# The Latinx Great Migration and its Effects on School Segregation 

Hedvig Horváth ${ }^{1}$ Jamie McCasland ${ }^{2}$

${ }^{1}$ University College London<br>${ }^{2}$ University of British Columbia

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## Motivation: Latinx demographic transition in the US

- Fraction of non-Hispanic whites has fallen from $75 \%$ in 1990 to less than $60 \%$ today (U.S. Census Bureau, 1992, 2020)
- More pronounced in schools (NCES 2021): Children of color outnumber non-Hispanic white students since 2014


Figure: Student Racial Shares Outside CA and TX

- Multi-group environments may have specific segregation dynamics (e.g. San Miguel (2005); Fouka, Mazumder and Tabellini (2021))


## Research Question

- Does increased diversity (i.e. increasing Hispanic student share) lead to more integrated schools or to greater racial isolation of black and Hispanic children?
- policies mitigating these effects?
- mechanisms?


## Preview of (preliminary) findings and further directions

- Large (exogenous) inflows of Mexican immigrants into the US increase segregation within school districts.
- We present evidence consistent with histories of court-ordered desegregation plans having mitigated these negative effects.
- Potential mechanisms (next steps):
- White flight?
- White people living in districts with a history of court-ordered desegregation plans dislike diversity less? (Kaplan, Spenkuch and Tuttle 2021; Billings, Chyn and Haggag 2021)


## Literature

- School segregation and achievement. School segregation
- is associated with larger achievement gaps (Reardon et al. 2019);
- negatively affects minority achievement (e.g. Guryan 2004; Reber 2010; Johnson 2011; Antman and Cortes 2021; Cutler and Glaeser 1997; Card and Rothstein 2007; Hanushek, Kain and Rivkin 2009)
- Latinx migration and school segregation. Latinx migration
- is the most important determinant of recent rising trends of schools segregation (Caetano and Maheshri 2021);
- causally increased school segregation within Californian districts before 2000 (Cascio and Lewis 2012)
- Shift-share instruments to study the effects of migration (Methods)
- e.g. Card (2001); Cascio and Lewis (2012); Fouka, Mazumder and Tabellini (2021); Borusyak, Hull and Jaravel (2019)
- combined with network links and migration push factors: e.g. Munshi (2003); Boustan (2010); Chalfin (2014); Derenoncourt (2021)


## This Paper

- Focus on post-2000 period
- Mexican migration to the US peaks in the 2000s
- New destinations of Mexican migrants within the US => exclude CA and TX


Figure: Destination Choice of Mexican Migrants

## Methods

- Thought Experiment: What happens to racial segregation within a school district when there is an (exogenous) influx of Hispanic students?
- 3 empirical strategies:
(1) fixed-effect panel regressions
(2) simple shift-share instruments à la Cascio and Lewis (2012)
(3) shift-share instruments augmented with network links and migration push factors à la Derenoncourt (2021)


## Data

(1) NCES Common Core Data on schools

- Elementary schools only
- Focus on variance ratios, which measure isolation with an adjustment for underlying shares (Monarrez, Kisida and Chingos 2021)
(2) US Census 1990, 2000, 2010
(3) Mexican push-factor data from INEGI and University of Delaware
(9) Mexican Migration Project migrant files
(5) EMIF border surveys (counts of migrants)
(0) Reardon (2012) data on court-ordered desegregation plans and their dismissals


## Panel Regressions

|  | URM Variance Ratio | Hispanic-White <br> Variance Ratio | Black-White Variance <br> Ratio |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| District Share Hispanic | $0.09^{* * *}$ <br> $(0.01)$ | $0.15^{* * *}$ <br> $(0.02)$ | $0.06^{* * *}$ <br> $(0.01)$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 1988 Dep Var Mean | 3.90 | X | X |
| System FE | X | X | X |
| Year FE | 113407 | 113397 | X |
| Observations |  |  |  |
| Errors clustered at the district level. Time varying covariates include district share black, log |  |  |  |
| total enrollment and number of elementary schools in the distirct. Mean change in hispanic |  |  |  |
| share between 1988 and 2019 is 12 percentage points. |  |  |  |

Estimating equation: $Y_{i t}=\beta_{0}+\beta_{1} \operatorname{Hisp}_{i t}+X_{i t}^{\prime} \Gamma+\lambda_{i}+\eta_{t}+\epsilon_{i t}$

## Simple Shift-Share Identification Strategy

Following Cascio and Lewis (2012), we assign migrant flows from Mexico between 2000 and 2010 to destinations in proportion to 2000 Mexican-born shares, the start of the period during which destination choices moved away from California and Texas, constructing our instrument as follows:

$$
\alpha_{c z}^{2000}=\frac{\operatorname{mex}_{c z}^{2000}}{\operatorname{mex}_{\mathrm{us}}^{2000}}
$$

$$
\Delta \operatorname{mex}_{c z}{ }^{2000-2010}=\alpha_{c z}^{2000} \times \operatorname{mig}^{2000-2010}
$$

$$
\Delta \text { share }^{2000-2010}=\frac{\text { mex }_{c z}^{2000}+\Delta \text { mex }_{c z}{ }^{2000-2010}}{\operatorname{pop}_{c z}^{2000}+\Delta \text { mex }_{c z}^{2000-2010}}-\frac{\text { mex }_{c z}{ }^{2000}}{\operatorname{pop}_{c z} 2000}
$$

## Simple Shift Share - First Stage

First stage
All districts


CZ-level predicted change in Hispanic share, 2000-2010, \%points
CA and TX excluded, elementary schools only. Year 2011 sample of districts and CZs
Standard errors clustered at the CZ level. Unweighted.
IV: shift share IV with 2000 shares and 2000-2010 EMIF counts as shifts.
Controls: division effects; 2000 (baseline) VR, black share.

