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THE END OF THE SEGREGATED CENTURY: Racial Separation in America's Neighborhoods, 1890–2010

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Following every census enumeration since 1890, the Census Bureau has released neighborhood-level data on race. This report presents an analysis of the data from 13 consecutive census administrations on the long-run path of racial segregation across American cities. This report extends our previous work on segregation, by incorporating information from the 2010 census, made available to the public in early 2011 (Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor, 1999; and Glaeser and Vigdor, 2003). America's cities have been shaped over decades, and even the most recent data need historical perspective to be understood (Logan and Stults, 2011). The main findings follow:

- **The most standard segregation measure shows that American cities are now more integrated than they've been since 1910.** Segregation rose dramatically with black migration to cities in the mid-twentieth century. On average, this rise has been entirely erased by integration since the 1960s.

- **All-white neighborhoods are effectively extinct.** A half-century ago, one-fifth of America's urban neighborhoods had exactly zero black residents. Today, African-American residents can be found in 199 out of every 200 neighborhoods nationwide. The remaining neighborhoods are mostly in remote rural areas or in cities with very little black population.

- **Gentrification and immigration have made a dent in segregation.** While these phenomena are clearly important in some areas, the rise of black suburbanization explains much more of the decline in segregation.

- **Ghetto neighborhoods persist, but most are in decline.** For every diversifying ghetto neighborhood, many more house a dwindling population of black residents.

At its mid-century peak, segregation reflected the operation of both government and market forces. Beginning in the 1930s, federal regulations disfavored the extension of mortgage credit to homeowners in mixed-race neighborhoods. Restrictive covenants prohibited integration in some areas (until the Supreme Court ruled them unenforceable in 1948). Decisions by public housing authorities and other agencies often reinforced existing patterns of segregation.

The decline in segregation can be partly attributed to the reform of these government practices and partly to changes in racial attitudes that can be considered both cause and consequence of policy change. The extension of mortgage credit also appears to have encouraged suburban integration; the list of cities with the largest declines in segregation since 2000 includes several caught up in the subprime housing bubble during the same period.

The decline in segregation carries with it several lessons relevant to public policy debates:

- The end of segregation has not caused the end of racial inequality. Only a few decades ago, conventional wisdom held that segregation was the driving force behind socioeconomic inequality. The persistence of inequality, even as segregation has receded, suggests that inequality is a far more complex phenomenon.

- Access to credit has fostered mobility. At a time when proposed regulations threaten to eliminate the market for lending to marginal borrowers, it is important to recognize that there are costs and benefits associated with tightening credit standards.

- The freedom to choose one's location has helped reduce segregation. Segregation has declined in part because African-Americans left older, more segregated, cities and moved to less segregated Sun Belt cities and suburbs. This process occurred despite some public attempts to keep people in these older areas.

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Edward Glaeser & Jacob Vigdor

INTRODUCTION

Over the past century, residential segregation in the United States has undergone two radical transformations. The first occurred between 1910 and 1960, as African-American migration to cities met with white hostility and produced massive ghettos in almost every major city. The second transformation is still ongoing, according to recently released data from the 2010 census. Segregation has declined steadily from its mid-century peak, with significant drops in every decade since 1970. As of 2010, the separation of African-Americans from individuals of other races stood at its lowest level in nearly a century. Fifty years ago, nearly half the black population lived in what might be termed a "ghetto" neighborhood, with an African-American share above 80 percent. Today, that proportion has fallen to 20 percent.

This report focuses on the pervasive decline in segregation that occurred during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Using the most common segregation index, the dissimilarity index, the separation of blacks from individuals of other races declined in all 85 of the nation's 85 largest metropolitan areas. In 657 out of 658 housing markets tracked by the Census Bureau, segregation is now lower than the average level of segregation marked in 1970.[1] Segregation declined in 522 out of 658 housing markets overall between 2000 and 2010.

Using an alternate measure that focuses on the extent to which blacks are isolated in neighborhoods where few members of other groups live, declines occurred in the nation's 30 largest metropolitan areas. According to the isolation index, declines occurred in 516 out of 658 housing markets. No housing market in the United States today features an isolation level as high as the national average in 1970.

Several factors help to explain the 40-year decline in residential segregation. Federal housing policy has shifted over time, away from actions that promoted or perpetuated segregation and toward actions that diminish segregation. Restrictive covenants and "redlining" are things of the past, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 made housing-market discrimination illegal. More recently, the demolition of large-scale housing projects in major cities has accelerated a long process of population decline in former ghetto neighborhoods.

Significant shifts in public attitudes toward integration have complemented these official policy changes. The number of American neighborhoods with exactly zero black residents has decreased by more than 90 percent over the past 50 years. The majority of remaining neighborhoods without African-American residents are either in rural areas or metropolitan regions where less than 1 percent of the population is black.

