Ethnic Diversity Grows,

Neighborhood Integration Lags Behind

Report by the Lewis Mumford Center, April 3, 2001
(Revised December 18, 2001 to include 1980 data)

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This analysis of trends in residential segregation, 1980-2000, was compiled by a team of researchers at the Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany. The team is led by Center Director John Logan, and includes graduate students enrolled in the Department of Sociology and the Department of Geography and Planning.

Neighborhood integration has remained a goal of public policy and popular opinion because it is seen as proof of the American ideal of equal opportunity. Unfortunately the 2000 Census shows that growing ethnic diversity in the nation is accompanied by a high degree of residential separation. The average non-Hispanic white person continues to live in a neighborhood that looks very different from those neighborhoods where the average black, Hispanic, and Asian live. The average white person in metropolitan American lives in a neighborhood that is 80% white and only 7% black. Despite a substantial shift of minorities from cities to suburbs, these groups have not gained access to largely white neighborhoods. A typical black individual lives in a neighborhood that is only 33% white and as much as 51% black. Diversity is experienced very differently in the daily lives of whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians.

Residential segregation among blacks and whites remains high in cities and in suburbs around the country. There were some signs of progress in the 1980s, with a five-point drop in the segregation index (from 73.8 to 68.8). The change continued at a slower rate in the 1990s (a decline of just under 4 points). The good news is that these small changes are cumulating over time. The source of concern is that at this pace it may take forty more years for black-white segregation to come down even to the current level of Hispanic-white segregation.

Hispanics and Asians are considerably less segregated than African Americans. But as their numbers grew rapidly in the last twenty years, there has been no change in their level of segregation. As a result these groups now live in more isolated settings than they did in 1980, with a smaller proportion of white residents in their neighborhoods. This trend is the same in both cities and suburbs.

This report provides highlights of the evidence that we believe supports this conclusion.
How Do We Measure Segregation?

The Mumford Center is providing information on segregation at the level of census tracts, areas that typically have 3000-5000 residents. For more specific details on measurement issues, see our Updates and Technical Notes webpage: http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/technote.html. For data on individual metropolitan regions, or their city or suburban portions, see: http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/data.html.

Index of Dissimilarity

The standard measure of segregation is the Index of Dissimilarity (D), which captures the degree to which two groups are evenly spread among census tracts in a given city. Evenness is defined with respect to the racial composition of the city as a whole. The index ranges from 0 to 100, giving the percentage of one group who would have to move to achieve an even residential pattern - one where every tract replicates the group composition of the city. A value of 60 or above is considered very high. For example, a D score of 60 for black-white segregation means that 60% of either group must move to a different tract for the two groups to become equally distributed. Values of 40 to 50 are usually considered moderate levels of segregation, while values of 30 or less are considered low.

Demographers typically interpret change either up or down in the following way:

- Change of 10 points and above in one decade - Very significant change
- Change of 5-10 points in one decade - Moderate change
- Below 5 points in one decade - Small change or no real change at all

Change can be cumulative, and small changes in a single decade – if they are repeated over two or three decades – can constitute a significant trend.

Exposure and Isolation Indices

Another widely used measure of segregation reported here is a class of Exposure Indices (P*) that refer to the racial/ethnic composition of a tract where the average member of a given group lives. Exposure of a group to itself is called the Index of Isolation, while exposure of one group to other groups is called the Index of Exposure. Both range from 0 to 100. For example, an Isolation score of 80.2 for whites means that the average white lives in a neighborhood that is 80.2% white. An Exposure score of 6.7 for white-black exposure indicates that the average white lives in a neighborhood that is 6.7% black.

Even if segregation (measured by the Index of Dissimilarity) remains the same over time, growth in a minority population will tend to leave it more isolated - that is, leaving group members in neighborhoods where they are a larger share of the population.
The Typical Neighborhood: Continued Minority Segregation from Whites

Based on national metropolitan averages, the graph below illustrates typical neighborhood diversity as experienced by the different groups. Stark contrasts are readily apparent between the typical experiences of whites versus that of each minority group. The typical white lives in a neighborhood that is 80.2% white, 6.7% black, 7.9% Hispanic, and 3.9% Asian.

The experience of minorities is very different. For example, the typical black lives in a neighborhood that is 51.4% black, 33.0% white, 11.4% Hispanic, and 3.3% Asian. The typical Hispanic lives in a neighborhood that is 45.5% Hispanic, 36.5% white, 10.8% black and 5.9% Asian. The typical Asian lives in a neighborhood that is 17.9% Asian, 54.0% white, 9.2% black, and 17.4% Hispanic.

