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Racial Segregation in the 2000 Census: Promising News

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"While segregation remains high in many metropolitan areas, it has generally decreased across the country."

Findings

An analysis of racial segregation in roughly 300 Metropolitan Statistical Areas using 2000 Census redistricting files indicates that:

- **Overall black/non-black segregation levels are currently at their lowest point since roughly 1920.** There are still a large number of "hypersegregated" metropolitan areas, but the 1990s continued a three-decade trend towards decreasing segregation throughout the U.S.
- **Out of 291 MSAs analyzed, all but 19 are more integrated than they were in 1990.** The average decline in segregation was 5.5 percent.
- **The decline in segregation comes about primarily from the integration of formerly entirely white census tracts.** The number of overwhelmingly African-American census tracts (80 percent or more African-American) remained steady between 1990 and 2000, although the number of African-Americans living in those tracts dropped.
- **The West is the most integrated region of the country, followed by the South.** The Northeast and Midwest are still quite segregated.
- **Segregation declined most sharply in places that were growing quickly, in places where the percentage of blacks in the population was changing (growing or shrinking), and in places where blacks made up a small portion of the population in 1990.** Segregation remains extreme in the largest metropolitan areas.

I. Introduction

The 2000 Census documents that, for the third straight decade, segregation between blacks and non-blacks across American metropolitan areas has declined dramatically. Between 1990 and 2000 the segregation levels of 272 Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) declined.[1] Over the same time period, the segregation levels of only 19 MSAs rose.[2] Across metropolitan areas the average decline (without adjusting for population differences) was 5.5 percentage points.

The purpose of this survey is to examine the change in the levels of segregation across metropolitan areas since 1990, and over a longer period of time. While segregation

remains high in many large metropolitan areas, especially in the Northeast and Midwest, it has generally decreased across the country and over time. The West and South are the fastest growing and least segregated regions of the U.S.

Regional differences may help to explain why previous authors have generally not focused on the declines in segregation across the U.S. Massey and Denton (1993), in their seminal work on segregation in America, focused primarily on larger cities in the Northeast and Midwest, and therefore may have downplayed the importance of recent overall declines in segregation. While the continuing segregation of the so-called "rust belt" cities is important, it is also important to document and understand the changes in segregation in more vibrant and developing areas of the country.

II. Methodology

There are two basic measures that are generally used to capture the degree of residential segregation within an American city. The "Dissimilarity" index is a measure of the proportion of black people (or non-blacks) that would need to move across census tracts to get a perfectly even proportion of black residents across the entire MSA. The "Isolation" index indicates the percentage of black residents in the census tract where the average black resident lives. (These are explained in more detail below.)[3]

To calculate these measures one must consider four questions: First, what is the appropriate sub-area to use? Second, how do we define a city? Third, what is the appropriate definition of the black population? Fourth, what is the appropriate non-black population to consider?

The appropriate geography

There are generally three sub-areas that have been used for segregation measures. Academic work on segregation that looks at pre-1940 time periods is forced to use political wards, which are in a sense arbitrary and surely too large (some contain tens of thousands of people). For the post-1940 time period, there is the option of using blocks (equivalent to a city block in most urban areas), block groups (areas with roughly 1,000 inhabitants), and tracts (which are larger units of roughly 4,000 people). The advantage of blocks or block groups is that they are smaller and allow us to better understand the micro-geography of urban residence. The advantage of tracts is the relative ease of comparability over time: for most large cities, tract data are available beginning in 1940. Primarily for consistency with our previous work, we have decided to use census tracts as the relevant sub-areas.

The relevant definition of city

The question of city definition tends to come down to two choices. First, segregation indices can be defined for the metropolitan area as a whole. In this case, the segregation measure will reflect both center city-suburb segregation and the segregation of people within central cities and suburbs. Second, segregation indices can be defined for sub-units of the metropolitan area, such as the central city. While it is often quite interesting to know about segregation for central cities and suburbs separately, we will just focus on segregation at the metropolitan area level. Our past work has convinced us that there is an extremely high correlation between segregation at the central city level and segregation at the metropolitan area level across cities. However, our past work has also suggested that the decline in segregation would tend to look steeper if we particularly focused on central city level segregation.

The appropriate definition of "African-American"

Another question that needs to be answered to implement these segregation measures is to define what it means to be African-American. In previous censuses, "black" was an exclusive category, but the 2000 Census allows respondents to identify themselves with multiple races, and therefore the measurement has become more complicated. On one hand, over 95 percent of all respondents in our sample who identified themselves as at least partly black identified themselves as only black. On the other hand, the remaining 5 percent are not distributed evenly across MSAs and their presence could potentially skew segregation indices.

We will present segregation indices that make use of two basic definitions. First, the most inclusive definition counts as African-American anyone who checked "black" as one of his or her racial identities. Second, we define African-Americans as those who checked only black as their racial identity. For the implementation of segregation indices this distinction makes little difference in most cases.[4]

The relevant non-black population

Finally, in choosing the relevant non-black population, there are two basic options. First, one can use non-hispanic whites. Second, one can use all non-blacks. The essential difference between these options lies in the treatment of Hispanics. Asian, Native American and Pacific Islander populations are generally too small to influence segregation (and their residential patterns generally resemble those of non-hispanic whites). Both options seem quite reasonable to us, but it needs to be understood that when different definitions are used, different questions are answered. If non-black, non-hispanic whites are used as the comparison groups, then the segregation measures will capture the extent to which blacks are segregated from this group. If all non-blacks are used, then segregation measures will capture the extent to

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which blacks are segregated from this broader group. For ease of historical comparison, we will focus on black-non-black comparisons.

This distinction matters because blacks are less segregated from Hispanics than they are from other non-hispanic whites. This is an interesting change from the early 20th century, when blacks were more segregated from ethnic immigrants than they were from native whites. We will also engage in a somewhat unorthodox application of the usual segregation approach. We will look at segregation for the entire country and for the four census regions, treating them as if they were cities. In this case, we can ask both about integration within metropolitan areas and integration across metropolitan areas. We think that this is an important way to approach to the changing level of integration for U.S. society as a whole. However, it is important to stress that we will only be looking at tracts within MSAs.[5] Metropolitan areas now hold the vast majority of U.S. residents and the overwhelming majority of individuals living in close spatial proximity to their neighbors.

Interpreting the Measures:
Both measures take on values from zero to one. As noted above, the dissimilarity index can be interpreted as the proportion of black people (or non-blacks) that would need to move across census tracts to get a perfectly even proportion of black residents across the entire MSA. If a metropolitan area's dissimilarity index is 0.5, for example, it means that 50 percent of the black residents of that metropolitan area would have to move to achieve a perfect representation across the MSA. If the index is 0.3, then 30 percent of the black residents would have to move for prefect representation. It is important to note that if the MSA is 10 percent black, then integration (according to this measure) means that each census tract is 10 percent black.[6] Generally, dissimilarity measures above 0.6 are thought to represent hypersegregation.

The isolation index captures the percentage of black residents in the census tract where the average black resident lives, corrected for the fact that this number increases mechanically with the black share of the overall MSA population. A metropolitan area isolation index of 0.5 indicates that the average black resident lives in a census tract in which the black share of the population exceeds the overall metropolitan average by roughly 50 percent. An index of 0.3 reveals that the average black resident lives in a census tract in which the black share of the population exceeds the overall metropolitan average by roughly 30 percent. Again, it can range from something close to zero (if each black person lives in an integrated census tract) to one (if all black metropolitan area residents live together in completely segregated census tracts).