The integration of some ghetto neighborhoods—by immigrants or gentrifying whites—plays only a small role in the overall decline in segregation. The Hispanic population grew in almost every corner of the United States over the past decade, roughly equally in predominantly black and predominantly white neighborhoods. The typical African-American resides in a neighborhood that is 14 percent Hispanic, only slightly higher than the figure for the population as a whole. And for every prominent example of a black neighborhood undergoing gentrification—in Harlem, Roxbury, or Columbia Heights—there are countless more neighborhoods witnessing no such trend. Instead, the dominant trend in predominantly black neighborhoods nationwide has been population loss. Particularly in the formerly hyper-segregated cities of the Northeast and Midwest, ghetto neighborhoods have witnessed profound population declines, as former residents decamp for the suburbs or for the rapidly growing cities of the Sun Belt—where segregation is generally very low.

HOW SEGREGATION IS MEASURED

Residential segregation can be measured in a variety of ways. The most common method is to form an index that summarizes the level of segregation in a metropolitan area on a scale from zero, where every neighborhood is just as diverse as the entire region, to 100, where individuals of different races never share neighborhoods. Indices differ according to their coding of intermediate situations, where neighborhoods are at least somewhat diverse but can nonetheless be categorized by race. Some indices require more detailed geographical data than others, with the most sophisticated using census information collected on a block-by-block basis.

This report focuses on two measures—the dissimilarity index and the isolation index—both of which have a long history in social-scientific writing on segregation. The two measures together adequately summarize segregation, being highly correlated with more sophisticated indices, while being simple enough to calculate that even data from the late nineteenth century are sufficiently rich to permit their computation.

The *dissimilarity index* measures the extent to which two groups are found in equal proportion in all neighborhoods. It can be interpreted as the proportion of individuals of either group that would have to change neighborhoods in order to achieve perfect integration. It is the most commonly used segregation measure, first introduced into the sociology literature shortly after World War II.

Dissimilarity is not a perfect measure. Consider the following scenario. There are two equal-size neighborhoods in a city: one is 100 percent white; and the other is 98 percent white and 2 percent black. According to the dissimilarity index, this city is fairly segregated, since about half of the black residents

would need to move in order to achieve perfect integration. In an important sense, though, the black residents are not isolated—after all, they live in a neighborhood that is 98 percent white.

The *isolation index* is designed to distinguish this sort of scenario from one where neighborhoods have dramatically different racial character. It measures the tendency for members of one group to live in neighborhoods where their share of the population is above the citywide average. In this hypothetical example, black residents live in a neighborhood that is 2 percent black, which is just 1 percentage point higher than what would be expected under perfect integration. The isolation index would therefore be on the order of 1 percent, rather than 50 percent.

Both indices require us to define a couple of terms. We must define a neighborhood and define the relevant collection of neighborhoods that together form a common housing market. In practice, both definitions are based on basic census geography. For purposes of this report, a neighborhood is defined as a *census tract*. In 2010, there were 72,531 census tracts in the United States, containing an average of 4,256 people. Not all census tracts are of equal population: in 2010, the largest tract corresponded to the Marine Corps base at Camp Pendleton near San Diego, and counted more than 37,000 residents. About 90 percent of the time, the population of a census tract varies between 1,500 and 7,500.

A housing market in this study corresponds to a Core Based Statistical Area (CBSA), as defined by the Office of Management and Budget. A CBSA is a collection of counties corresponding to a metropolitan or "micropolitan" area. There are 942 CBSAs in the United States. The largest, corresponding to the New York metropolitan area, comprises one county in eastern Pennsylvania, 12 counties in northern New Jersey, the five boroughs, and five suburban counties in New York, and counts nearly 19 million residents. The smallest, covering the city of Tallulah and Madison Parish in northeast Louisiana, counts only 12,000 residents. Approximately 20 million Americans live in rural areas not included in any CBSA. This report presents information on segregation only in CBSAs that count at least 1,000 black residents, as segregation indices have little meaning when the black population is minute.

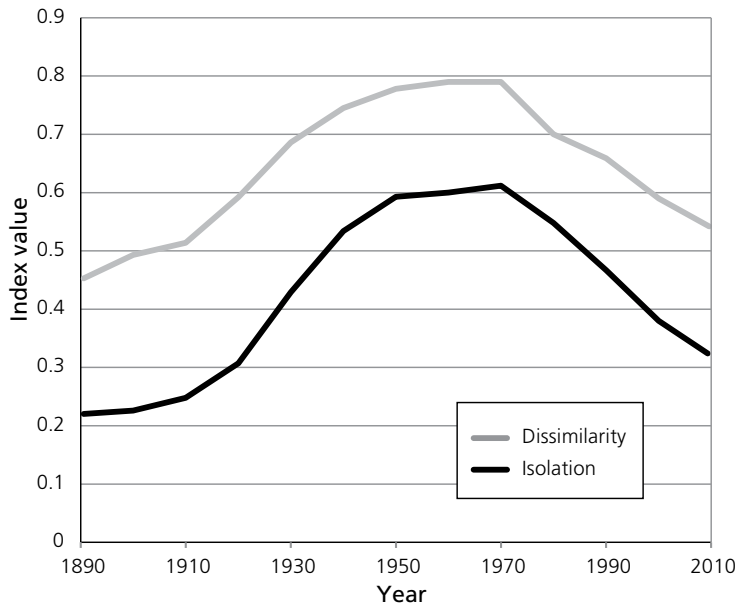
The concept of a CBSA did not exist as of 2000. This report includes information on segregation in both 2000 and 2010, using the CBSA definitions as amended by OMB on December 1, 2009.