## Simple Shift Share - Outcomes

Change in URM-White/Asian Variance Ratio


CA and TX excluded, elementary schools only.
Standard errors clustered at the CZ level.
IV: shift share IV with 2000 shares and 2000-2010 EMIF counts as shifts.
Controls: division fes, 2000 dep var, share black.
First-stage F-stat $\sim 73.916$

## Simple Shift Share - Outcomes

Change in Hispanic-White Variance Ratio


CA and TX excluded, elementary schools only.
Standard errors clustered at the CZ level.
IV: shift share IV with 2000 shares and 2000-2010 EMIF counts as shifts.
Controls: division fes, 2000 dep var, share black.
First-stage F-stat ~ 58.86

## Simple Shift Share - Outcomes

Change in Black-White Variance Ratio


CA and TX excluded, elementary schools only.
Standard errors clustered at the CZ level.
IV: shift share IV with 2000 shares and 2000-2010 EMIF counts as shifts.
Controls: division fes, 2000 dep var, share black.
First-stage F-stat ~ 78.132

## Push-Factor Identification Strategy

Following Derenoncourt (2021), we use LASSO to select Mexican state level push-factors and predict Mexican state-level out migration, assigning predicted migrants from each Mexican state $m$ to each MSA $s$ in accordance with destination histories between 1990 and 2000, constructing our instrument as follows:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\operatorname{mig}_{m t}=\beta_{0}+\mathrm{Push}_{m(t-1)} \beta_{1}+\epsilon_{\mathrm{mt}} \\
\omega_{\mathrm{ms}}^{1990-2000}=\frac{\text { mex }_{\mathrm{ms}}}{\text { mex }_{\mathrm{m}}} \\
\Delta \text { mex }_{\mathrm{s}}^{2000-2010}=\sum_{\mathrm{mt}} \omega_{\mathrm{ms}} \times \mathrm{mi}_{\mathrm{mt}} \\
\Delta \text { share }^{2000-2010}=\frac{\Delta \hat{m e x}_{\mathrm{s}}}{\operatorname{pop}_{\mathrm{s}} 2000-2010}
\end{gathered}
$$

## Push-Factor Identification Strategy

(1) Lagged Rainfall shocks (Chalfin 2013; Hunter, Murray and Riosmena 2013; Munshi 2003; Pugatch and Yang 2011; Riosmena, Nawrotzki and Hunter 2018)
(2) Lagged Progresa spending (Angelucci 2004; Parker and Todd 2017; Stecklov et al. 2005)
(3) Lagged homicide rates (Basu and Pearlman 2017; Dell 2015; Orozco-Aleman and Gonzalez-Lozano 2018)

## Push factor Shift Share - First Stage



## Push factor Shift Share - Outcomes

Figure: Change in URM-White/Asian Variance Ratio


## Push factor Shift Share - Outcomes

Figure: Change in Hispanic-White Variance Ratio


## Push factor Shift Share - Outcomes

Figure: Change in Black-White Variance Ratio


## Mediating Factors - History of Court Ordered Desegregation

Figure: Change in URM-White/Asian Variance Ratio


## Mediating Factors - History of Court Ordered Desegregation

Figure: Change in Hispanic-White Variance Ratio


(b) Past Court Order

## Mediating Factors - History of Court Ordered Desegregation

Figure: Change in Black-White Variance Ratio


## Mechanisms - White Flight

Figure: Change in White Student Share 2000-2010


## Mechanisms - White Flight Under Past Integration?

Figure: Change in White Student Share 2000-2010


## Conclusion

- Large (exogenous) inflows of Mexican immigrants into the US increase segregation within school districts.
- Histories of court-ordered desegregation plans mitigated these negative effects.
- Suggested mechanisms: white flight, which is more pronounced in districts with no history of court-ordered desegregation plans.


## Next Steps

- Caveats to push-factor shift-share
- only 24 Mexican sending states - do push factors capture idiosyncratic or aggregate shocks?
- Other ways to think about mechanisms or mediating factors?
- court-orders may proxy for lower degree of racism -> check using election results?
- school finance reforms as mediators? (Jackson, Johnson and Persico 2016; Lafortune, Rothstein and Schanzenbach 2018)
- Further outcomes?
- link segregation results to achievement using district-level harmonized test scores from SEDA (Reardon et al. 2021)