The two indices truly represent distinct, though correlated, dimensions of segregation. Dissimilarity captures the extent to which blacks are unevenly distributed relative to a baseline of perfect integration. For example, if only five percent of the population of a particular MSA were black, and all black residents lived in neighborhoods that were 20 percent black, then that MSA's dissimilarity index would equal 0.75—high enough to rank as the nation's 8th most segregated MSA in 2000, even though every black person lives in a neighborhood with a large number of non-blacks. Isolation, on the other hand, specifically captures the extent to which black residents are primarily surrounded by non-blacks or other black people. In this example, the isolation index would equal 0.158, a more moderate value that would rank 174th highest among 317 MSAs in 2000. In practice, the two measures are highly correlated across cities[7] and the trends in the two variables match one another.

Later in this essay, we will discuss current patterns of segregation across cities. At this point, we will reiterate that the cities that are highly segregated with one measure tend to be highly segregated with all measures. Thus, we will generally restrict ourselves to looking at the dissimilarity measure.

III. Findings

A. Overall, segregation levels between blacks and non-blacks continued their 30-year decline and are now at their lowest point since roughly 1920.
Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor (1999) assembled a comprehensive data set on segregation from 1890 to today (it is posted at www.nber.org and www.pubpol.duke.edu/~jvigdor/segregation). This data set indicates that during every decade between 1890 and 1970 segregation rose, and rose dramatically, across American cities. Starting in the 1970s, however, segregation began to fall. The sharpest decline in segregation occurred during the 1970s, when the average segregation level across metropolitan areas in our sample fell by almost ten percent. However, segregation also fell significantly in the 1980s and 1990s.

Figure 1 graphs the mean level of dissimilarity in U.S. metropolitan areas from 1890 to 2000, and Figure 2 graphs the mean level of isolation for the same period.[8] These show that the 1990-2000 period continues a 30-year trend of declining segregation within the United States. In fact, overall black/non-black segregation levels are currently at their lowest point since roughly 1920. Over the last decade, the overall segregation level of blacks across all metropolitan-area census tracts declined by 4.3 percentage points. In 1990, the average African-American metropolitan area resident lived in a census tract that was 56 percent black. In 2000, the average

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Figure 1: Mean Dissimilarity 1890–2000

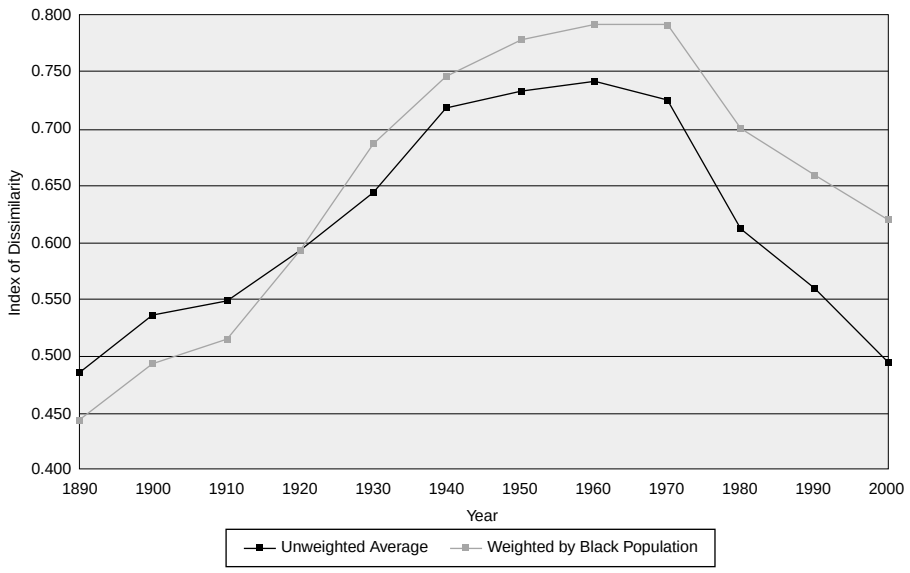
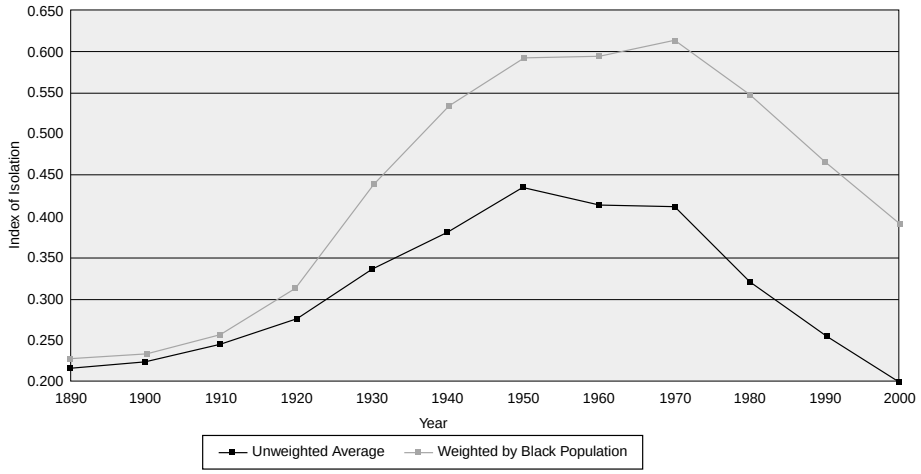


Figure 2: Mean Isolation 1890–2000



African-American metropolitan resident lives in a census tract that is 51 percent black.

This is not to downplay the continuing existence of very segregated metropolitan areas. There are 74 hypersegregated MSAs with measures of dissimilarity greater than 0.6, or approximately one quarter of the MSAs. Second, there are 160 partially segregated cities with segregation levels between 0.4 and 0.6. One-half of the MSAs fit in this group. Finally, there are 83 "less segregated" MSAs, with segregation levels below 0.4. The large number of American metropolitan areas with extremely high levels of segregation remains quite striking.

B. Segregation declined in all but 19 metropolitan areas surveyed. However, in more than one-third of the metropolitan areas, segregation declined slightly, by less than 5 percent.

Table 1 (see Appendix) gives the segregation changes for all metropolitan areas in 2000. For those MSAs for which we measured segregation indices in 1990, the 1990 values and absolute changes between years are included as well. The table includes dissimilarity and isolation indices using the restrictive single-race definition of black.

The metropolitan areas in Table 1 have been categorized into five groups. First, there are those metropolitan areas with increasing segregation. This group includes only 19 MSAs. The small size of this group reminds us of how ubiquitous the overall trend towards decreasing segregation actually is.

Second, we group together those metropolitan areas where segregation has declined by less than five percentage points. This group represents 128 MSAs—more than one-third of the sample—suggesting that while segregation is almost universally falling, sometimes the

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declines are small indeed.

The third group, which contains 100 MSAs, had declines in dissimilarity between five and ten percentage points. These drops are large, but not overwhelming. Fourth are the MSAs that have had dissimilarity drops of 10 percentage points or more—quite substantial changes. Of these 44 metropolitan areas, 26 are located in the South or West, twelve are from the Midwest, and six from the Northeast.

Finally, the fifth group in Table 1 consists of those MSAs that were not included in our sample of metropolitan areas in 1990. Most of these twenty-six MSAs simply were not defined as of 1990; the others had black populations below 1,000 in 1990 and hence did not meet our sample selection criterion.

It is important to note that, in some cases, these changes in segregation are associated with changing metropolitan area definitions. The census redefines metropolitan areas to account for expanding cities and this may cause segregation measures to change. For example, Ann Arbor, MI, the metropolitan area with the greatest increase in dissimilarity between 1990 and 2000, expanded from one county to three during that time period. In the table, we use an asterisk to denote those metropolitan areas where land area increased by more than 50 percent between 1990 and 2000. Many of these MSAs absorbed other metropolitan areas.

