%$ |
| Hartford County, Connecticut | $33.9 \%$ | $7.3 \%$ |
| Hampden County, Massachusetts | $33.3 \%$ | $2.6 \%$ |



Homeownership Rate Differences Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanic Whites: Regional Variation at the County Level - Empirical Studies





Table 11a

| West | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Age 25-34 } \\ & \text { HO Gap } \end{aligned}$ | Share Households White alone not Hispanic or Latino 15 to 64 years; Who are Married-couple family; With own children under 18 years | Share Hispanic or Latino: Householder 15 to 64 years; Who are Married-couple family; With own children under 18 years | Fam Type Gap |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bernalillo County, New Mexico | -5.2\% | 24.4\% | 29.5\% | -5.1\% |
| Pima County, Arizona | 1.0\% | 24.1\% | 35.8\% | -11.7\% |
| Sacramento County, California | 3.7\% | 25.9\% | 38.7\% | -12.7\% |
| San Joaquin County, California | 10.4\% | 32.1\% | 45.7\% | -13.6\% |
| Fresno County, California | 11.5\% | 29.7\% | 44.0\% | -14.2\% |
| Santa Clara County, California | 7.5\% | 27.6\% | 42.0\% | -14.3\% |
| Dona Ana County, New Mexico | -12.0\% | 23.9\% | 39.3\% | -15.4\% |
| Maricopa County, Arizona | 14.8\% | 27.6\% | 43.3\% | -15.7\% |
| San Francisco County, California | -0.5\% | 9.7\% | 26.2\% | -16.4\% |
| Ventura County, California | 12.7\% | 34.3\% | 50.8\% | -16.5\% |
| Contra Costa County, California | 8.3\% | 31.6\% | 48.2\% | -16.6\% |
| San Mateo County, California | 12.9\% | 27.6\% | 44.4\% | -16.7\% |
| San Diego County, California | 8.2\% | 27.0\% | 43.7\% | -16.8\% |
| Alameda County, California | 5.5\% | 24.9\% | 42.4\% | -17.5\% |
| Tulare County, California | 8.1\% | 32.1\% | 50.2\% | -18.1\% |
| Kern County, California | 4.8\% | 31.5\% | 49.9\% | -18.4\% |
| San Bernardino County, California | -0.7\% | 32.1\% | 50.7\% | -18.6\% |
| Clark County, Nevada | 10.7\% | 23.9\% | 44.3\% | -20.5\% |
| Riverside County, California | 6.8\% | 32.3\% | 52.9\% | -20.6\% |
| Stanislaus County, California | 4.3\% | 31.5\% | 53.2\% | -21.7\% |
| Denver County, Colorado | 3.1\% | 13.2\% | 35.1\% | -21.9\% |
| Los Angeles County, California | 3.9\% | 23.5\% | 45.5\% | -22.0\% |
| Santa Barbara County, California | 4.8\% | 27.2\% | 50.2\% | -23.0\% |
| Orange County, California | 15.6\% | 29.2\% | 52.4\% | -23.3\% |
| Monterey County, California | -4.1\% | 27.5\% | 55.2\% | -27.7\% |

Table 11b
$\left.\begin{array}{lccccc}\hline & & \begin{array}{c}\text { Share Households White } \\ \text { alone not Hispanic or } \\ \text { Latino 15 to 64 years; } \\ \text { Who are Married-couple } \\ \text { family; With own }\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}\text { Latino: Householder 15 } \\ \text { to 64 years; Who are } \\ \text { Married-couple family; } \\ \text { With own children }\end{array} \\ \text { under 18 years }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}\text { Fam Type } \\ \text { Gap }\end{array}\right]$

Table 11c
$\left.\left.\begin{array}{lccccc}\hline & & \begin{array}{c}\text { Share Households White } \\ \text { alone not Hispanic or } \\ \text { Latino 15 to 64 years; } \\ \text { Who are Married-couple } \\ \text { family; With own }\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}\text { Latino: Householder 15 } \\ \text { to 64 years; Who are } \\ \text { Married-couple family; } \\ \text { With own children }\end{array} \\ \text { under 18 years }\end{array}\right] \begin{array}{c}\text { Fam Type } \\ \text { Gap }\end{array}\right]$

Table 11d

| Northeast | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Age 25-34 } \\ & \text { HO Gap } \end{aligned}$ | Share Households White alone not Hispanic or Latino 15 to 64 years; Who are Married-couple family; With own children under 18 years | Share Hispanic or Latino: Householder 15 to 64 years; Who are Married-couple family; With own children under 18 years | $\begin{gathered} \text { Fam Type } \\ \text { Gap } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hampden County, Massachusetts | 33.3\% | 29.9\% | 20.4\% | 9.5\% |
| Hartford County, Connecticut | 33.9\% | 30.8\% | 21.8\% | 8.9\% |
| Camden County, New Jersey | 24.8\% | 34.4\% | 27.8\% | 6.6\% |
| Essex County, Massachusetts | 29.5\% | 32.2\% | 27.5\% | 4.7\% |
| Essex County, New Jersey | 26.2\% | 34.6\% | 30.4\% | 4.3\% |
| Worcester County, Massachusetts | 34.3\% | 32.9\% | 28.7\% | 4.2\% |
| Kings County, New York | 10.0\% | 29.3\% | 25.4\% | 3.9\% |
| New Haven County, Connecticut | 29.0\% | 30.9\% | 27.8\% | 3.1\% |
| Fairfield County, Connecticut | 32.8\% | 37.3\% | 34.4\% | 3.0\% |
| Bronx County, New York | 13.4\% | 22.8\% | 22.3\% | 0.5\% |
| Middlesex County, Massachusetts | 22.0\% | 31.1\% | 31.2\% | -0.2\% |
| Union County, New Jersey | 28.3\% | 36.6\% | 37.8\% | -1.2\% |
| Westchester County, New York | 29.8\% | 37.6\% | 39.4\% | -1.8\% |
| Richmond County, New York | 22.9\% | 35.8\% | 37.7\% | -1.9\% |
| Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania | -2.5\% | 21.4\% | 23.8\% | -2.4\% |
| Providence County, Rhode Island | 24.9\% | 26.5\% | 29.4\% | -2.9\% |
| Passaic County, New Jersey | 33.3\% | 33.1\% | 36.9\% | -3.8\% |
| Nassau County, New York | 31.2\% | 41.5\% | 45.5\% | -4.0\% |
| Bergen County, New Jersey | 18.9\% | 35.4\% | 40.2\% | -4.8\% |
| Suffolk County, New York | 21.0\% | 39.1\% | 45.3\% | -6.2\% |
| Middlesex County, New Jersey | 23.8\% | 33.0\% | 40.2\% | -7.2\% |
| New York County, New York | 10.2\% | 10.5\% | 18.8\% | -8.2\% |
| Queens County, New York | 9.8\% | 24.0\% | 33.5\% | -9.6\% |
| Suffolk County, Massachusetts | 10.4\% | 12.8\% | 23.3\% | -10.6\% |
| Hudson County, New Jersey | 9.6\% | 17.8\% | 30.1\% | -12.3\% |