Finally, segregation can be measured only after segmenting the population into two groups. In the case of racial segregation, this is not a trivial matter. Since 2000, the Census Bureau has permitted individuals to describe themselves as belonging to more than one racial category. As the overwhelming majority of respondents select exactly one category, this report will consider the segregation of African-Americans, counting only those individuals who identify themselves as African-American alone. Segregation indices computed using a more inclusive definition of African-American are nearly identical to the ones reported here (Glaeser and Vigdor, 2003). The indices reported here therefore describe the residential separation of blacks from both multiracial individuals and those of any other race.

THE DECLINE IN SEGREGATION, 2000–2010

The dissimilarity and isolation indices can be computed using data from every census since 1890. Figure 1 reports average segregation levels—as experienced by the "average" urban black resident—for the 120-year span between 1890 and 2010. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, prior to the Great Migration of blacks from the rural South to urban areas, segregation was comparatively modest. Between 1910 and 1960, blacks moved to urban areas in vast numbers. Upon arriving, they often encountered legal obstacles in their choice of neighborhood, ranging from restrictive deed covenants (enforced until the late 1940s), federally sponsored redlining in mortgage lending, and outright discrimination by landlords, real-estate agents, or local public housing authorities. As a consequence, segregation rose dramatically. By mid-century, the

Figure 1. Black/Nonblack Segregation 1890–2010



typical urban African-American lived in a city where 80 percent of the black population would have to move in order to achieve integration and in a neighborhood where the black share exceeded the citywide average by roughly 60 percentage points.

The decline in segregation since 1970 has been no less dramatic than the earlier rise. As of 2010, dissimilarity had declined to its lowest level in a century and isolation to its lowest level in 90 years. This shift does not mean that segregation has disappeared: the typical urban African-American lives in a housing market where more than half the black population would need to move in order to achieve complete integration. The average African-American lives in a neighborhood where the share of population that is black exceeds the metropolitan average by roughly 30 percentage points.

Table 1 shows the dissimilarity and isolation index values for the nation's ten largest metropolitan areas as of 2010. Using either index, segregation declined in all ten between 2000 and 2010. Chicago, long one of the nation's most segregated cities, posts the highest dissimilarity and isolation levels in the group. Yet these levels are still significantly below the mid-century peak: as recently as 1970, dissimilarity in the Chicago area topped 90 percent.

Over the last decade, Chicago had the second-largest declines in dissimilarity and isolation among this top-ten group (after Houston), which illustrates a more natural trend where more segregated areas had the sharpest declines in segregation. If an area's dissimilarity index was 10 percentage points higher in 2000, on average its dissimilarity index declined by 1.3 percentage points more between 2010 and 2000.

According to the dissimilarity index, Dallas and Houston are the least segregated large cities; Los Angeles boasts the lowest isolation index value. Houston experienced the largest declines in both isolation and dissimilarity. All three regions share common characteristics: they are Sun Belt metropolises that exhibited significant population growth in the fair-housing era; and they are centers of immigration, particularly from Mexico and other parts of Latin America.

Declines in segregation have long been stronger in metropolitan areas that were growing more quickly. Between 2000 and 2010, holding initial dissimilarity constant, we find that if a metropolitan

Table 1. Segregation in the Nation's 10 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2010				
	Dissimilarity		Isolation	
	2000	2010	2000	2010
New York	68.7	64.7	47.6	42.4
Los Angeles	58.4	54.5	26.8	22.0
Chicago	77.9	71.9	65.9	57.5
Dallas-Ft. Worth	53.7	47.5	30.4	23.4
Philadelphia	67.0	62.6	50.5	44.6
Houston	56.0	47.8	34.0	24.3
Washington	59.7	56.1	44.0	39.1
Miami	63.6	58.1	42.8	37.7
Atlanta	61.0	54.1	45.4	37.8
Boston	62.6	57.6	32.0	26.8

area's population grew by 20 percent more between 2000 and 2010, its dissimilarity index dropped by 1.2 percentage points more.

Declines in segregation were not confined to the nation's largest metropolitan areas. Of the 628 housing markets for which segregation can be calculated in both 2000 and 2010, dissimilarity and isolation increased in only 95. Table 2 identifies the ten largest areas with increases in segregation between 2000 and 2010. The list begins with Boise, Idaho, a rapidly growing metropolitan area with slightly more than 600,000 residents in 2010. While dissimilarity and isolation both increased in Boise over the decade, the indices remain at remarkably low levels—the isolation index, in particular, remains under 1 percent.

The list continues with cities drawn primarily from the northern part of the United States. In all ten, dissimilarity and isolation in 2010 lie significantly below the national average; isolation exceeds 10 percent in only one. It should also be noted that the black share of the population is under 4 percent in all but one of these cities. The Ann Arbor area is the only region on this list with more than 10,000 black residents.