C. The decline in segregation results from the integration of formerly all-white census tracts, rather than the integration of overwhelmingly (80 percent or more) black census tracts.
In 1960, 61.8 percent of census tracts in metropolitan areas were less than one percent black. (A striking 17.2 percent of metropolitan area census tracts had exactly zero black inhabitants.) In 2000, only 23.1 percent of census tracts had fewer than one percent African-American residents (see Table 2 in Appendix). There has been a corresponding rise in the number of census tracts between one and ten percent black. In 2000, roughly 45 percent of census tracts have populations that are between one and ten percent African-American, and 13.6 percent of the metropolitan black population lives in these tracts. In 1960, by contrast, 18.3 percent of census tracts were moderately integrated, and roughly 6 percent of the metropolitan black population lived in these tracts.

There has been a strong increase in the percentage of black metropolitan residents who live in a tract that is between 10 and 50 percent black. About half of the metropolitan black population now lives in a majority-nonblack census tract. It is this shift—the disappearance of all-white tracts—that has really changed the segregation indices.

The decline in segregation does not in any sense represent an elimination of very high percentage African-American census tracts. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of census tracts with a black share of population exceeding 80 percent remained constant nationwide. No meaningful portion of the nationwide decline in segregation can be attributed to the movement of whites into highly black enclaves. While the number of census tracts in which more than 80 percent of the residents are black have not decreased in number, the number of African-Americans residing in these census tracts declined significantly. While tracts that were 80 percent black were home to nearly half the metropolitan black population in 1960, 37 percent of blacks lived in such neighborhoods in 1990, and less than 30 percent did so in 2000. To the extent that the remaining population in these tracts is drawn from the poorest segment of the black population, the concentration of urban poverty will continue to be a concern in the twenty-first century. While a complete analysis of the economic profile of these neighborhoods must await more detailed information from the Census Bureau, it appears that the decline in segregation can be primarily attributed to African-Americans entering areas that used to be completely white.

D. There are regional segregation trends: The West and South are more integrated than the Northeast and Midwest, which remain highly segregated.
To examine the importance of regional variation in segregation levels and changes, we have calculated dissimilarity indices for the country as a whole and for each region in 1990 and 2000 (as described above, this means treating the country, or each region, as a huge city). Table 3 shows the results. Across regions, dissimilarity is consistently highest in the Midwest, followed by the Northeast, South, and West. Or, put another way, West is the most integrated followed by the South, while the Northeast and the Midwest are both quite segregated. Over time, dissimilarity decreased in each region and the U.S. as a whole. The overall national dissimilarity index was 0.695 in 1990 and 0.652 in 2000. It is important to point out that the 2000 index, while lower than the 1990 index, is still in the hypersegregated range. The largest regional reduction occurred in the South, with roughly equal changes in the Northeast, Midwest, and West. These results further suggest that segregation, while still high, is declining in this country on a widespread basis. It is interesting that the regions with the lowest historical segregation levels have also experienced average or above average declines in segregation over the past ten years.

These regional effects may occur because the Western and Southern cities are newer. When blacks and whites settle new cities, they might be more likely to live near one another because the degree of racial animosity

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has declined over time, or because the settlers of new cities tend to be of a relatively stable socioeconomic class. An investigation of the socioeconomic determinants of segregation in 2000 must await the arrival of more detailed Census figures. Especially in the West, newer cities might have a lower overall black population share, too low to lead to "tipping" in racially mixed neighborhoods. Whatever the reason, these regional effects existed in the past and persist today.

E. Segregation decline seems linked to economic and demographic change: it was strongest in places that were growing, and those that had changing black populations. It also fell faster in places that had a small black population in 1990, but persists at fairly high levels in the largest metropolitan areas.

In this section, we document three basic facts about where the declines in segregation were largest. We have already shown that changes in segregation vary by region. Here we will look at three other factors: the connection between segregation change and (1) population growth; (2) increasing black population; and (3) the percentage of black residents in 1990. Finally, we note the relationship between metropolitan area population and segregation.

Segregation and Population Growth

The connection between reductions in segregation and region are partially explained by the connection between reductions in segregation and population growth. Metropolitan areas that are growing quickly have had sharper declines in segregation than metropolitan areas that are stagnant.

Figure 3 shows that the faster growing cities have had sharper declines in dissimilarity than the relatively stagnant cities. The fastest growing MSAs (growth over 25 percent) had a decline of 6.5

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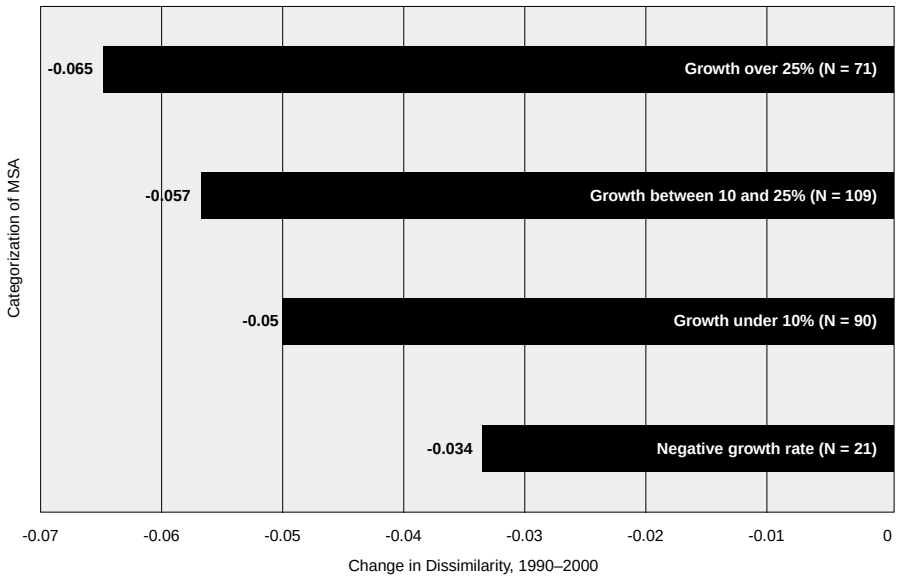
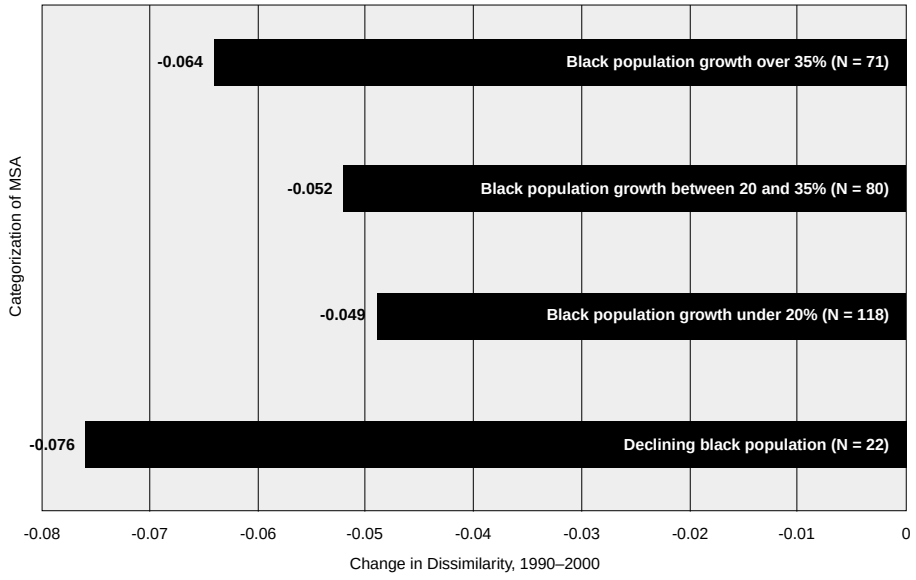
Figure 3:
Changes in Dissimilarity by MSA Growth Rate



Note: N = Number of metropolitan areas in this category

Figure 4:
Changes in Dissimilarity by Black Population Growth



Note: N = Number of metropolitan areas in this category

percentage points. Modestly growing MSAs (between 10 and 25 percent) had a decline of 5.7 percentage points. In slowly growing MSAs, dissimilarity declined by 5 percentage points and in the declining MSAs, dissimilarity only fell by 3.4 percentage points.