## Summary and Conclusions

In each region, several high homeownership gap counties have emerged as consistent outliers where the characteristics of Hispanic households relative to non-Hispanic white households might be construed as favorable to narrowing the homeownership rate gap. Table 10 through Table 13 summarize each of the 100 selected county positions on the homeownership rate gap for 25-34 year olds and on the seven other variables which have been correlated with the homeownership rate gap. The top panel gives the values of the variables, while the bottom panel gives the county ranking ( $25=$ highest and 1 = lowest) on each variable. The columns to the right summarize the county scores on the three economic variables (gap in share 25-34 year old households earning \$40,000 or more, median county housing value, and gap in housing costs as a share of income), the two housing stock variables (share owner units built since 1980 and share owner units single-family detached), and the two demographic variables (share Hispanic foreign born who are citizens and share heads age 15-64 who are married with children under 18 present). The last column gives an average ranking for all seven variables.

Outliers are defined in these ranking tables as having a lower rank on the explanatory variable and a higher rank on the homeownership gap variable. Specifically, this difference is operationalized as those counties with a ranking above 15 on the homeownership rate gap for 25-34 year olds ( 1 being the smallest and 25 the largest gap) and equal to or below 15 on the average of the seven explanatory variables that were examined. The top five outliers in each region are as follows:

| West | Maricopa County, AZ <br> Fresno County, CA <br> Clark County, NV <br> San Joaquin County, CA <br> Contra Costa County, CA |
| :---: | :---: |
| South | DeKalb, GA <br> Prince George's County, MD Denton County, TX Palm Beach County, FL Oklahoma County, OK |
| Midwest | Johnson County, KS <br> Marion County, IN <br> McHenry County, IL <br> Lorain County, OH <br> Kent County, MI |
| Northeast | Worcester County, MA <br> Hartford County, CT <br> Hampden County, MA <br> Nassau County, NY <br> New Haven County, CT |