While increases in segregation tended to be confined to small cities with insignificant black populations, large decreases can be found in some of the nation's largest metro areas. Table 3 lists the 15 regions with declines in dissimilarity exceeding 10 percentage points between 2000 and 2010. While the markets at the top of the list

Table 2. The Largest Cities with Increases in Segregation, 2000–2010					
City (CBSA)	2010 population	Dissimilarity		Isolation	
		2000	2010	2000	2010
Boise, ID	616,561	25.6	28.4	0.2	0.7
Portland, ME	514,098	41.5	50.7	1.7	5.1
Manchester, NH	400,721	37.6	39.1	1.2	2.2
Ann Arbor, MI	344,791	50.4	53.0	21.1	21.5
San Luis Obispo, CA	269,637	49.5	51.0	18.6	8.2
Greeley, CO	252,825	28.7	34.0	0.5	1.2
Binghamton, NY	251,725	49.4	49.7	5.0	6.2
Sioux Falls, SD	228,621	40.5	46.5	1.4	4.5
Burlington, VT	211,261	34.1	40.4	0.9	2.4
Lafayette, IN	201,789	32.8	33.3	1.4	2.8

Table 3. Cities with the Largest Declines in Dissimilarity, 2000–2010			
City (CBSA)	2000	2010	Change
York, PA	67.8	47.7	-20.1
Fort Pierce, FL	56.9	40.9	-15.9
Hagerstown, MD	54.4	39.7	-14.7
Fayetteville, AR	52.6	38.2	-14.4
Sarasota, FL	64.1	50.3	-13.8
Reading, PA	53.4	40.6	-12.9
Fort Wayne, IN	68.6	56.4	-12.2
Fort Myers, FL	65.6	54.5	-11.1
Kansas City, MO	68.6	57.7	-10.9
Asheville, NC	58.4	47.5	-10.9
Detroit, MI	84.2	73.5	-10.7
Naples, FL	54.8	44.1	-10.7
Lakeland, FL	50.1	39.7	-10.5
Tampa, FL	60.9	50.4	-10.5
Ogden, UT	38.8	28.4	-10.4

are modest in size, the list also contains Kansas City, Detroit, and Tampa. The presence of Detroit, long one of the nation's most segregated cities, foreshadows one important reason for the half-century decline in segregation: the depopulation of former ghetto neighborhoods.

Notably, the list of cities with significant drops in segregation includes five smaller metropolitan areas in Florida, including several that are often included in lists of regions heavily affected by the housing bubble of the past decade. This foreshadows yet another partial explanation for the decline in segregation over the past decade.

As a final exercise, Table 4 shows the long-run trajectory of the ten most segregated areas in 1970 still in existence in 2010.[2] Unsurprisingly, dissimilarity has declined in each of them. In some cases, segregation has declined dramatically. Los Angeles, Oklahoma City, and Wichita have all receded from dissimilarity levels of about 90 percent to levels at or below the national average. The greatest declines have occurred closer to the Sun Belt; segregation in the Rust Belt

Table 4. Long-run Segregation Trends in the Nation's Most Segregated Cities			
City	Dissimilarity		
	1970 (SMSA)	2010 (CBSA)	Change
Chicago, IL	91.1	71.9	-19.2
Cleveland, OH	90.5	71.5	-19.0
Oklahoma City, OK	90.3	48.7	-41.6
Milwaukee, WI	89.9	77.7	-12.2
Detroit, MI	89.0	73.5	-15.5
Los Angeles, CA	88.4	54.5	-33.9
Wichita, KS	88.2	52.8	-35.4
Dayton, OH	87.7	65.6	-22.1
Kansas City, MO	87.5	57.7	-29.8
Waterloo, IA	87.5	61.6	-25.9

cities of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee has declined more slowly—and, as we have seen, much of the decline in Detroit occurred only in the last ten years.

WHY HAS SEGREGATION DECLINED?

The turning point in the history of American residential segregation occurred around 1970. In our past work, we presented evidence supporting the view that the rise in segregation between 1900 and 1960 reflected, in part, a maze of barriers, such as restrictive covenants, that limited African-American choices. We also presented evidence suggesting that the decline in segregation reflected the dismantling of these barriers to African-American freedom.

The successful fight for housing freedom began with the Supreme Court ruling against raced-based zoning in 1917 (*Buchanan* v. *Warley*) and against using public resources to enforce racial deed covenants in 1948 (*Shelley* v. *Kraemer*). New York City officially banned housing discrimination in its 1958 Fair Housing Practices Law, and the nation followed suit with the 1968 Fair Housing Act. The years since 1970 have seen the demolition of segregated high-rise housing projects.

In the era of legal housing discrimination, restrictions on the housing choices of African-Americans led to price premiums for ghetto housing. As the legal and social restrictions on these choices subsided, housing prices in ghettos collapsed as the neighborhoods depopulated. In some limited cases, former ghetto neighborhoods have enjoyed a population resurgence fueled by the introduction—or reintroduction—of other racial and ethnic groups.