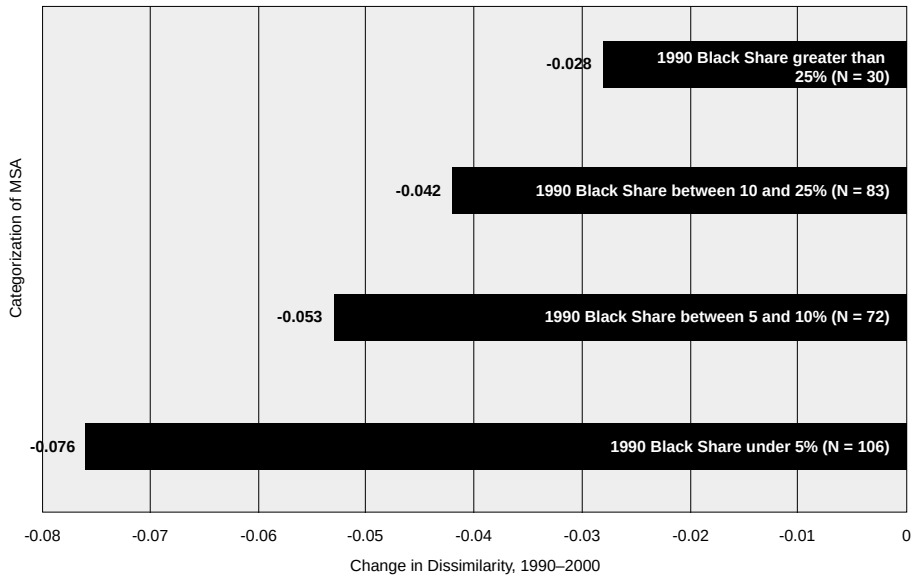
We interpret this result as suggesting that growth facilitates change. In the stagnant MSAs, neighborhood patterns most resemble those of the metropolitan area when it was built and when the United States was much more segregated than it is today. Because quickly growing cities have no pre-determined residential patterns, segregation patterns have adjusted to what appears to be a new norm of a more integrated America.

Changes in Segregation and Rising Black Population

The second fact is that there is clearly a connection between declining segregation levels and increasing black population as well as decreasing black population, as Figure 4 demonstrates. Metropolitan areas with declining black populations have fairly rapidly falling levels of dissimilarity (7 percentage points on average). Metropolitan areas with relatively steady black populations have levels of segregation that are declining more slowly (4.9 percentage points on average). Finally, metropolitan areas with very quickly growing black populations again have very sharply declining levels of segregation (6.4 percentage points).

A natural interpretation of this strange relationship is that changes in segregation occur with change. When blacks leave metropolitan areas, they often leave some of the most segregated areas and end up reducing segregation. When they come to metropolitan areas, newer, more integrated patterns of settlement occur and segregation falls. It is particularly in those areas where black populations are unchanged that segregation is also unchanged.

Figure 5: Changes in Dissimilarity by Initial Percent Black



Note: N = Number of metropolitan areas in this category

Changes in Segregation and Percentage of Black Metropolitan-Area Residents

The final variable which predicts changes in segregation is the initial share of the MSA's population that is African-American. Those MSAs which have a large minority population have seen a much lower reduction in segregation than those with a small minority population (see Figure 5).

The decline in segregation was largest for those MSAs in which black residents comprised less than 5 percent of the population: 7.6 percentage points. MSAs with a population that was between 5 and 10 percent black in 1990 had a 5.3 percentage point decline in segregation. MSAs in which black residents were between 10 and 25 percent of the poulation in 1990 had a 4.2 percentage point drop in segregation. Finally, in MSAs that were more than 25 percent black in 1990, segregation declined least, by 2.8 percentage points.

One interpretation for this phenomena is that the highly black cities may be harder to integrate because the black populations are larger and existing color barriers are more extreme.

Metropolitan Area Population

Figure 6 shows the connection between MSA population and segregation levels. Unlike previous measures, this looks at 2000 segregation levels, rather than changes in segregation between 1990 and 2000. We have grouped MSAs together into four categories: most populous (over 1,500,000), highly populous (between 750,000 and 1,500,000), moderately populous (between 200,000 and 750,000) and less populous (less than 200,000). Dissimilarity increases with MSA size, with the most populous areas significantly more segregated than the unweighted national average, and the smallest significantly less segregated than the unweighted

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national average.

This relationship between segregation and city size has existed since before World War II (see Cutler, Glaeser and Vigdor, 1999). The greater density in larger MSAs might increase individuals' desire to be separate from members of other races. Larger metropolitan areas might also provide more opportunities to sort into homogeneous communities to realize shared preferences for amenities or public services, and these preferences might vary by race. Alternatively, larger areas might simply be older, on average, and hence reflect the more segregated residential patterns of an earlier era.

IV. Conclusion

Overall, segregation remains high in America, but there is promising news: there has been a steady decline of segregation over the last three decades. The highly segregated cities of the Midwest and the Northeast are becoming slightly less segregated. While Detroit, the most segregated American city in 1990, continues to hold that distinction, dissimilarity in that city is at its lowest point since 1950, when the black population was a third of its current size. Milwaukee, the nation's second most segregated city, is more integrated than it has been since 1920, when the black population was a mere 2,229.[9] A similar story can be told for many of the nation's most segregated metropolises.

Even more importantly, the newer, more rapidly growing cities of the West and the South are both intrinsically less segregated and are becoming much less segregated over time. The nation's fastest-growing metropolitan areas, places such as Las Vegas, Phoenix, Austin, and Raleigh-Durham, feature remarkably low and declining segregation levels. This decline means that the African-American experience is turning out to be quite different in the sunbelt than in the rustbelt. The regional shift is one factor contributing to recent declines in segregation.

We believe that there are two policy related lessons from this data. First, there has been a major change in segregation, probably as a result of the changing political environment. In the 1940s, discrimination by realtors and lenders was legal, and in fact effectively encouraged by Federal mortgage insurance underwriting policies. Restrictive covenants were legal, and groups of whites terrorized blacks who moved into with communities with impunity. By 1970, all of those conditions had changed. We think that the contemporary decline in segregation shows the effectiveness of the civil rights revolution in this country between 1940 and 1970.

Second, there are still large metropolitan areas with substantial amounts of segregation. Moreover, the past 30 years have brought the least amount of change[10] to many of these areas. This survey is not meant to deny the continuing hypersegregation of a significant number of American cities. This extreme segregation persists and represents a significant challenge for America going forward. But just as it would be wrong to deny the continuing persistence of truly staggering levels of segregation in many cities, it is also wrong to deny the remarkable progress that has also been made. Across America, but especially in those cities that are newer and less bound by traditions of segregation, whites and blacks are now living closer to one another. As discussed elsewhere, we are confident that this represents both rising black incomes and government action against discrimination in housing (e.g. the end of restrictive covenants, police action against white mob violence, etc.). While America must not forget its continuing obligation to its most isolated citizens, it can also be justly proud of the changes that have occurred in segregation levels since 1970.