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Table 12

|  | West | Age 25- <br> 34 HO <br> Gap | Gap Age 2534 Income Share \$40K+ | Median Value | Hispanic Costs as a \% of HH income | Gap Share Owner Units Built Since 1980 | Gap Share Owner Units Single Family Detached | Share Hispanic: Foreign born; Not a citizen | Gap Married w/ Kids |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | Orange County, California | 15.6\% | 24.0\% | \$270,000 | 27.6 | 10.5\% | -1.5\% | 40.4\% | -23.3\% |  |  |  |  |
| 24 | Maricopa County, Arizona | 14.8\% | 27.3\% | \$129,200 | 23.5 | 19.5\% | -3.6\% | 33.4\% | -15.7\% |  |  |  |  |
| 23 | San Mateo County, California | 12.9\% | 18.3\% | \$469,200 | 27.7 | 2.2\% | 3.8\% | 37.1\% | -16.7\% |  |  |  |  |
| 22 | Ventura County, California | 12.7\% | 20.7\% | \$248,700 | 26.4 | 11.8\% | 0.4\% | 29.5\% | -16.5\% |  |  |  |  |
| 21 | Fresno County, California | 11.5\% | 24.9\% | \$104,900 | 26.0 | 4.8\% | -1.6\% | 25.5\% | -14.2\% |  |  |  |  |
| 20 | Clark County, Nevada | 10.7\% | 17.2\% | \$139,500 | 25.4 | 15.7\% | -4.8\% | 37.4\% | -20.5\% |  |  |  |  |
| 19 | San Joaquin County, California | 10.4\% | 20.6\% | \$142,400 | 26.7 | -0.1\% | -0.8\% | 26.3\% | -13.6\% |  |  |  |  |
| 18 | Contra Costa County, California | 8.3\% | 19.3\% | \$267,800 | 26.9 | -1.4\% | -2.6\% | 30.9\% | -16.6\% |  |  |  |  |
| 17 | San Diego County, California | 8.2\% | 23.6\% | \$227,200 | 28.0 | 6.2\% | 0.8\% | 30.0\% | -16.8\% |  |  |  |  |
| 16 | Tulare County, California | 8.1\% | 24.3\% | \$97,800 | 26.6 | -2.2\% | -2.3\% | 29.6\% | -18.1\% |  |  |  |  |
| 15 | Santa Clara County, California | 7.5\% | 17.9\% | \$446,400 | 26.9 | 0.5\% | 0.1\% | 30.6\% | -14.3\% |  |  |  |  |
| 14 | Riverside County, California | 6.8\% | 19.9\% | \$146,500 | 26.9 | 2.3\% | -8.9\% | 27.6\% | -20.6\% |  |  |  |  |
| 13 | Alameda County, California | 5.5\% | 11.9\% | \$303,100 | 26.6 | 6.9\% | -0.4\% | 32.7\% | -17.5\% |  |  |  |  |
| 12 | Santa Barbara County, California | 4.8\% | 21.9\% |  | 28.1 | 0.1\% | -0.3\% | 33.8\% | -23.0\% |  |  |  |  |
| 11 | Kern County, California | 4.8\% | 22.0\% | \$93,300 | 27.4 | 5.3\% | -3.3\% | 26.6\% | -18.4\% |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | Stanislaus County, California | 4.3\% | 13.1\% ${ }^{\text {\$ }}$ | 3 3 98, 300 | 25.8 | -12.4\% | -2.0\% | 27.4\% | -21.7\% |  |  |  |  |
| 9 | Los Angeles County, California | 3.9\% | 26.2\% | \$209,300 | 29.0 | 5.3\% | -1.6\% | 35.9\% | -22.0\% |  |  |  |  |
| 8 | Sacramento County, California | 3.7\% | 13.6\% | \$144,200 | 25.6 | -5.3\% | -4.0\% | 19.9\% | -12.7\% |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Denver County, Colorado | 3.1\% | 21.1\% | \$165,800 | 25.7 | 2.7\% | -11.6\% | 32.4\% | -21.9\% |  |  |  |  |
| 6 | Pima County, Arizona | 1.0\% | 13.2\% | \$114,600 | 23.5 | 9.3\% | -4.3\% | 17.7\% | -11.7\% |  |  |  |  |
| 5 | San Francisco County, California | -0.5\% | 17.2\% | \$396,400 | 28.5 | 3.4\% | -11.2\% | 33.1\% | -16.4\% |  |  |  |  |
| 4 | San Bernardino County, California | -0.7\% | 13.7\% |  | 26.8 | 0.3\% | -3.2\% | 23.4\% | -18.6\% |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | Monterey County, California | -4.1\% |  |  | 27.6 | -17.1\% | 5.0\% | 38.2\% | -27.7\% |  |  |  |  |
| 2 | Bernalillo County, New Mexico | -5.2\% | 12.4\% ${ }^{\$ 1}$ | \$1888,300 | 24.9 | 1.9\% | 2.0\% | 10.2\% | -5.1\% | Average | Average | Average | Average |
| 1 | Dona Ana County, New Mexico | -12.0\% | 23.3\% | \$90,900 | 23.0 | 4.4\% | 15.6\% | 18.1\% | -15.4\% | Economic Variables | Housing Variables | Household Variables | All Variables |
| Rank: 25 = highest, 1 = lowest $\quad$ Variables Variables Variables Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 25 | Orange County, California | 15.6\% | 21 | 20 | 20 | 22 | 15 | 25 | 2 | 20.3 | 18.5 | 13.5 | 17.9 |
| 24 | Maricopa County, Arizona | 14.8\% | 25 | 8 | 3 | 25 | 7 | 19 | 18 | 12.0 | 16.0 | 18.5 | 15.0 |
| 23 | San Mateo County, California | 12.9\% | 10 | 25 | 21 | 11 | 23 | 22 | 14 | 18.7 | 17.0 | 18.0 | 18.0 |
| 22 | Ventura County, California | 12.7\% |  | 17 | 10 | 23 | 20 | 11 | 16 | 14.0 | 21.5 | 13.5 | 16.0 |
| 21 | Fresno County, California | 11.5\% | 23 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 13 | 6 | 21 | 12.0 | 14.5 | 13.5 | 13.1 |
| 20 | Clark County, Nevada | 10.7\% | 8 | 10 | 5 | 24 | 4 | 23 | 8 | 7.7 | 14.0 | 15.5 | 11.7 |
| 19 | San Joaquin County, California | 10.4\% | 14 | 11 | 13 | 6 | 16 | 7 | 22 | 12.7 | 11.0 | 14.5 | 12.7 |
| 18 | Contra Costa County, California | 8.3\% | 12 | 19 | 16 | 5 | 10 | 15 | 15 | 15.7 | 7.5 | 15.0 | 13.1 |
| 17 | San Diego County, California | 8.2\% | 20 | 16 | 22 | 19 | 21 | 13 | 13 | 19.3 | 20.0 | 13.0 | 17.7 |
| 16 | Tulare County, California | 8.1\% ${ }^{15}$ |  | 3 | 11 | 4 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 12.0 | 7.5 | 11.5 | 10.6 |
| 15 | Santa Clara County, California | 7.5\% | 9 | 24 | 17 | 9 | 19 | 14 | 20 | 16.7 | 14.0 | 17.0 | 16.0 |
| 14 | Riverside County, California | 6.8\% | 13 | 13 | 15 | 12 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 13.7 | 7.5 | 8.5 | 10.4 |
| 13 | Alameda County, California | 5.5\% | 1 | 22 | 12 | 20 | 17 | 17 | 12 | 11.7 | 18.5 | 14.5 | 14.4 |
| 12 | Santa Barbara County, California | 4.8\% | 17 | 21 | 23 | 7 | 18 | 20 | 3 | 20.3 | 12.5 | 11.5 | 15.6 |
| 11 | Kern County, California | 4.8\% | 18 | 2 | 18 | 18 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 12.7 | 13.0 | 9.0 | 11.7 |
| 10 | Stanislaus County, California | $4.3 \%{ }^{22}$ | 3 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 12 | 9 | 6 | 5.7 | 7.0 | 7.5 | 6.6 |
| 9 | Los Angeles County, California | 3.9\% | 24 | 15 | 25 | 17 | 14 | 21 | 4 | 21.3 | 15.5 | 12.5 | 17.1 |
| 8 | Sacramento County, California | 3.7\% | 5 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 23 | 7.7 | 4.5 | 13.5 | 8.4 |
| 7 | Denver County, Colorado | 3.1\% | 16 | 14 | 7 | 13 | 1 | 16 | 5 | 12.3 | 7.0 | 10.5 | 10.3 |
| 6 | Pima County, Arizona | 1.0\% | 4 | 5 | 2 | 21 | 5 | 2 | 24 | 3.7 | 13.0 | 13.0 | 9.0 |
| 5 | San Francisco County, California | -0.5\% | 7 | 23 | 24 | 14 | 2 | 18 | 17 | 18.0 | 8.0 | 17.5 | 15.0 |
| 4 | San Bernardino County, California | -0.7\% | 6 | 9 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 9.7 | 8.5 | 7.0 | 8.6 |
| 3 | Monterey County, California | -4.1\% | 11 | 18 | 19 | 1 | 24 | 24 | 1 | 16.0 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 14.0 |
| 2 | Bernalillo County, New Mexico | -5.2\% | 2 | 7 | 4 | 10 | 22 | 1 | 25 | 4.3 | 16.0 | 13.0 | 10.1 |
| 1 | Dona Ana County, New Mexico | -12.0\% | 19 | 1 | 1 | 15 | 25 | 3 | 19 | 7.0 | 20.0 | 11.0 | 11.9 |