African-American suburbanization and the near-eradication of the all-white neighborhood

In 1960, the Census Bureau divided the metropolitan portions of the United States into 22,688 census tracts. Of these, more than 20 percent—4,700—had exactly zero black residents. In the half-century since 1960, even as the number of census tracts has nearly tripled to 72,531, the number of tracts with zero black residents has declined to 424. Even as recently as 2000, there were 902 such neighborhoods nationwide. So even in the past decade alone, the number of tracts without black residents has been halved.

It is difficult to locate neighborhoods without black residents in metropolitan America. Of the 424 tracts with no black residents, more than half are either in rural areas or in CBSAs where less than 1 percent of the population is African-American. There are more neighborhoods without black residents in the Dakotas than in California, in spite of the fact that the former have less than 5 percent of the latter's population. Every single census tract in Connecticut, Maryland, and New Hampshire has at least one black resident. Excluding regions of the country that had virtually no African-Americans to start with, as well as the 25 neighborhoods that have no blacks but are simultaneously majority non-Anglo white, there are a total of 170 remaining all-white neighborhoods. In 50 years, the proportion of these neighborhoods has declined from one in five to one in 427. Over the same period, the proportion of African-Americans residing in majority-nonblack areas has nearly doubled, from 29.7 percent to 58.5 percent.

Many of the former all-white neighborhoods were in suburbs, and such areas now typically contain at least a small number of African-Americans. While it may be tempting to see the overwhelmingly white nature of many suburbs as evidence of stagnation or stasis, the presence of even modest numbers of African-Americans in suburbs demonstrates the remarkable change in American society. Indeed, measured by dissimilarity indices, suburbs are often among the most integrated parts of America.

The easing of credit standards in the early part of the decade permitted many moderate-income African-American families access to neighborhoods that would have otherwise been out of their financial reach. While some of these families would go on to become delinquent on their loans after the housing bubble burst, a larger share managed to keep up on their payments, thereby maintaining their foothold. Yet African-American suburbanization is a long-run trend that long predates the subprime lending boom (Cutler,

Glaeser, and Vigdor, 1999). While Table 3 documents that several of the metropolitan areas with the greatest declines in segregation are also areas associated with significant exposure to the subprime mortgage market, it is also true that several metro areas with significant subprime exposure—such as Miami and Las Vegas—appear to have followed fairly unremarkable segregation trajectories over the past decade.

As of this writing, turmoil in the American housing market had not yet fully subsided, so we cannot know the full extent of the bubble's impact on segregation. The data used for this report reflect the location of the population as of April 1, 2010, several years after the housing bubble burst, and the data are well in line with 30 years of segregation decline. The decline in segregation over the past decade spread broadly over areas with and without significant housing bubbles.

Depopulation of the ghetto

Figure 1 shows that dissimilarity declined by 25 percentage points between 1970 and 2010. Only a handful of individual cities experienced declines that large, however. Table 4 shows declines of that magnitude only in five of the ten most segregated cities of 1970. As of that year, the nation's largest black population belonged to New York; the dissimilarity index has declined by less than 10 points in that area between 1970 and the present. How could segregation decline so much nationwide if the decline in individual areas was so modest?

The answer lies in interregional migration. In addition to moving from cities to suburbs in large numbers, blacks—along with members of every other racial and ethnic group—relocated toward the Sun Belt and away from the more segregated areas of the Northeast and Midwest. On average, metropolitan-area population growth decline by 1.8 percent more if the area had a 10-percentage-point higher dissimilarity index as of 2000.

Table 5 shows the list of ten metropolitan areas with the largest black populations in 1970 and 2010. In 1970, only two true Sun Belt cities—Los Angeles and Houston—appear on the list. In 2010, fully half the cities on the list are in the Sun Belt. Atlanta, which would have placed 13th in terms of black population in 1970, had risen to number two on the list by 2010. Miami and Dallas have also joined the list. Notably, these cities were not particularly integrated as of 1970. Integration has accompanied growth, partly through the process of neighborhood change but largely by the establishment of new neighborhoods with an inherently integrated character.

Table 5. Segregation in the Largest Cities by African-American Population, 1970 & 2010

City	Rank in African-American Pop.		Dissimilarity		Isolation	
	1970	2010	1970	2010	1970	2010
New York, NY	1	1	73.7	64.7	52.0	42.4
Chicago, IL	2	3	91.1	71.9	82.6	57.5
Philadelphia, PA	3	5	78.0	62.6	61.5	44.6
Los Angeles, CA	4	10	88.4	54.5	68.5	22.0
Detroit, MI	5	8	89.0	73.5	75.3	61.0
Washington, D.C.	6	4	81.1	56.1	70.4	39.1
Baltimore, MD	7	11	81.1	62.2	71.7	47.1
Houston, TX	8	7	78.1	47.8	61.2	24.3
St. Louis, MO	9	14	85.1	71.0	72.6	53.8
Cleveland, OH	10	16	90.5	71.5	78.6	56.0
Atlanta, GA	13	2	82.1	54.1	72.4	37.8
Miami, FL	18	6	86.0	58.1	72.6	37.7
Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	16	9	86.9	47.5	75.5	23.4

Holding segregation fixed at 2010 levels, redistributing the black population to its location in 1970 would add about five points to mean dissimilarity and six points to mean isolation. Thus, interregional migration alone—the depopulation of cities with the most significant ghettos at mid-century—can explain about a fifth of the decline in segregation since 1970.