The basic message here is that whites live in neighborhoods with low minority representation while minorities live in neighborhoods with high minority representation, and limited white representation. Blacks, Hispanics, and Asian live in more integrated neighborhoods than whites.

Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany
Black-White Segregation and Isolation

Black-white segregation remains very high except in the metropolitan areas with the smallest black populations. Over twenty years, segregation declined by more than 12 points in metro areas with less than 5% black population, and by nearly 10 points in areas that are 10-20% black. But in those areas with 20% or more blacks, the decline was only half that (about 6 points). The total black population of this latter set of metro areas (20% or more black) is nearly 15 million, about half the national total. This means that the African American population in the United States is about equally divided between regions where there has been moderate progress since 1980 and regions where progress is very slender.

This conclusion is illustrated in the chart on the following page. After that we present a map of the United States showing the metro areas with the highest and lowest concentrations of black population.

The next tables in this sequence list the 50 metropolitan regions in the country that had the largest black populations in 2000. Of these, the 10 with the highest levels of segregation include: Detroit, MI; Milwaukee, WI; New York, NY; Chicago, IL; Newark, NJ; Cleveland, OH, Cincinnati, OH, Nassau-Suffolk, NY; St. Louis, MO; and Miami, FL. These mainly Rustbelt metro areas represent the regions of the country where black-white segregation has been most resistant to change. There have been moderate declines in some of them, but 6 of the 10 declined by 4 points or less over the past twenty years.

At the other extreme, there are several places on this list where segregation has now fallen into what social scientists consider the moderate range (under 50). These include several mid-sized metropolitan regions in the South: Charleston, Greenville, Norfolk, Raleigh-Durham, and Augusta. Riverside-San Bernardino (California) also falls in this category. In most of these segregation declined by 5 or 10 points, or even more, since 1980.

Despite these signs of progress in the South, there are also examples of persistent segregation in large Southern cities. For example, in New Orleans, metro-wide segregation dropped only two points and remains above the national average (at 69.3). In Atlanta the news is mixed. Metro-level segregation has declined by 12 points, mainly due to a shift of African Americans to the suburbs. But it is still slightly above the national average (at 65.6), and segregation in the city of Atlanta has actually risen in the last twenty years (from 79.5 to 81.6) and is much higher than the national city average.
Metro Areas with Highest and Lowest Black Concentrations, 2000

Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany.
## Black-White Segregation in Top 50 Metro Areas

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Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany
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<td>Riverside-San Bernardino, CA</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany
Another way to assess segregation is by level of isolation (i.e., the % minority in the neighborhood where the average minority group member lives). The Detroit metropolis, highest in the Index of Dissimilarity, is also highest in the Isolation Index. The average black in the Detroit metro area lives in a tract that is 79% black – the same as in 1980. Some other Rustbelt metro areas are also among the top ten in isolation (Chicago, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Newark). Southern metro areas tend to rank high in isolation despite their moderate segregation because their black populations are often very large. Hence Memphis, Birmingham, Jackson, and New Orleans are all in the top ten in isolation.

What is most striking about these figures is that with very few exceptions, the Isolation Index is above 40 in the largest metro regions: African Americans live in neighborhoods where they are an absolute majority, or a near majority, in almost all of these places.

Population shifts: a flight from segregated regions?

There is one other question that can be addressed with the data already released by Census 2000: to what extent can the overall decline in black-white segregation be attributed to black migration away from regions where segregation was initially very high, toward regions with lower residential barriers? In the following table metropolitan regions have been classified into four levels of segregation, based on the level of segregation in 1980. The table shows the number and share of African Americans in each set of metropolitan regions in 1980, 1990, and 2000. It also shows the mean level of segregation in those regions in each year, weighted by the number of African Americans living there in that year.

In 1980 a majority (53.9\%) lived in metro areas where segregation was 75 or above. Those same metro areas still held 51.9\% of African Americans in 1990, and 50.6\% in 2000. Thus there was very little net shift away from these highly segregated areas. Conversely, the share of African Americans in regions that initially had very low segregation (under 55) barely grew during the period, from 7.1\% to 8.9\%.