Table 13

|  | South | Age 25- <br> 34 HO <br> Gap | Gap Age 2534 Income Share $\$ 40 \mathrm{~K}+$ | Median Value | Hispanic Costs as a $\%$ of HH income | Gap Share Owner Units Built Since 1980 | Gap Share Owner Units Single Family Detached | Share Hispanic: Foreign born; Not a citizen | Gap Married w/ Kids |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | DeKalb County, Georgia | 29.9\% | 19.5\% | \$135,100 | 21.4 | -14.6\% | 4.1\% | 65.7\% | -16.9\% |
| 24 | Gwinnett County, Georgia | 26.9\% | 19.6\% | \$142,100 | 24.3 | -5.4\% | 7.6\% | 54.7\% | -13.9\% |
| 23 | Prince George's County, Maryland | 18.3\% | 14.0\% | \$145,600 | 26.5 | 0.5\% | 2.3\% | 47.6\% | -18.3\% |
| 22 | Denton County, Texas | 14.4\% | 20.3\% | \$133,200 | 21.2 | 2.0\% | 11.3\% | 28.4\% | -11.3\% |
| 21 | Palm Beach County, Florida | 13.5\% | 20.4\% | \$135,200 | 25.9 | 6.6\% | -14.3\% | 35.3\% | -13.5\% |
| 20 | Fairfax County, Virginia | 13.3\% | 20.2\% | \$233,300 | 24.5 | 3.1\% | 22.2\% | 48.1\% | -12.8\% |
| 19 | Montgomery County, Maryland | 12.8\% | 16.7\% | \$221,800 | 25.9 | 1.1\% | 15.3\% | 44.6\% | -8.5\% |
| 18 | Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | 11.4\% | 18.9\% | \$75,800 | 21.6 | 10.1\% | 1.8\% | 34.6\% | -16.9\% |
| 17 | Fort Bend County, Texas | 10.2\% | 32.0\% | \$115,100 | 21.5 | 6.7\% | 16.2\% | 20.9\% | -8.8\% |
| 16 | Harris County, Texas | 9.4\% | 31.3\% | \$87,000 | 21.6 | 9.5\% | 2.9\% | 36.1\% | -18.5\% |
| 15 | Tarrant County, Texas | 8.4\% | 22.4\% | \$90,300 | 21.3 | 14.9\% | 1.8\% | 31.0\% | -15.6\% |
| 14 | Hillsborough County, Florida | 8.1\% | 19.2\% | \$97,700 | 23.8 | 6.8\% | -5.2\% | 22.4\% | -8.3\% |
| 13 | Dallas County, Texas | 8.1\% | 28.2\% | \$92,700 | 22.3 | 8.3\% | -0.1\% | 43.0\% | -23.4\% |
| 12 | Brazoria County, Texas | 7.8\% | 21.9\% | \$88,500 | 19.1 | 0.2\% | 17.3\% | 18.4\% | -15.5\% |
| 11 | Orange County, Florida | 7.6\% | 20.0\% | \$107,500 | 27.2 | -17.1\% | -1.4\% | 18.2\% | -9.1\% |
| 10 | Lubbock County, Texas | 7.6\% | 15.5\% | \$69,100 | 19.0 | 10.8\% | 0.5\% | 2.7\% | -9.6\% |
| 9 | Travis County, Texas | 6.5\% | 15.7\% | \$134,700 | 22.5 | 2.2\% | 3.8\% | 27.5\% | -12.5\% |
| 8 | Nueces County, Texas | 4.3\% | 20.5\% | \$70,100 | 21.9 | 12.5\% | -5.1\% | 5.1\% | -6.3\% |
| 7 | Bexar County, Texas | 1.8\% | 23.4\% | \$74,100 | 21.1 | 17.5\% | -2.1\% | 9.6\% | -6.2\% |
| 6 | Broward County, Florida | 0.8\% | 6.4\% | \$128,600 | 26.0 | -13.7\% | -13.6\% | 31.2\% | -14.6\% |
| 5 | Cameron County, Texas | -0.7\% | 41.2\% | \$53,000 | 23.3 | 0.1\% | -20.2\% | 19.1\% | -21.2\% |
| 4 | Miami-Dade County, Florida | -3.0\% | 14.4\% | \$124,000 | 27.9 | -14.5\% | -2.8\% | 38.1\% | -11.4\% |
| 3 | Hidalgo County, Texas | -11.5\% | 32.9\% | \$52,400 | 23.7 | -4.3\% | -25.1\% | 23.1\% | -22.2\% |
| 2 | El Paso County, Texas | -11.9\% | 25.0\% | \$69,600 | 22.9 | -7.3\% | 6.2\% | 19.1\% | -12.2\% |
| 1 | Webb County, Texas | -15.2\% | 14.6\% | \$74,600 | 24.2 | -2.6\% | 3.9\% | 20.0\% | -7.6\% |


| Average | Average | Average | Average |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Economic | Housing | Household | All |
| Variables | Variables | Variables | Variables |


|  |  | Rank: 25 = highest, 1 = lowest |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | DeKalb County, Georgia | 29.9\% | 10 | 20 |
| 24 | Gwinnett County, Georgia | 26.9\% | 11 | 22 |
| 23 | Prince George's County, Maryland | 18.3\% | 2 | 23 |
| 22 | Denton County, Texas | 14.4\% | 14 | 18 |
| 21 | Palm Beach County, Florida | 13.5\% | 15 | 21 |
| 20 | Fairfax County, Virginia | 13.3\% | 13 | 25 |
| 19 | Montgomery County, Maryland | 12.8\% | 7 | 24 |
| 18 | Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | 11.4\% | 8 | 8 |
| 17 | Fort Bend County, Texas | 10.2\% | 23 | 15 |
| 16 | Harris County, Texas | 9.4\% | 22 | 9 |
| 15 | Tarrant County, Texas | 8.4\% | 18 | 11 |
| 14 | Hillsborough County, Florida | 8.1\% | 9 | 13 |
| 13 | Dallas County, Texas | 8.1\% | 21 | 12 |
| 12 | Brazoria County, Texas | 7.8\% | 17 | 10 |
| 11 | Orange County, Florida | 7.6\% | 12 | 14 |
| 10 | Lubbock County, Texas | 7.6\% | 5 | 3 |
| 9 | Travis County, Texas | 6.5\% | 6 | 19 |
| 8 | Nueces County, Texas | 4.3\% | 16 | 5 |
| 7 | Bexar County, Texas | 1.8\% | 19 | 6 |
| 6 | Broward County, Florida | 0.8\% | 1 | 17 |
| 5 | Cameron County, Texas | -0.7\% | 25 | 2 |
| 4 | Miami-Dade County, Florida | -3.0\% | 3 | 16 |
| 3 | Hidalgo County, Texas | -11.5\% | 24 | 1 |
| 2 | El Paso County, Texas | -11.9\% |  | 4 |
| 1 | Webb County, Texas | -15.2\% | 4 | 7 |