The depopulation of ghettos has been driven not only by the "pull" factors of suburbanization and Sun Belt weather but also by the reversal of past public housing policy. Massive housing projects built at the peak of urban segregation, such as Chicago's Robert Taylor Homes, were demolished over the past decade—following on the earlier destruction of other notorious projects, including St. Louis's Pruitt-Igoe complex. The Robert Taylor Homes were constructed with an express purpose of perpetuating segregation, separated from traditionally white neighborhoods on Chicago's South Side by the massive Dan Ryan Expressway. The high-rise project occupied several census tracts; one of these tracts registered 1,532 residents in 2000—99.1 percent of them African-American—and exactly zero in 2010. More broadly, the set of census tracts with black shares of higher than 80 percent experienced an average population decline of 3.6 percent over the past decade—even as the nation's population grew by nearly 10 percent. The number of such tracts declined as well—for reasons to be discussed below.

The demolition of mid-century housing projects has not been without controversy. Removing these massive monuments to officially condoned segregation does seem to have accelerated the process of integration.

Inroads into the ghetto

At mid-century, during the peak decades of black migration, existing neighborhoods in numerous cities "tipped" rapidly from predominantly white to predominantly black. Migration to the Rust Belt slowed significantly after 1965, as manufacturing employment reached its historic peak. Through subsequent periods of decline and renewal, it has been very uncommon for black neighborhoods, once "tipped," to "un-tip." Depopulation, rather than subsequent ethnic or racial change, has been the dominant demographic change in the ghetto since 1970.

Nonetheless, in certain cities, integration has occurred in predominantly black neighborhoods. Washington, D.C.'s Navy Yard neighborhood has witnessed rapid change, from 95 percent black in 2000 to 31 percent black in 2010, as redevelopment led to a 50 percent increase in population.[3] A more gradual process of racial change is occurring in the city's northwest quadrant, where several neighborhoods have seen a 25 percent drop in the proportion of black residents over the past decade.[4] This area represents the forefront of a wave of gentrification that began in Georgetown some decades ago and has crept steadily eastward since.

The "untipping" of a handful of neighborhoods near the city center is accompanied by the more numerous regions of African-American Washington where no trace of gentrification exists. In 2000, the District of Columbia contained 17 census tracts—with 46,796 inhabitants among them—that were more than 98 percent black. As of 2010, every single one of them remained more than 95 percent black. Gentrification in Washington, as elsewhere, has occurred primarily at the fringe of the ghetto.

Since 1990, cities in regions with little previous history of immigration have witnessed substantial inflows of foreign-born residents—a majority of them from Latin America. These immigrants can be found in almost every type of neighborhood—99.8 percent of the populated census tracts in the country have at least one resident who claims Hispanic ethnicity. It is therefore not surprising that Hispanics have made inroads into predominantly black neighborhoods.

The forefront of integration between blacks and Hispanics can be found in cities such as Charlotte, North Carolina, which is located in Mecklenburg County, a county that contains 223 census tracts, with 20 of them at least one-quarter black and one-quarter Hispanic. One might be tempted to attribute any drop in segregation in the Charlotte region to the phenomenon of Hispanics moving into predominantly black neighborhoods.

Yet several pieces of information are inconsistent with this hypothesis. Segregation declined only modestly in Charlotte over the past decade—by three points on the dissimilarity index, and five on isolation.

Hispanics did not move into the most African-American neighborhoods. Eight of Mecklenburg County's census tracts were at least 80 percent black in 2000; all of them remained in that category as of 2010.

The Hispanic influx into Charlotte concentrated on areas that were already at least somewhat integrated; none of the neighborhoods counted among the 20 with black and Hispanic representation were more than 65 percent black in 2000. In fact, each of the 20 tracts was at least 13 percent Hispanic by 2000.

The story of integration in Charlotte thus does not hinge on the entry of Hispanics into areas that had been exclusively black. A more familiar story of black entry into suburban neighborhoods plays a stronger role. The proportion of Mecklenburg County census tracts with fewer than 5 percent black residents declined from 46 percent to 39 percent between 2000 and 2010.

In summary, gentrification and immigration have made some contribution to the decline in segregation over the past decade. They are relatively minor factors, however. The raw number of predominantly black neighborhoods, with at least 80 percent black residents, declined by only 7 percent between 2000 and 2010. The raw number of neighborhoods without any black residents, by contrast, declined 53 percent over the same period.