Instead, the stronger source of change was in the levels of segregation in each set of regions. The least segregated regions in 1980 had a (weighted) average segregation of 48.4, and the same set of regions averaged only 43.1 in 2000. Similarly, the most segregated regions in 1980 dropped from an average of 81.7 to 73.6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segregation</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N of blacks</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Segregation</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64.9</td>
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<td>2,422,344</td>
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<td>65-74.9</td>
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<td>5,994,361</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>70.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>75+</td>
<td></td>
<td>11,647,989</td>
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<td>81.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,020,833</td>
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<tr>
<td>65-74.9</td>
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<td>6,877,572</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12,931,047</td>
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<td>8,455,058</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>75+</td>
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<td>15,445,757</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>30,496,505</td>
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<td>65.1</td>
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**Hispanic-White Segregation and Isolation**

For Hispanics, there has been no net change in segregation since 1980. Hispanic-white segregation remains high in the metropolitan areas with the biggest Hispanic populations. In areas with a smaller Hispanic presence, segregation from whites is lower but rising over time.

This conclusion is illustrated in the chart on the following page. The map of the United States shows the metro areas with the highest and lowest concentrations of Hispanic population. The geography is very clear: Hispanics are highly concentrated in the Northeast (in the New York/New Jersey area) and in the Sunbelt.

As we found for blacks, the metro areas with the largest Hispanic populations are also the most highly segregated. The table lists the 50 metropolitan regions with the most Hispanic residents. Of these, the most segregated are New York, NY; Newark, NJ, Los Angeles, CA; Chicago, IL, Philadelphia, PA, Salinas, CA; Boston, MA, Bergen-Passaic, NJ, Ventura, CA; and Orange County, CA. Hispanic segregation increased in 6 of these 10 since 1980 (and in 28 of the 50).

Laredo, TX, has the lowest level of segregation, but it is an outlier in another way: its population is predominantly Hispanic (nearly 95%).

Hispanic isolation mostly reflects the size of the Hispanic population. It is by far the highest (above 80) in four Texas border regions that are largely Mexican (Laredo, McAllen, Brownsville, and El Paso. Corpus Christi and San Antonio are in the top 10 in isolation.

Isolation increased in virtually all of the 50 regions on the list, reflecting Hispanic population growth.

Isolation is very low at the bottom of the list, in some cases because the underlying level of segregation is also low (Portland and Sacramento), and in other cases because although segregation is moderate to high, the Hispanic population is small (Atlanta, Washington, Boston).
Hispanic-White Segregation, 1980-2000
(by metro % Hispanic)

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<tr>
<th>Metro % Hispanic</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>Change</th>
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<td>35.2</td>
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<td>53.4</td>
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<td>50.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>20%+</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>50.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>51.6</td>
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The Mumford Center
www.albany.edu/mumford/census
<table>
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Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany
## Hispanic Isolation in Top 50 Metro Areas

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<td>50</td>
<td>Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA</td>
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</table>

Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany
Regional shifts do affect Hispanic segregation

Inter-regional population shifts play a more important role for Hispanic segregation than we found for African Americans. The table below shows that well over half the Hispanic population (59.1%) in 1980 lived in metro areas with Hispanic-white segregation of 50 and above. Only 51.3% of Hispanics lived in these same areas by 2000: their share dropped nearly 8 points. At the same time, the share of Hispanics living in the least segregated regions in 1980 was 19.7%; these same regions accounted for 26.4% of Hispanics in 2000. Clearly there was a substantial net movement away from regions of high segregation. Because the Hispanic population nearly tripled during these years, the shift does not necessarily reflect migration. It could equally be caused by some combination of selective immigration from abroad and differential fertility. Whatever the demographic source, however, geographic shifts tended to reduce Hispanic segregation.

This tendency, however, was counterbalanced by increasing segregation within those regions that were gaining a larger share of Hispanics. The least segregated regions (D < 40) had a weighted average segregation of 33.7 in 1980; the same regions averaged 40.7 in 2000. At the same time, segregation in the most segregated regions remained fixed at about 58. Thus the apparent lack of change in Hispanic segregation that we report as a national average masks two opposing tendencies: a movement of the Hispanic population toward areas of low segregation, and increasing segregation in those areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1980 Metro Segregation</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N of Hispanics</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Mean Segregation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;40</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2,552,675</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,220,006</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,542,581</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,674,626</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,989,888</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;40</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4,365,887</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,019,966</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,405,231</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td></td>
<td>11,630,190</td>
<td>57.0%</td>
<td>58.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>20,421,274</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;40</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>50+</td>
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<td>16,466,370</td>
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<td></td>
<td>32,115,212</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>51.6</td>
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</table>
Asian-White Segregation and Isolation

Asian-white segregation is in the moderate range, and it has remained virtually unchanged since 1980. As illustrated in the chart below, we find very slight increases in areas with few Asians, as well as in areas with large Asian populations.
The tables list only the 40 metro regions with the most Asians. Of these, the 10 most highly segregated metro areas have large Asian populations. These areas include: New York, NY; Stockton-Lodi, CA; Houston, TX; Sacramento, CA, San Francisco, CA; Los Angeles, CA; Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA; San Diego, CA, Detroit, MI; and Atlanta, GA. Segregation has been increasing in 9 of these, though in some cases by only a point or two.