References

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Massey, D. and N. Denton (1993) *American Apartheid.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Appendix

Table 1: Black/Nonblack Dissimilarity and Isolation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1990 and 2000

Metropolitan Area Name		Dissimilarity 2000	Isolation 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Isolation 1990	Change in Dissimilarity	Change in Isolation
Group 1: Metropolitan Areas with increases in dissimilarity							
Alexandria, LA		0.589	0.413	0.571	0.430	0.018	-0.018
Ann Arbor, MI	*	0.615	0.235	0.499	0.205	0.115	0.031
Baton Rouge, LA		0.641	0.477	0.641	0.488	0.001	-0.010
Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula, MS	*	0.495	0.274	0.462	0.262	0.033	0.012
Brockton, MA	*	0.574	0.116	0.490	0.096	0.084	0.019
Champaign-Urbana, IL		0.445	0.194	0.442	0.222	0.003	-0.028
Cumberland, MD-WV		0.512	0.114	0.474	0.029	0.038	0.085
Danville, VA		0.336	0.167	0.308	0.153	0.029	0.015
Erie, PA		0.641	0.228	0.636	0.244	0.005	-0.016
Gainesville, FL		0.414	0.247	0.387	0.220	0.027	0.028
Hickory-Morganton-Lenoir, NC		0.445	0.114	0.395	0.131	0.050	-0.017
Iowa City, IA		0.347	0.021	0.336	0.014	0.012	0.007
Jacksonville, NC		0.239	0.092	0.206	0.077	0.033	0.016
Lowell, MA-NH		0.441	0.023	0.420	0.015	0.021	0.008
New London-Norwich, CT-RI		0.539	0.092	0.496	0.092	0.042	0.000
Pine Bluff, AR		0.586	0.428	0.577	0.420	0.008	0.008
Terre Haute, IN		0.569	0.141	0.562	0.151	0.007	-0.010
Texarkana, TX-Texarkana, AR		0.419	0.221	0.404	0.240	0.015	-0.019
Tuscaloosa, AL		0.530	0.345	0.503	0.358	0.026	-0.013
Group 2: Metropolitan Areas with small decreases in dissimilarity							
Abilene, TX		0.350	0.046	0.374	0.055	-0.024	-0.009
Akron, OH		0.651	0.391	0.693	0.439	-0.042	-0.048
Albany, GA		0.596	0.424	0.623	0.466	-0.026	-0.042
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY		0.609	0.264	0.620	0.266	-0.010	-0.002
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA		0.499	0.059	0.534	0.051	-0.035	0.008
Altoona, PA		0.492	0.023	0.522	0.026	-0.029	-0.002
Amarillo, TX		0.569	0.239	0.613	0.340	-0.044	-0.101
Anchorage, AK		0.330	0.037	0.333	0.044	-0.003	-0.006
Anniston, AL		0.486	0.301	0.501	0.306	-0.015	-0.005
Asheville, NC	*	0.578	0.244	0.626	0.337	-0.047	-0.093
Athens, GA		0.432	0.225	0.456	0.219	-0.024	0.006
Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC		0.437	0.254	0.439	0.266	-0.002	-0.011
Baltimore, MD		0.666	0.529	0.709	0.593	-0.043	-0.064
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX		0.641	0.446	0.687	0.516	-0.047	-0.071
Benton Harbor, MI		0.734	0.545	0.741	0.571	-0.008	-0.026
Binghamton, NY		0.494	0.050	0.516	0.036	-0.022	0.015
Birmingham, AL		0.696	0.563	0.719	0.583	-0.023	-0.020
Bloomington, IN		0.331	0.018	0.355	0.019	-0.024	-0.001
Bloomington-Normal, IL		0.340	0.043	0.386	0.037	-0.046	0.006
Boston, MA-NH		0.629	0.344	0.677	0.445	-0.048	-0.102
Bremerton, WA		0.414	0.036	0.457	0.045	-0.044	-0.009
Bridgeport, CT		0.636	0.256	0.675	0.311	-0.040	-0.056
Bryan-College Station, TX		0.408	0.132	0.438	0.175	-0.029	-0.042
Charleston-North Charleston, SC		0.434	0.238	0.480	0.294	-0.046	-0.056
Charleston, WV		0.558	0.172	0.596	0.193	-0.037	-0.021
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC		0.503	0.299	0.537	0.372	-0.033	-0.073
Charlottesville, VA		0.341	0.131	0.370	0.144	-0.028	-0.013
Chattanooga, TN-GA		0.683	0.461	0.724	0.511	-0.041	-0.050

Metropolitan Area Name		Dissimilarity 2000	Isolation 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Isolation 1990	Change in Dissimilarity	Change in Isolation
Cheyenne, WY		0.295	0.018	0.345	0.030	-0.050	-0.012
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	*	0.742	0.503	0.761	0.549	-0.019	-0.046
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY		0.348	0.137	0.374	0.155	-0.026	-0.018
Colorado Springs, CO		0.378	0.057	0.425	0.074	-0.047	-0.017
Columbia, SC		0.498	0.336	0.531	0.375	-0.032	-0.039
Columbus, GA-AL		0.560	0.377	0.574	0.415	-0.014	-0.038
Danbury, CT		0.464	0.056	0.505	0.065	-0.041	-0.009
Dayton-Springfield, OH		0.710	0.515	0.751	0.561	-0.042	-0.045
Decatur, AL		0.567	0.272	0.616	0.356	-0.049	-0.085
Decatur, IL		0.536	0.249	0.584	0.285	-0.048	-0.036
Denver, CO		0.599	0.198	0.640	0.315	-0.041	-0.117
Detroit, MI		0.840	0.727	0.873	0.763	-0.033	-0.035
Dothan, AL		0.405	0.230	0.411	0.268	-0.006	-0.038
El Paso, TX		0.430	0.063	0.475	0.081	-0.045	-0.019
Elmira, NY		0.516	0.156	0.565	0.233	-0.049	-0.077
Evansville-Henderson, IN-KY		0.561	0.201	0.606	0.253	-0.045	-0.052
Fayetteville, NC		0.299	0.133	0.304	0.173	-0.006	-0.040
Flint, MI		0.765	0.616	0.809	0.664	-0.044	-0.049
Florence, AL		0.428	0.192	0.442	0.235	-0.014	-0.043
Florence, SC		0.416	0.269	0.464	0.332	-0.048	-0.063
Fort Wayne, IN	*	0.710	0.400	0.742	0.441	-0.033	-0.041
Fresno, CA		0.425	0.088	0.469	0.181	-0.044	-0.093
Gadsden, AL		0.686	0.407	0.701	0.432	-0.014	-0.025
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC	*	0.436	0.224	0.485	0.282	-0.049	-0.058
Honolulu, HI		0.514	0.080	0.555	0.097	-0.040	-0.017
Houma, LA		0.453	0.177	0.478	0.191	-0.025	-0.014
Houston, TX		0.570	0.352	0.617	0.436	-0.048	-0.084
Huntsville, AL	*	0.537	0.318	0.575	0.324	-0.038	-0.006
Indianapolis, IN		0.699	0.449	0.744	0.545	-0.044	-0.096
Jackson, MI		0.657	0.285	0.698	0.349	-0.041	-0.064
Jackson, TN	*	0.554	0.362	0.589	0.421	-0.035	-0.059
Jamestown, NY		0.532	0.051	0.552	0.050	-0.019	0.000
Jersey City, NJ		0.586	0.353	0.631	0.437	-0.044	-0.085
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek, MI	*	0.526	0.247	0.528	0.292	-0.002	-0.044
Kankakee, IL		0.687	0.476	0.717	0.557	-0.030	-0.082
Kansas City, MO-KS		0.683	0.466	0.721	0.548	-0.038	-0.082
Killeen-Temple, TX		0.348	0.105	0.378	0.122	-0.030	-0.018
Knoxville, TN		0.580	0.315	0.617	0.389	-0.037	-0.073
Lafayette, LA	*	0.488	0.277	0.496	0.286	-0.009	-0.009
Lake Charles, LA		0.613	0.436	0.642	0.481	-0.029	-0.045
Lansing-East Lansing, MI		0.535	0.166	0.553	0.172	-0.018	-0.006
Lawrence, KS		0.261	0.017	0.266	0.020	-0.005	-0.003
Lawton, OK		0.295	0.092	0.329	0.139	-0.033	-0.047
Lima, OH		0.645	0.233	0.658	0.318	-0.013	-0.085
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR		0.597	0.392	0.605	0.404	-0.008	-0.012
Longview-Marshall, TX		0.418	0.197	0.464	0.242	-0.047	-0.045
Lynchburg, VA	*	0.379	0.186	0.403	0.233	-0.024	-0.048
Macon, GA		0.511	0.320	0.525	0.358	-0.014	-0.038
Madison, WI		0.442	0.068	0.489	0.070	-0.047	-0.002
Manchester, NH		0.399	0.014	0.447	0.010	-0.048	0.004
Mansfield, OH	*	0.670	0.300	0.688	0.305	-0.018	-0.005
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, FL		0.476	0.171	0.523	0.227	-0.047	-0.057
Memphis, TN-AR-MS		0.660	0.520	0.691	0.573	-0.032	-0.052