CONCLUSION

The 1960s were the heyday of racial segregation. During those years, segregation seemed a likely cause of many of the troubles afflicting African-Americans. Segregation was so enormous, and so unfair, that it seemed to create a separate and unequal experience for African-Americans everywhere. During those years, the fight against housing segregation seemed to offer the possibility that once the races mixed more readily, all would be well.

Forty years later, we know that this dream was a myth. There is every reason to relish the fact that there is more freedom in housing today than 50 years ago and to applaud those who fought to create that change. Yet we now know that eliminating segregation was not a magic bullet. Residential segregation has declined pervasively, as ghettos depopulate and the nation's population center shifts toward the less segregated Sun Belt. At the same time, there has been only limited progress in closing achievement and employment gaps between blacks and whites.

The difficult lesson of these decades is that society is complicated and single solutions rarely solve everything. While the decline in segregation remains good news, far too many Americans still lack the opportunity to achieve meaningful success.

Endnotes

1. The sole exception is the Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, area, where the presence of a majority-black state correctional facility in what is otherwise a fairly homogeneous community skews the segregation measure significantly.

2. Excluded from the list are areas absorbed into other CBSAs: Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Gary, Indiana; and Fort Worth, Texas.

3. Census tract 72, District of Columbia.

4. Census tracts 46, 48.01, 48.02, and 49.01, District of Columbia.

Appendix. Segregation by Geographic Area, 2000–2010

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Abbeville LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	10020	0.449	0.462	0.209	0.212
Abilene TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	10180	0.371	0.407	0.078	0.074
Adrian MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	10300	0.539	0.588	0.054	0.049
Akron OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	10420	0.583	0.651	0.327	0.391
Alamogordo NM Micropolitan Statistical Area	10460	0.344	0.321	0.023	0.025
Albany GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	10500	0.504	0.535	0.328	0.366
Albany-Schenectady-Troy NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	10580	0.585	0.607	0.250	0.265
Albemarle NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	10620	0.446	0.453	0.129	0.138
Albertville AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	10700	0.402	0.488	0.042	0.066
Albuquerque NM Metropolitan Statistical Area	10740	0.243	0.268	0.011	0.014
Alexander City AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	10760	0.378	0.423	0.168	0.192
Alexandria LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	10780	0.592	0.616	0.397	0.424
Allegan MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	10880	0.452	0.473	0.016	0.021
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton PA-NJ Metropolitan Statistical Area	10900	0.418	0.480	0.057	0.055
Alma MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	10940	0.775	0.797	0.363	0.358
Altoona PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	11020	0.425	0.492	0.021	0.025
Altus OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	11060	0.330	0.350	0.046	0.059
Amarillo TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	11100	0.485	0.575	0.156	0.240
Americus GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	11140	0.295	0.231	0.115	0.079
Ames IA Metropolitan Statistical Area	11180	0.322	0.325	0.014	0.013
Anchorage AK Metropolitan Statistical Area	11260	0.373	0.395	0.036	0.044
Anderson IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	11300	0.545	0.588	0.207	0.256
Anderson SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	11340	0.405	0.408	0.179	0.184
Ann Arbor MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	11460	0.530	0.504	0.215	0.211
Anniston-Oxford AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	11500	0.441	0.486	0.257	0.301
Appleton WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	11540	0.362	n/a	0.010	n/a
Arcadia FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	11580	0.509	0.266	0.230	0.055
Ardmore OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	11620	0.456	0.486	0.077	0.103
Arkadelphia AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	11660	0.280	0.218	0.068	0.043
Asheville NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	11700	0.475	0.584	0.120	0.221
Ashtabula OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	11780	0.495	0.458	0.074	0.075
Athens-Clarke County GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	12020	0.380	0.414	0.159	0.210
Athens OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	11900	0.289	0.270	0.022	0.016
Athens TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	11940	0.338	0.381	0.041	0.046
Athens TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	11980	0.454	0.470	0.076	0.090
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	12060	0.541	0.610	0.378	0.454
Atlantic City-Hammonton NJ Metropolitan Statistical Area	12100	0.508	0.578	0.262	0.357
Auburn-Opelika AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	12220	0.330	0.376	0.153	0.202
Auburn NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	12180	0.581	0.628	0.123	0.206
Augusta-Richmond County GA-SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	12260	0.440	0.433	0.246	0.250