Much lower segregation is found in places like Phoenix and Las Vegas, where Asians range below 6% of the total population.

Asian isolation, like that of Hispanics, is closely related to the group’s population size. On average, Asians live in tracts that are more than 25% Asian in these regions: San Francisco and San Jose (40% and 38%, respectively), Oakland, Los Angeles, New York, and Orange County. The increases in some of these places are dramatic: from 11% in 1980 to 38% in 2000 for San Jose, from 13% to 29% for Oakland, from 7% to 26% for Orange County. Despite being only moderately segregated (most often D < 50), Asian population growth is resulting in the rapid formation of Asian residential enclaves in these regions.

As we found also for Hispanics, there has been a geographic redistribution of Asians from areas that were highly segregated in 1980. More than half of Asians (56.9%) lived in areas with a value of D greater than 40 in 1980. Only 47.9% of Asians lived in the same set of metro areas in 2000. And again as is true for Hispanics, segregation was more likely to rise in these areas that Asians were moving to. Hence the overall stability in Asian-white segregation derives from two counterbalancing trends: movement toward areas that are less segregated, plus increasing segregation in those same regions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1980 Metro Segregation</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N of Asians</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Mean Segregation</th>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>295,524</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34.9</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>440,769</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>458,067</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,577,251</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,771,611</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>803,035</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,139,534</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,078,264</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
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<td>3,324,372</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6,345,205</td>
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<td>42.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,491,223</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-34.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,040,654</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>37.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>35-39.9</td>
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<td>2,032,801</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>39.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>40+</td>
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<td>5,114,843</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>10,679,521</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>42.1</td>
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</table>
## Asian-White Segregation in Top 40 Metro Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Area Name</th>
<th>2000 Segregation</th>
<th>1990 Segregation</th>
<th>1980 Segregation</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>New York, NY</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stockton-Lodi, CA</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Houston, TX</td>
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<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sacramento, CA</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>San Diego, CA</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Detroit, MI</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dallas, TX</td>
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<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Boston, MA-NH</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Jersey City, NJ</td>
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<td>Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Philadelphia, PA-NJ</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Fort Worth-Arlington, TX</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>San Jose, CA</td>
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<td>Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Austin-San Marcos, TX</td>
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<td>Baltimore, MD</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Riverside-San Bernardino, CA</td>
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<td>Nassau-Suffolk, NY</td>
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<td>Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL</td>
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</table>

Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany

**On the Next Pages…**

Top 50 Metro Areas by Asian-White Segregation and Isolation Rankings

U.S. Map of Metro Areas With High and Low Percent Asian.

Change in Asian-White Segregation by Percent Asian
Asian Isolation in Top 40 Metro Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2000 Rank</th>
<th>Area Name</th>
<th>2000 Value</th>
<th>1990 Value</th>
<th>1980 Value</th>
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<td>Jersey City, NJ</td>
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<td>Philadelphia, PA-NJ</td>
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Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany
Persistent Segregation Trends in the New York Metro Area Since 1960

High segregation in metro areas with high minority group concentrations is not a new phenomenon. The graph below illustrates this clearly for the New York metropolis. Segregation from whites for blacks, Hispanics, and Asians persists today at about the same levels as was true in 1960. New York is an extreme case, one of very few where there was no improvement in black-white segregation in the last two decades. Yet by its size and national prominence, and by virtue of the very large number of minorities who live in this region, its experience is important to our understanding of national trends.
Segregation from Whites - New York Metropolitan Area
(New York City plus Long Island and Northern Suburbs)

Index value

Source: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany
Segregation and Isolation Averages Show Persistence in Cities and Suburbs

National averages indicate slow but continuing declines of black-white segregation, but no change for Hispanics and Asians. Although segregation and isolation remain higher in the central cities, segregation and isolation patterns persist in the suburbs as well.

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