| 6 |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 18 | 6 | 18 | 25 | 7 |
| 23 | 11 | 20 | 24 | 11 |
| 4 | 13 | 14 | 22 | 5 |
| 20 | 16 | 3 | 13 | 17 |
| 19 | 15 | 25 | 17 | 12 |
| 21 | 12 | 22 | 23 | 13 |
| 8 | 21 | 13 | 16 | 21 |
| 7 | 17 | 23 | 9 | 6 |
| 9 | 20 | 15 | 18 | 20 |
| 5 | 24 | 12 | 14 | 8 |
| 16 | 18 | 5 | 10 | 22 |
| 11 | 19 | 10 | 20 | 1 |
| 2 | 10 | 24 | 5 | 9 |
| 24 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 19 |
| 1 | 22 | 11 | 1 | 18 |
| 12 | 14 | 16 | 12 | 14 |
| 10 | 23 | 6 | 2 | 24 |
| 3 | 25 | 8 | 3 | 25 |
| 22 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 10 |
| 14 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 3 |
| 25 | 3 | 7 | 19 | 16 |
| 15 | 7 | 1 | 11 | 2 |
| 13 | 5 | 19 | 6 | 15 |
| 17 | 8 | 17 | 8 | 23 |
|  |  |  |  |  |


| 7 |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | 12.0 | 10.0 | 16.0 | 12.6 |
| 5 | 17.0 | 13.0 | 17.5 | 16.0 |
| 5 | 16.0 | 12.5 | 13.5 | 14.3 |
| 12 | 12.0 | 17.0 | 15.0 | 14.3 |
| 13 | 18.7 | 9.5 | 14.5 | 14.9 |
| 21 | 19.0 | 20.0 | 18.0 | 19.0 |
| 6 | 17.3 | 17.0 | 21.0 | 18.3 |
| 20 | 8.0 | 17.0 | 11.0 | 11.4 |
| 4 | 15.0 | 20.0 | 14.5 | 16.3 |
| 8 | 13.3 | 17.5 | 11.0 | 13.9 |
| 22 | 11.3 | 18.0 | 11.0 | 13.1 |
| 1 | 12.7 | 11.5 | 16.0 | 13.3 |
| 9 | 14.7 | 14.5 | 10.5 | 13.4 |
| 19 | 9.7 | 17.0 | 7.0 | 11.0 |
| 18 | 16.7 | 5.0 | 11.5 | 11.9 |
| 14 | 3.0 | 16.5 | 9.5 | 8.7 |
| 24 | 12.3 | 15.0 | 13.0 | 13.3 |
| 25 | 10.3 | 14.5 | 13.0 | 12.3 |
| 10 | 9.3 | 16.5 | 14.0 | 12.7 |
| 3 | 13.3 | 4.0 | 12.5 | 10.4 |
| 16 | 13.7 | 5.5 | 5.0 | 8.9 |
| 2 | 14.7 | 5.0 | 17.5 | 12.7 |
| 15 | 13.3 | 4.0 | 6.5 | 8.7 |
| 23 | 12.3 | 12.0 | 10.5 | 11.7 |
|  | 9.3 | 12.5 | 15.5 | 12.0 |

Table 14


Table 15


Counties with high housing costs generally do not make this short list, and with a few notable exceptions (Clark, NV, DeKalb, GA and Marion, IN), nor do counties with a very high share of Hispanics who are not citizens. Sometimes counties rank high on both these variables (Orange, CA, San Mateo, CA and Westchester, NY), attesting to the power of wealth in attracting an immigrant service industry staffed by Hispanic non-citizens. Prince George's County, MD could have gone either way (ranked high on median housing value, on cost as a share of income and on share foreignborn Hispanic non-citizens), but its low ranking on other key variables (income gap, housing stock constraints, and family type gap) tipped the scales toward inclusion. Hennepin County, MN is similar to Prince George's County, MD in many of its ranking scores, but did not quite have enough low rankings to make the short list.

For some counties listed above with only a few very high rankings on individual variables, the rankings point to a direction any efforts to increase Hispanic homeownership might take. For example, Hispanics in Maricopa, AZ, Worcester, MA, and Hartford, CT all rank high on the gap in the share in owner housing built since 1980 and on the gap in the share of married couples with children. That is, Hispanics are disadvantaged relative to non-Hispanic whites on these measures, so focused efforts to increase Hispanic occupancy of newer units and efforts to bring non-traditional families into homeownership in these counties might be called for.

For all counties on our short list the conclusion should be that, for a variety of reasons, we can perhaps do a better job of promoting Hispanic homeownership in these counties than in others. New efforts will usually require much creativity and hard work - on the affordability issues, on housing discrimination issues, and on motivational issues to invite Hispanics to seek out homeownership opportunities that the market is already providing in these counties more successfully to non-Hispanic whites.

Several counties on the short list, except those in the Northeast, do rank in the upper half on the percent Hispanic foreign-born who are not citizens. Over time, one expects that citizenship status will become less of a deterrent to Hispanic homeownership in these counties as citizenship rates naturally increase. Public policies to increase Hispanic homeownership will have the advantage of demographic momentum in these counties. In the Northeast, where Puerto Ricans are a large influence, the issue of continuing back and forth residence might act as non-citizenship does for many Mexican Hispanics in deterring homeownership in other parts of the country.

We have selected outliers with high homeownership rate gaps to focus attention on where efforts might have the largest payoffs in reducing the gaps. However, an alternative strategy would be to use the analysis to see what has worked in creating low homeownership gaps and promote more of the same in those already low-gap counties. For example, mobile homes figure prominently in promoting homeownership among Hispanics in a few selected counties, and might be further promoted in those counties and in others.

Affordable housing is certainly the key to greater Hispanic homeownership. In many counties in the South and West, new construction seems to be able to meet this affordability goal more easily than in the Northeast and Midwest. However, a low ranking on the gap in share living in newer housing and in the gap in single-family occupancy can also be found in many counties in the Northeast and Midwest. In these regions, greater Hispanic access to affordable housing that does come on the
market, as well as efforts to turn rental housing into owner occupancy seem to suggest themselves as part of the strategy to boost Hispanic homeownership opportunities.

In closing, we must recognize that that this paper is somewhat experimental, and as all experimental efforts has its flaws. The goal was to motivate a paradigm shift by moving the focus away from the standard multivariate analyses that focuses on central tendencies of a large group of observations rather than on individual observations themselves - that is, where the shape of the forest is more important than the location of the trees that define it. Here, the trees are the points of interest, and only the trees that appear a bit "out of line" at that. The analysis has almost completely eschewed regression results except for the location of the line of best fit relative to the diagonal lines representing parity. The individual observations are, however, grouped by region out of a belief that levels of the variables being measured are only meaningful in a regional context. Nonetheless, the reader has had to review a large number of charts that are often indistinguishable from one another, because that is exactly what they were. While there is a certain amount of heavy handedness in the effort, the redundancy is essential to the key to new insights. The focus in this paper is redirected from the many to the few, from high or low in absolute terms to high or low in relative terms, from values to rankings, and from uniqueness to redundancy. All of this in theory could have been accomplished, perhaps, using standard statistical models by focusing on residuals. But such an effort would have been doomed from the outset because those who are comfortable with multivariate models would have slipped unavoidably into looking mostly at the shape of the forest. The paradigm would hardly have budged.