Metropolitan Area Name		Dissimilarity 2000	Isolation 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Isolation 1990	Change in Dissimilarity	Change in Isolation
Miami, FL		0.688	0.480	0.703	0.517	-0.016	-0.037
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI		0.810	0.613	0.820	0.649	-0.011	-0.036
Mobile, AL		0.611	0.473	0.658	0.533	-0.047	-0.060
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ		0.610	0.278	0.658	0.332	-0.048	-0.054
Monroe, LA		0.687	0.576	0.711	0.597	-0.024	-0.021
Nashua, NH		0.324	0.010	0.354	0.008	-0.031	0.002
New Haven-Meriden, CT		0.631	0.324	0.666	0.366	-0.035	-0.042
New Orleans, LA		0.665	0.523	0.678	0.539	-0.013	-0.016
New York, NY		0.670	0.484	0.691	0.521	-0.021	-0.037
Newark, NJ		0.735	0.561	0.780	0.622	-0.045	-0.061
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA		0.449	0.305	0.492	0.361	-0.043	-0.056
Ocala, FL		0.477	0.215	0.520	0.315	-0.043	-0.100
Odessa-Midland, TX	*	0.412	0.134	0.421	0.142	-0.009	-0.008
Pensacola, FL		0.498	0.246	0.530	0.293	-0.033	-0.046
Peoria-Pekin, IL		0.698	0.333	0.701	0.338	-0.002	-0.006
Pittsburgh, PA		0.682	0.428	0.713	0.487	-0.032	-0.059
Richmond-Petersburg, VA		0.553	0.386	0.589	0.428	-0.036	-0.042
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA		0.370	0.065	0.390	0.080	-0.020	-0.015
Rochester, NY		0.646	0.363	0.663	0.392	-0.016	-0.029
Sacramento, CA		0.470	0.100	0.510	0.130	-0.040	-0.031
St. Joseph, MO	*	0.430	0.051	0.440	0.062	-0.010	-0.012
St. Louis, MO-IL		0.731	0.567	0.770	0.626	-0.039	-0.059
San Francisco, CA		0.544	0.185	0.577	0.264	-0.033	-0.079
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA		0.350	0.042	0.380	0.041	-0.030	0.001
Sharon, PA		0.660	0.297	0.667	0.298	-0.007	-0.001
Sherman-Denison, TX		0.447	0.082	0.495	0.137	-0.048	-0.054
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA		0.556	0.399	0.605	0.454	-0.049	-0.055
State College, PA		0.491	0.063	0.539	0.058	-0.048	0.005
Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV		0.604	0.174	0.631	0.191	-0.027	-0.017
Syracuse, NY		0.689	0.358	0.732	0.410	-0.043	-0.052
Tacoma, WA		0.420	0.074	0.454	0.098	-0.035	-0.023
Toledo, OH		0.690	0.462	0.736	0.528	-0.046	-0.066
Tucson, AZ		0.322	0.023	0.368	0.036	-0.046	-0.014
Tyler, TX		0.455	0.251	0.496	0.334	-0.041	-0.083
Utica-Rome, NY		0.634	0.174	0.668	0.269	-0.034	-0.096
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA		0.419	0.112	0.437	0.129	-0.018	-0.017
Ventura County, CA		0.342	0.017	0.391	0.025	-0.049	-0.008
Victoria, TX		0.281	0.031	0.329	0.056	-0.048	-0.025
Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton, NJ		0.336	0.180	0.359	0.185	-0.024	-0.006
Waco, TX		0.451	0.220	0.496	0.309	-0.045	-0.089
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	*	0.595	0.438	0.641	0.499	-0.046	-0.060
Wheeling, WV-OH		0.558	0.112	0.573	0.104	-0.015	0.007
Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD		0.511	0.308	0.545	0.347	-0.033	-0.039
Worcester, MA-CT		0.504	0.052	0.525	0.059	-0.020	-0.007
York, PA		0.678	0.194	0.710	0.233	-0.031	-0.039
Youngstown-Warren, OH	*	0.720	0.439	0.749	0.484	-0.029	-0.044
Yuma, AZ	*	0.334	0.021	0.350	0.034	-0.016	-0.013
Group 3: Metropolitan Areas with 5-10% decreases in dissimilarity							
Albuquerque, NM	*	0.268	0.015	0.336	0.031	-0.068	-0.016
Atlanta, GA		0.615	0.461	0.673	0.532	-0.058	-0.071
Atlantic-Cape May, NJ		0.581	0.350	0.632	0.442	-0.051	-0.092
Austin-San Marcos, TX	*	0.422	0.133	0.507	0.242	-0.085	-0.109
Bakersfield, CA		0.426	0.079	0.505	0.164	-0.079	-0.084
Bergen-Passaic, NJ		0.641	0.298	0.713	0.376	-0.072	-0.078

Metropolitan Area Name		Dissimilarity 2000	Isolation 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Isolation 1990	Change in Dissimilarity	Change in Isolation
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY		0.756	0.549	0.807	0.624	-0.051	-0.076
Burlington, VT		0.313	0.007	0.386	0.013	-0.073	-0.006
Canton-Massillon, OH		0.580	0.231	0.636	0.285	-0.056	-0.054
Chicago, IL	*	0.778	0.660	0.836	0.752	-0.058	-0.092
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	*	0.766	0.640	0.848	0.753	-0.082	-0.113
Columbia, MO		0.380	0.100	0.434	0.130	-0.055	-0.029
Columbus, OH		0.617	0.379	0.672	0.449	-0.056	-0.070
Dallas, TX		0.536	0.315	0.592	0.418	-0.056	-0.103
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL		0.521	0.172	0.585	0.225	-0.064	-0.053
Duluth-Superior, MN-WI		0.504	0.022	0.584	0.023	-0.080	-0.001
Dutchess County, NY		0.524	0.211	0.574	0.258	-0.051	-0.047
Elkhart-Goshen, IN		0.541	0.148	0.609	0.185	-0.068	-0.037
Eugene-Springfield, OR		0.297	0.004	0.395	0.008	-0.099	-0.003
Fitchburg-Leominster, MA		0.307	0.015	0.373	0.015	-0.067	0.000
Fort Smith, AR-OK		0.521	0.097	0.592	0.143	-0.071	-0.046
Fort Walton Beach, FL		0.285	0.051	0.382	0.091	-0.097	-0.040
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX		0.546	0.266	0.599	0.380	-0.054	-0.113
Galveston-Texas City, TX		0.533	0.282	0.597	0.364	-0.063	-0.082
Gary, IN		0.809	0.677	0.869	0.737	-0.060	-0.060
Glens Falls, NY		0.681	0.159	0.778	0.221	-0.097	-0.063
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI	*	0.665	0.349	0.726	0.428	-0.061	-0.078
Greensboro--Winston Salem--High Point, NC		0.545	0.344	0.611	0.446	-0.066	-0.103
Hagerstown, MD		0.612	0.387	0.677	0.399	-0.064	-0.012
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA		0.700	0.350	0.759	0.416	-0.059	-0.066
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH		0.606	0.133	0.702	0.162	-0.096	-0.028
Jackson, MS		0.610	0.453	0.676	0.541	-0.067	-0.087
Jacksonville, FL		0.530	0.379	0.583	0.448	-0.053	-0.070
Janesville-Beloit, WI		0.598	0.159	0.693	0.210	-0.095	-0.051
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA		0.490	0.067	0.568	0.080	-0.077	-0.013
Johnstown, PA		0.686	0.135	0.747	0.158	-0.061	-0.022
Lafayette, IN	*	0.330	0.014	0.390	0.019	-0.060	-0.005
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL		0.501	0.269	0.568	0.333	-0.067	-0.064
Lancaster, PA		0.577	0.092	0.656	0.152	-0.080	-0.060
Las Cruces, NM		0.283	0.012	0.375	0.035	-0.092	-0.023
Lexington, KY		0.474	0.194	0.539	0.290	-0.065	-0.096
Lincoln, NE		0.372	0.029	0.444	0.053	-0.071	-0.024
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA		0.570	0.270	0.641	0.365	-0.071	-0.095
Louisville, KY-IN		0.640	0.458	0.694	0.520	-0.054	-0.062
Lubbock, TX		0.453	0.244	0.544	0.314	-0.091	-0.071
Merced, CA		0.289	0.020	0.341	0.030	-0.052	-0.011
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ		0.442	0.121	0.523	0.164	-0.081	-0.043
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI		0.561	0.179	0.612	0.226	-0.051	-0.047
Montgomery, AL		0.546	0.388	0.597	0.434	-0.050	-0.046
Muncie, IN		0.540	0.327	0.627	0.425	-0.087	-0.098
Naples, FL		0.548	0.150	0.599	0.305	-0.052	-0.155
Nashville, TN		0.554	0.352	0.604	0.433	-0.051	-0.082
Nassau-Suffolk, NY		0.691	0.353	0.743	0.431	-0.052	-0.078
Newburgh, NY-PA	*	0.464	0.127	0.516	0.186	-0.052	-0.060
Oakland, CA		0.535	0.246	0.616	0.373	-0.081	-0.127
Oklahoma City, OK		0.526	0.294	0.595	0.366	-0.069	-0.071
Olympia, WA		0.355	0.018	0.435	0.023	-0.080	-0.005
Omaha, NE-IA		0.647	0.367	0.706	0.423	-0.058	-0.056
Orange County, CA		0.262	0.009	0.345	0.021	-0.083	-0.012
Orlando, FL		0.515	0.278	0.595	0.397	-0.080	-0.120

Metropolitan Area Name		Dissimilarity 2000	Isolation 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Isolation 1990	Change in Dissimilarity	Change in Isolation
Owensboro, KY		0.494	0.091	0.580	0.125	-0.086	-0.034
Panama City, FL		0.476	0.210	0.547	0.286	-0.071	-0.076
Parkersburg-Marietta, WV-OH		0.364	0.010	0.427	0.014	-0.063	-0.005
Philadelphia, PA-NJ		0.687	0.528	0.751	0.608	-0.064	-0.080
Portland, ME		0.428	0.021	0.485	0.010	-0.057	0.011
Pueblo, CO		0.322	0.028	0.375	0.023	-0.053	0.005
Racine, WI		0.522	0.211	0.618	0.315	-0.096	-0.104
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	*	0.423	0.240	0.482	0.327	-0.059	-0.088
Reading, PA		0.534	0.083	0.610	0.117	-0.075	-0.034
Redding, CA		0.245	0.003	0.334	0.007	-0.089	-0.004
Reno, NV		0.277	0.012	0.370	0.025	-0.093	-0.013
Roanoke, VA		0.635	0.439	0.690	0.481	-0.055	-0.042
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland, MI		0.729	0.515	0.807	0.586	-0.079	-0.071
Salinas, CA		0.509	0.094	0.595	0.154	-0.086	-0.060
San Antonio, TX		0.462	0.139	0.512	0.203	-0.051	-0.064
San Diego, CA		0.438	0.095	0.503	0.141	-0.066	-0.046
San Jose, CA		0.251	0.012	0.322	0.021	-0.072	-0.010
Santa Rosa, CA		0.292	0.008	0.373	0.013	-0.080	-0.005
Savannah, GA		0.545	0.410	0.614	0.492	-0.069	-0.082
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre--Hazleton, PA		0.577	0.060	0.627	0.078	-0.050	-0.018
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA		0.479	0.097	0.558	0.188	-0.079	-0.091
South Bend, IN		0.576	0.273	0.646	0.325	-0.070	-0.053
Spokane, WA		0.362	0.018	0.457	0.031	-0.095	-0.013
Springfield, IL		0.576	0.302	0.647	0.351	-0.071	-0.049
Springfield, MA		0.587	0.221	0.658	0.313	-0.072	-0.092
Stamford-Norwalk, CT	*	0.578	0.187	0.635	0.264	-0.057	-0.078
Stockton-Lodi, CA		0.407	0.063	0.498	0.105	-0.092	-0.042
Tallahassee, FL		0.433	0.259	0.520	0.332	-0.087	-0.073
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL		0.609	0.348	0.687	0.432	-0.078	-0.084
Topeka, KS		0.451	0.114	0.536	0.154	-0.085	-0.041
Trenton, NJ		0.596	0.394	0.660	0.464	-0.064	-0.069
Tulsa, OK		0.563	0.368	0.630	0.452	-0.067	-0.084
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA		0.385	0.019	0.479	0.035	-0.094	-0.015
Waterbury, CT		0.539	0.158	0.609	0.229	-0.070	-0.071
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA		0.659	0.325	0.716	0.357	-0.056	-0.032
Wichita, KS		0.558	0.313	0.629	0.412	-0.071	-0.099
Wichita Falls, TX	*	0.508	0.194	0.593	0.300	-0.085	-0.106
Williamsport, PA		0.614	0.123	0.685	0.106	-0.071	0.017
Yakima, WA		0.366	0.011	0.452	0.030	-0.086	-0.019
Yuba City, CA		0.301	0.019	0.397	0.040	-0.096	-0.021
Group 4: Metropolitan Areas with greater than 10% decreases in dissimilarity							
Boise City, ID	*	0.237	0.002	0.357	0.006	-0.119	-0.004
Boulder-Longmont, CO		0.225	0.003	0.368	0.007	-0.142	-0.004
Brazoria, TX		0.355	0.072	0.464	0.124	-0.109	-0.052
Cedar Rapids, IA		0.414	0.046	0.527	0.062	-0.114	-0.016
Chico-Paradise, CA		0.357	0.014	0.466	0.042	-0.109	-0.028
Corpus Christi, TX		0.346	0.071	0.448	0.131	-0.102	-0.060
Daytona Beach, FL		0.538	0.307	0.691	0.452	-0.153	-0.145
Des Moines, IA		0.552	0.165	0.662	0.259	-0.110	-0.094
Enid, OK		0.283	0.015	0.396	0.040	-0.114	-0.025
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR	*	0.513	0.033	0.619	0.036	-0.106	-0.004
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO		0.292	0.004	0.489	0.009	-0.197	-0.005