## Appendix Tables

## Appendix Table 1a

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { ㄷ } \\ & \hline 1 \end{aligned}$ | Hispanic Pop Rank | West Region | Population Hispanic or Latino | Population White Alone, NonHispanic | Population Non- <br> Hispanic Minority | Households Hispanic or Latino | Households White <br> Alone, NonHispanic | Households <br> Non- <br> Hispanic <br> Minority | Owners <br> Hispanic or Latino | Owners <br> White <br> Alone, <br> NonHispanic | Owners <br> Non- <br> Hispanic Minority |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 | Los Angeles County, California | 4,245,625 | 2,960,514 | 2,313,199 | 1,011,969 | 1,332,056 | 789,749 | 381,124 | 776,182 | 342,438 |
|  | 2 | Orange County, California | 876,657 | 1,460,146 | 509,486 | 182,312 | 605,493 | 147,482 | 76,478 | 417,174 | 80,804 |
| 응 | 3 | Maricopa County, Arizona | 761,893 | 2,033,763 | 276,493 | 186,202 | 858,105 | 88,579 | 94,652 | 627,004 | 42,891 |
| $\stackrel{\text { d }}{ }$ | 4 | San Diego County, California | 751,293 | 1,547,608 | 514,931 | 181,713 | 659,634 | 153,330 | 71,740 | 411,838 | 67,883 |
| ¢ | 5 | San Bernardino County, California | 670,098 | 752,151 | 287,185 | 154,758 | 288,871 | 84,965 | 92,622 | 203,535 | 44,776 |
|  | 6 | Riverside County, California | 559,430 | 788,147 | 197,810 | 126,998 | 321,428 | 57,792 | 74,627 | 240,389 | 33,516 |
| ¢ | 7 | Santa Clara County, California | 403,820 | 743,703 | 535,062 | 90,457 | 317,015 | 158,391 | 41,182 | 210,992 | 86,487 |
|  | 8 | Fresno County, California | 351,739 | 317,365 | 130,303 | 86,085 | 130,908 | 35,947 | 38,862 | 88,558 | 15,375 |
|  | 9 | Clark County, Nevada | 302,668 | 828,211 | 244,886 | 76,052 | 353,404 | 82,797 | 34,755 | 229,222 | 38,857 |
|  | 10 | Alameda County, California | 274,311 | 590,490 | 578,940 | 67,844 | 261,303 | 194,219 | 30,345 | 165,397 | 90,535 |
| $\bigcirc \stackrel{\text { ¢ }}{ }$ | 11 | Kern County, California | 254,072 | 327,514 | 80,059 | 58,131 | 127,287 | 23,234 | 30,337 | 87,526 | 11,746 |
|  | 12 | Ventura County, California | 251,568 | 427,816 | 73,813 | 53,830 | 168,082 | 21,322 | 27,661 | 123,367 | 13,352 |
|  | 13 | Pima County, Arizona | 247,218 | 518,904 | 77,625 | 70,944 | 235,268 | 26,138 | 40,324 | 161,139 | 12,140 |
|  | 14 | Bernalillo County, New Mexico | 233,805 | 268,875 | 53,998 | 77,532 | 124,630 | 18,774 | 47,908 | 84,237 | 8,489 |
|  | 15 | Sacramento County, California | 195,760 | 707,182 | 320,557 | 53,008 | 300,401 | 100,193 | 25,984 | 189,417 | 48,418 |
| 士 エ | 16 | Monterey County, California | 188,025 | 161,910 | 51,827 | 37,671 | 68,515 | 15,050 | 16,061 | 42,235 | 7,917 |
|  | 17 | Tulare County, California | 186,955 | 153,833 | 27,234 | 42,645 | 59,977 | 7,763 | 21,939 | 41,731 | 4,243 |
| $\stackrel{5}{2}$ | 18 | Denver County, Colorado | 175,820 | 287,856 | 90,960 | 49,183 | 154,385 | 35,667 | 22,294 | 88,276 | 14,969 |
| $\bigcirc$ | 19 | San Joaquin County, California | 171,897 | 267,145 | 124,555 | 41,645 | 105,254 | 34,730 | 20,098 | 71,831 | 17,738 |
|  | 20 | Contra Costa County, California | 167,940 | 549,364 | 231,511 | 41,284 | 229,207 | 73,638 | 23,326 | 171,316 | 43,807 |
| \% | 21 | San Mateo County, California | 154,868 | 352,166 | 200,127 | 36,421 | 157,093 | 60,589 | 14,887 | 105,365 | 35,881 |
|  | 22 | Stanislaus County, California | 141,698 | 256,129 | 49,170 | 32,962 | 98,277 | 13,907 | 17,315 | 65,368 | 7,203 |
| 글 | 23 | Santa Barbara County, California | 136,577 | 227,228 | 35,542 | 31,078 | 94,427 | 11,117 | 12,512 | 59,306 | 4,793 |
| 른 | 24 | Dona Ana County, New Mexico | 110,748 | 56,772 | 7,162 | 31,789 | 25,337 | 2,430 | 21,343 | 17,730 | 1,135 |
| $0$ | 25 | San Francisco County, California | 109,519 | 338,656 | 328,558 | 31,803 | 184,804 | 113,093 | 8,735 | 60,812 | 45,844 |
| $\stackrel{0}{\bar{\circ}}$ |  | All 25 Counties | 11,924,004 | 16,923,449 | 7,340,993 | 2,854,316 | 7,261,161 | 2,350,896 | 1,287,111 | 4,739,947 | 1,121,237 |
| S |  | Remainder of Region | 3,416,499 | 19,988,138 | 3,604,849 | 879,662 | 8,016,751 | 1,081,947 | 465,658 | 5,590,507 | 598,360 |
|  |  | West Region Total | 15,340,503 | 36,911,587 | 10,945,842 | 3,733,978 | 15,277,912 | 3,432,843 | 1,752,769 | 10,330,454 | 1,719,597 |
|  |  | Regional Share in the 25 Selected Counties | $\begin{array}{r} 77.7 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 45.8 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 67.1 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 76.4 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 47.5 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 68.5 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 73.4 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 45.9 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 65.2 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |

## Appendix Table 1b

|  | Hispanic Pop Rank | South Region | Population Hispanic or Latino | Population White Alone, NonHispanic | Population <br> Non- <br> Hispanic <br> Minority | Households Hispanic or Latino | Households White <br> Alone, NonHispanic | Households NonHispanic Minority | Owners Hispanic or Latino | Owners <br> White <br> Alone, <br> Non- <br> Hispanic | Owners NonHispanic Minority |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 | Miami-Dade County, Florida | 1,291,176 | 466,446 | 495,740 | 437,511 | 188,139 | 151,124 | 242,136 | 131,730 | 75,459 |
|  | 2 | Harris County, Texas | 1,118,790 | 1,431,643 | 850,145 | 292,479 | 612,310 | 300,727 | 128,590 | 406,502 | 131,848 |
|  | 3 | Bexar County, Texas | 756,362 | 495,883 | 140,686 | 226,831 | 212,412 | 49,699 | 132,050 | 142,788 | 24,315 |
|  | 4 | Dallas County, Texas | 663,451 | 982,972 | 572,476 | 162,988 | 438,554 | 206,079 | 63,288 | 277,276 | 84,283 |
|  | 5 | El Paso County, Texas | 531,464 | 115,536 | 32,622 | 148,614 | 50,259 | 11,149 | 93,777 | 34,486 | 5,361 |
|  | 6 | Hidalgo County, Texas | 502,836 | 59,224 | 7,403 | 127,191 | 27,520 | 2,113 | 90,999 | 22,401 | 1,180 |
|  | 7 | Tarrant County, Texas | 284,905 | 895,210 | 266,104 | 73,789 | 368,037 | 92,038 | 35,338 | 247,049 | 42,266 |
|  | 8 | Cameron County, Texas | 282,596 | 48,608 | 4,023 | 73,759 | 22,173 | 1,335 | 47,666 | 17,458 | 751 |
|  | 9 | Broward County, Florida | 271,044 | 941,350 | 410,624 | 86,316 | 438,919 | 129,210 | 53,799 | 331,433 | 69,518 |
|  | 10 | Travis County, Texas | 229,063 | 458,126 | 125,091 | 65,423 | 208,893 | 46,450 | 26,661 | 119,920 | 18,394 |
|  | 11 | Webb County, Texas | 182,109 | 9,463 | 1,545 | 46,752 | 3,500 | 488 | 30,934 | 2,179 | 209 |
|  | 12 | Hillsborough County, Florida | 179,811 | 632,334 | 186,803 | 56,972 | 269,875 | 64,510 | 31,649 | 189,195 | 30,151 |
|  | 13 | Nueces County, Texas | 175,014 | 118,244 | 20,387 | 52,689 | 50,547 | 7,129 | 30,493 | 33,766 | 3,420 |
|  | 14 | Orange County, Florida | 168,513 | 515,398 | 212,434 | 51,587 | 216,420 | 68,279 | 26,530 | 144,358 | 33,307 |
|  | 15 | Palm Beach County, Florida | 140,267 | 798,616 | 192,301 | 41,034 | 374,306 | 58,835 | 23,332 | 301,877 | 28,817 |
|  | 16 | Fairfax County, Virginia | 106,672 | 624,518 | 238,558 | 25,246 | 252,356 | 73,112 | 13,188 | 194,550 | 41,082 |
|  | 17 | Montgomery County, Maryland | 100,434 | 519,638 | 253,269 | 25,064 | 214,404 | 85,097 | 13,138 | 164,996 | 44,883 |
|  | 18 | Fort Bend County, Texas | 74,789 | 163,757 | 115,906 | 18,403 | 58,581 | 33,931 | 12,872 | 49,449 | 27,335 |
|  | 19 | Lubbock County, Texas | 66,723 | 151,643 | 24,263 | 19,761 | 64,348 | 8,407 | 10,181 | 41,003 | 3,593 |
|  | 20 | Gwinnett County, Georgia | 64,141 | 394,260 | 130,047 | 14,420 | 145,997 | 41,900 | 6,581 | 117,557 | 22,405 |
|  | 21 | Oklahoma County, Oklahoma | 57,459 | 443,161 | 159,828 | 15,264 | 193,869 | 57,701 | 6,342 | 129,254 | 25,525 |
|  | 22 | Prince George's County, Maryland | 56,908 | 194,768 | 549,839 | 13,502 | 79,777 | 193,331 | 5,323 | 59,297 | 112,557 |
|  | 23 | Brazoria County, Texas | 55,123 | 158,116 | 28,529 | 14,086 | 59,811 | 8,057 | 9,073 | 46,143 | 5,458 |
|  | 24 | Denton County, Texas | 52,823 | 329,062 | 51,091 | 13,858 | 127,620 | 17,425 | 6,656 | 87,226 | 8,527 |
|  | 25 | DeKalb County, Georgia | 52,603 | 214,409 | 398,853 | 12,186 | 102,250 | 134,903 | 2,689 | 70,031 | 73,105 |
|  |  | All 25 Counties | 7,465,076 | 11,162,384 | 5,468,566 | 2,115,725 | 4,780,877 | 1,843,029 | 1,143,285 | 3,361,924 | 913,749 |
|  |  | Remainder of Region | 4,121,620 | 54,765,410 | 17,253,764 | 1,086,134 | 22,277,809 | 5,911,640 | 561,719 | 16,864,335 | 3,142,874 |
|  |  | South Region Total | 11,586,696 | 65,927,794 | 22,722,330 | 3,201,859 | 27,058,686 | 7,754,669 | 1,705,004 | 20,226,259 | 4,056,623 |
|  |  | Regional Share in the 25 Selected Counties | $\begin{array}{r} 64.4 \\ \text { percent } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 16.9 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 24.1 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 66.1 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 17.7 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 23.8 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 67.1 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 16.6 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 22.5 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |

## Appendix Table 1c



Appendix Table 1d

|  | Hispanic Pop Rank | Northeast Region | Population Hispanic or Latino | Population White Alone， Non－ Hispanic | Population Non－ Hispanic Minority | Households Hispanic or Latino | Households White <br> Alone，Non－ Hispanic | Households Non－ Hispanic Minority | Owners <br> Hispanic or Latino | Owners <br> White <br> Alone， <br> Non－ Hispanic | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Owners } \\ & \text { Non- } \\ & \text { Hispanic } \\ & \text { Minority } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 研 | 1 | Bronx County，New York | 645，003 | 193，234 | 494，413 | 201，572 | 86，342 | 175，298 | 21，669 | 33，089 | 35，929 |
|  | 2 | Queens County，New York | 557，345 | 733，466 | 938，569 | 157，801 | 329，878 | 294，985 | 36，999 | 164，133 | 133，683 |
| 응 | 3 | Kings County，New York | 488，135 | 855，468 | 1，121，723 | 146，352 | 354，941 | 379，434 | 19，597 | 125，875 | 92，895 |
| $\stackrel{\text { O }}{0}$ | 4 | New York County，New York | 418，117 | 704，035 | 415，043 | 139，743 | 420，154 | 178，747 | 7，920 | 120，029 | 20，783 |
| ¢ | 5 | Hudson County，New Jersey | 242，372 | 214，968 | 151，635 | 77，459 | 100，972 | 52，115 | 15，310 | 40，964 | 14，408 |
| \％ | 6 | Suffolk County，New York | 149，034 | 1，118，463 | 151，872 | 32，753 | 396，488 | 40，058 | 19，918 | 328，502 | 25，940 |
| 言 ${ }_{0}$ | 7 | Passaic County，New Jersey | 146，715 | 251，860 | 90，474 | 37，224 | 98，833 | 27，799 | 10，725 | 70，869 | 9，575 |
|  | 8 | Westchester County，New York | 144，060 | 591，937 | 187，462 | 38，310 | 235，506 | 63，326 | 9，878 | 168，832 | 23，963 |
|  | 9 | Nassau County，New York | 133，454 | 987，563 | 213，527 | 30，161 | 358，481 | 58，745 | 14，742 | 303，248 | 41，274 |
| $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\text { ® }}$ | 10 | Philadelphia County，Pennsylvania | 128，992 | 644，959 | 743，600 | 37，897 | 282，753 | 269，421 | 19，256 | 185，872 | 144，505 |
| $\bigcirc{ }^{\circ}$ | 11 | Essex County，New Jersey | 122，219 | 298，406 | 373，008 | 35，579 | 119，262 | 128，895 | 9，163 | 80，406 | 39，878 |
|  | 12 | Suffolk County，Massachusetts | 106，920 | 359，389 | 223，497 | 31，638 | 169，086 | 77，998 | 5，284 | 68，589 | 20，685 |
|  | 13 | Fairfield County，Connecticut | 105，025 | 645，156 | 132，385 | 28，810 | 252，703 | 42，719 | 9，302 | 197，052 | 18，162 |
|  | 14 | Union County，New Jersey | 102，941 | 283，217 | 136，383 | 29，026 | 113，002 | 44，096 | 9，763 | 82，864 | 22，011 |
| $\stackrel{\text { ¢ }}{\text { ¢ }}$ | 15 | Middlesex County，New Jersey | 102，022 | 464，350 | 183，790 | 25，830 | 183，084 | 56，901 | 10，640 | 138，887 | 27，854 |
| エ | 16 | Hartford County，Connecticut | 98，576 | 625，744 | 132，863 | 29，393 | 260，230 | 45，475 | 6，806 | 190，329 | 18，140 |
| 끙 | 17 | Bergen County，New Jersey | 91，064 | 639，217 | 153，837 | 26，066 | 255，405 | 49，346 | 11，440 | 186，830 | 24，003 |
| 20 | 18 | Providence County，Rhode Island | 83，295 | 458，742 | 79，565 | 23，150 | 190，908 | 25，878 | 4，584 | 114，681 | 8，319 |
| － | 19 | New Haven County，Connecticut | 83，225 | 616，358 | 124，425 | 23，950 | 251，907 | 43，183 | 6，585 | 179，588 | 15，144 |
|  | 20 | Essex County，Massachusetts | 79，576 | 601，161 | 42，682 | 22，337 | 240，369 | 12，713 | 4，814 | 165，136 | 5，014 |
| －${ }^{\text {m }}$ | 21 | Hampden County，Massachusetts | 69，347 | 339，434 | 47，448 | 20，269 | 138，749 | 16，270 | 4，062 | 97，840 | 6，615 |
|  | 22 | Middlesex County，Massachusetts | 67，408 | 1，225，071 | 172，917 | 18，466 | 488，659 | 54，095 | 4，767 | 321，325 | 20，437 |
| 은 | 23 | Richmond County，New York | 53，691 | 316，378 | 73，659 | 14，690 | 118，667 | 22，984 | 6，045 | 83，863 | 9，787 |
| त⿹勹巳 | 24 | Worcester County，Massachusetts | 51，065 | 649，583 | 50，315 | 14，525 | 254，106 | 15，296 | 3，022 | 173，620 | 5，462 |
| － | 25 | Camden County，New Jersey | 49，366 | 345，056 | 114，510 | 13，346 | 134，382 | 38，016 | 6，240 | 103，112 | 20，691 |
| $\stackrel{\text { ¢ }}{\text { ¢ }}$ |  | All 25 Counties | 4，318，966 | 14，163，217 | 6，549，600 | 1，256，347 | 5，834，867 | 2，213，793 | 278，531 | 3，725，535 | 805，157 |
| $\cdots$ |  | Remainder of Region | 935，121 | 25，164，045 | 2，463，429 | 243，446 | 9，955，374 | 781，795 | 96，772 | 7，388，159 | 357，148 |
|  |  | Northeast Region Total | 5，254，087 | 39，327，262 | 9，013，029 | 1，499，793 | 15，790，241 | 2，995，588 | 375，303 | 11，113，694 | 1，162，305 |
|  |  | Regional Share in the 25 Selected Counties | $\begin{array}{r} 82.2 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 36.0 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | 72.7 percent | $\begin{array}{r} 83.8 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 37.0 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 73.9 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 74.2 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 33.5 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 69.3 \\ \text { percent } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |


[^0]:    1 See Table 2-14 in Abt Associates report prepared for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, PD\&R, "Improving Homeownership Opportunities for Hispanic Families: A Review of the Literature," February 28, 2005.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ I shall routinely use the term "white" for "non-Hispanic white" in the interest of parsimony.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Year of entry could be another variable to be considered, selecting for example share foreign-born having arrived since 1995 as a measure of recency of immigration. Citizenship status of foreign-born Hispanics should be a good proxy for this measure of recency of immigration, assuming that immigrants arriving since 1995 would have a very high share non-citizens.

[^3]:    4 Recent Puerto Rican immigrants, all of whom are citizens, could be an influence in the Northeast and Midwest similar to other Hispanic non-citizen Hispanics in the West and South.