Metropolitan Area Name		Dissimilarity 2000	Isolation 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Isolation 1990	Change in Dissimilarity	Change in Isolation
Fort Lauderdale, FL		0.573	0.376	0.678	0.476	-0.106	-0.100
Fort Myers-Cape Coral, FL		0.656	0.384	0.766	0.531	-0.109	-0.148
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie, FL		0.569	0.378	0.712	0.540	-0.143	-0.162
Grand Forks, ND-MN	*	0.411	0.029	0.558	0.054	-0.147	-0.025
Great Falls, MT		0.363	0.018	0.595	0.040	-0.233	-0.022
Green Bay, WI		0.423	0.086	0.539	0.152	-0.116	-0.066
Hamilton-Middletown, OH		0.474	0.186	0.601	0.293	-0.127	-0.106
Hartford, CT	*	0.591	0.318	0.706	0.461	-0.115	-0.143
Joplin, MO		0.397	0.022	0.558	0.069	-0.161	-0.046
Kenosha, WI		0.466	0.088	0.598	0.128	-0.132	-0.040
Kokomo, IN		0.478	0.181	0.607	0.283	-0.128	-0.102
Las Vegas, NV-AZ	*	0.362	0.119	0.468	0.271	-0.106	-0.152
Lawrence, MA-NH		0.448	0.022	0.558	0.046	-0.110	-0.024
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX		0.393	0.023	0.500	0.005	-0.108	0.017
Modesto, CA		0.283	0.013	0.384	0.017	-0.101	-0.004
New Bedford, MA		0.425	0.033	0.528	0.052	-0.103	-0.019
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	*	0.343	0.051	0.444	0.109	-0.101	-0.058
Pittsfield, MA		0.451	0.041	0.555	0.062	-0.104	-0.021
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA		0.493	0.131	0.673	0.275	-0.180	-0.144
Portsmouth-Rochester, NH-ME		0.330	0.007	0.520	0.041	-0.190	-0.035
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	*	0.549	0.101	0.660	0.217	-0.112	-0.116
Rapid City, SD		0.279	0.005	0.407	0.031	-0.128	-0.026
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco, WA		0.313	0.010	0.424	0.029	-0.111	-0.018
Rockford, IL	*	0.608	0.287	0.717	0.389	-0.109	-0.101
Salem, OR		0.337	0.015	0.443	0.034	-0.106	-0.019
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT		0.343	0.014	0.490	0.031	-0.146	-0.018
San Angelo, TX		0.251	0.041	0.364	0.116	-0.113	-0.075
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA		0.221	0.003	0.428	0.013	-0.207	-0.010
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	*	0.641	0.284	0.742	0.459	-0.101	-0.175
Sioux City, IA-NE		0.434	0.025	0.546	0.044	-0.113	-0.019
Springfield, MO		0.470	0.054	0.581	0.077	-0.111	-0.024
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL		0.609	0.380	0.734	0.529	-0.125	-0.149
Wilmington, NC	*	0.461	0.256	0.582	0.416	-0.121	-0.160
Group 5: Metropolitan Areas entering the sample in 2000							
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah, WI		0.477	0.042				
Auburn-Opelika, AL		0.376	0.202				
Barnstable-Yarmouth, MA		0.393	0.019				
Bellingham, WA		0.211	0.002				
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX		0.283	0.002				
Dover, DE		0.318	0.103				
Fargo-Moorhead, ND-MN		0.358	0.007				
Flagstaff, AZ-UT		0.406	0.016				
Goldsboro, NC		0.399	0.218				
Greeley, CO		0.287	0.005				
Greenville, NC		0.319	0.162				
Hattiesburg, MS		0.528	0.343				
Jonesboro, AR		0.408	0.095				
La Crosse, WI-MN		0.391	0.012				
Myrtle Beach, SC		0.443	0.176				
Provo-Orem, UT		0.266	0.002				
Punta Gorda, FL		0.390	0.036				
Rochester, MN		0.460	0.036				
Rocky Mount, NC		0.399	0.219				
St. Cloud, MN		0.413	0.010				

Metropolitan Area Name	Dissimilarity 2000	Isolation 2000	Dissimilarity 1990	Isolation 1990	Change in Dissimilarity	Change in Isolation
San Luis Obispo-Atascadero-Paso Robles, CA	0.495	0.082				
Sheboygan, WI	0.546	0.084				
Sioux Falls, SD	0.384	0.013				
Sumter, SC	0.393	0.217				
Wausau, WI	0.389	0.005				
Yolo, CA	0.211	0.006				

* Denotes metropolitan areas where land area increased more than 50% between 1990 and 2000

Table 2: Distribution of Census Tracts by Percentage of Black Residents, 1990 and 2000

Census Tracts with	Distribution of Tracts			Distribution of the Black Population		
Black Share	1960	1990	2000	1960	1990	2000
less than 1%	61.8%	31.2%	23.1%	0.9%	0.8%	0.9%
1-5%	12.8%	27.6%	32.4%	2.7%	5.9%	6.4%
5-10%	5.5%	11.1%	12.5%	3.4%	6.4%	7.2%
10-50%	11.1%	18.2%	20.8%	22.8%	30.4%	35.6%
50-80%	3.9%	4.9%	5.1%	23.1%	19.2%	20.4%
greater than 80%	5.0%	7.0%	6.0%	47.2%	37.3%	29.5%
Number of tracts	22,706	43,847	50,847			
Black Population				11,066,935	25,062,259	29,882,912

Table 3: Regional Variation in Segregation

	Dissimilarity		
	2000	1990	Change
United States	0.652	0.695	-0.043
Northeast Region	0.696	0.734	-0.038
Midwest Region	0.745	0.779	-0.034
South Region	0.591	0.636	-0.045
West Region	0.547	0.581	-0.034

Note: Sample consists of census tracts in sample MSAs.

Endnotes:

1 Some larger urban agglomerations are referred to as Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs), each of which is divided into two or more Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs). In these areas, we calculate segregation indices for PMSAs in both 1990 and 2000.

2 The largest MSA posting an increase in segregation was Baton Rouge, LA. A complete list of metropolitan areas and their segregation levels and changes can be found in Table 1.

3 The dissimilarity index is calculated as:

$$\frac{1}{2}\sum_{Sub\ Areas}\left|\frac{\text{Black Population in Sub-Area}}{\text{Black Population in MSA}}-\frac{\text{Non-Black Population in Sub-Area}}{\text{Non-Black Population in MSA}}\right|$$

The isolation index is:

$$(2)\quad \sum_{Sub\ Areas}\frac{\text{Black Population in Sub-Area}}{\text{Black Population in MSA}}*\frac{\text{Black Population in Sub-Area}}{\text{Total Population of Sub-Area}}-\frac{\text{Black Population in MSA}}{\text{Total Population in MSA}}\Bigg/\left(1-\frac{\text{Black Population in MSA}}{\text{Total Population of MSA}}\right)$$

4 Dissimilarity indices calculated with these two different definitions (treating all non-blacks as the reference population, where non-black is the group that is not considered black) are extremely similar to one another: the correlation coefficient is 0.995. The corresponding correlation between isolation indices is even higher, at 0.999.

5 More precisely, we will focus on tracts in MSAs that had at least 1,000 black residents in 1990.

6 This measure has the attractive feature that if the percentage of black residents in the city rises there is no mechanical bias which causes the index to rise.

7 r= 0.827

8 Indices before 1940 are based on ward data. Values in this figure have been corrected for the difference between ward- and tract-based measures of segregation; see Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor (1999) for details. Indices before 1960 are based on cities; afterward they are based on Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs). Further details behind the figure are explained in the 1999 paper.

8 Milwaukee's segregation in 1920 is measured at the ward level. If census tract data were available for Milwaukee prior to 1940, it would probably show that the city is more integrated now than it ever has been, according to the dissimilarity index.

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