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	12420	0.382	0.422	0.078	0.133
Bainbridge GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	12460	0.312	0.318	0.107	0.115
Bakersfield-Delano CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	12540	0.401	0.426	0.065	0.079
Baltimore-Towson MD Metropolitan Statistical Area	12580	0.622	0.666	0.471	0.529
Bangor ME Metropolitan Statistical Area	12620	0.337	n/a	0.006	n/a
Barnstable Town MA Metropolitan Statistical Area	12700	0.302	0.357	0.017	0.017
Bartlesville OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	12780	0.311	0.429	0.033	0.061
Bastrop LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	12820	0.444	0.448	0.261	0.271
Batavia NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	12860	0.415	0.441	0.023	0.030
Baton Rouge LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	12940	0.559	0.595	0.390	0.424
Battle Creek MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	12980	0.544	0.597	0.226	0.291
Bay City MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	13020	0.417	0.444	0.023	0.027
Bay City TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	13060	0.381	0.300	0.114	0.130
Beaumont-Port Arthur TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	13140	0.585	0.641	0.379	0.446
Beaver Dam WI Micropolitan Statistical Area	13180	0.711	0.794	0.117	0.168
Beckley WV Micropolitan Statistical Area	13220	0.523	0.485	0.126	0.134
Beeville TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	13300	0.617	0.483	0.153	0.087
Bellingham WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	13380	0.199	0.211	0.003	0.002
Bennettsville SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	13500	0.266	0.259	0.086	0.085
Niles-Benton Harbor MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	35660	0.702	0.734	0.497	0.542
Big Rapids MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	13660	0.397	0.474	0.044	0.039
Big Spring TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	13700	0.383	0.296	0.050	0.038
Binghamton NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	13780	0.497	0.494	0.062	0.050
Birmingham-Hoover AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	13820	0.643	0.683	0.480	0.548
Blacksburg-Christiansburg-Radford VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	13980	0.232	0.236	0.013	0.016
Bloomington-Normal IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	14060	0.348	0.340	0.053	0.043
Bloomington IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	14020	0.444	0.476	0.027	0.026
Bloomsburg-Berwick PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	14100	0.494	n/a	0.056	n/a
Bluefield WV-VA Micropolitan Statistical Area	14140	0.502	0.541	0.104	0.128
Blytheville AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	14180	0.508	0.569	0.309	0.342
Bogalusa LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	14220	0.431	0.433	0.218	0.235
Boise City-Nampa ID Metropolitan Statistical Area	14260	0.284	0.256	0.007	0.002
Bonham TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	14300	0.420	0.399	0.077	0.053
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy MA-NH Metropolitan Statistical Area	14460	0.576	0.626	0.268	0.320
Boulder CO Metropolitan Statistical Area	14500	0.156	0.225	0.001	0.003
Bowling Green KY Metropolitan Statistical Area	14540	0.362	0.394	0.082	0.102
Bradford PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	14620	0.737	n/a	0.232	n/a
Bremerton-Silverdale WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	14740	0.372	0.414	0.027	0.036
Brenham TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	14780	0.177	0.235	0.035	0.051
Brevard NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	14820	0.516	0.578	0.166	0.178
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk CT Metropolitan Statistical Area	14860	0.562	0.607	0.197	0.227
Brookhaven MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	15020	0.405	0.390	0.159	0.142

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Brownsville TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	15140	0.227	0.169	0.074	0.047
Brownsville-Harlingen TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	15180	0.245	0.283	0.003	0.002
Brownwood TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	15220	0.267	0.320	0.017	0.033
Brunswick GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	15260	0.520	0.545	0.256	0.277
Buffalo-Niagara Falls NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	15380	0.699	0.756	0.487	0.547
Burlington IA-IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	15460	0.472	0.449	0.054	0.060
Burlington NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	15500	0.362	0.356	0.119	0.138
Burlington-South Burlington VT Metropolitan Statistical Area	15540	0.404	0.341	0.024	0.009
Calhoun GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	15660	0.256	0.308	0.034	0.085
Cambridge MD Micropolitan Statistical Area	15700	0.450	0.455	0.226	0.240
Camden AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	15780	0.307	0.235	0.114	0.085
Campbellsville KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	15820	0.181	0.194	0.022	0.026
CaÔon City CO Micropolitan Statistical Area	15860	0.775	0.766	0.179	0.167
Canton IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	15900	0.753	0.851	0.265	0.526
Canton-Massillon OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	15940	0.545	0.580	0.194	0.231
Cape Girardeau-Jackson MO-IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	16020	0.581	0.610	0.243	0.262
Carbondale IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	16060	0.400	0.434	0.125	0.156
Carson City NV Metropolitan Statistical Area	16180	0.529	n/a	0.034	n/a
Cedar Rapids IA Metropolitan Statistical Area	16300	0.405	0.457	0.043	0.047
Cedartown GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	16340	0.190	0.216	0.019	0.031
Centralia IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	16460	0.548	0.622	0.118	0.162
Central City KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	16420	0.285	0.377	0.019	0.028
Chambersburg PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	16540	0.290	0.361	0.027	0.039
Champaign-Urbana IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	16580	0.509	0.494	0.191	0.207
Charleston-Mattoon IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	16660	0.389	0.422	0.075	0.032
Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	16700	0.390	0.434	0.198	0.238
Charleston WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	16620	0.588	0.595	0.175	0.178
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill NC-SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	16740	0.471	0.504	0.248	0.302
Charlottesville VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	16820	0.318	0.329	0.084	0.121
Chattanooga TN-GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	16860	0.628	0.686	0.405	0.463
Chester SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	16900	0.320	0.291	0.140	0.110
Cheyenne WY Metropolitan Statistical Area	16940	0.261	0.295	0.012	0.018
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville IL-IN-WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	16980	0.719	0.779	0.575	0.659
Chico CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	17020	0.334	0.357	0.017	0.014
Chillicothe OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	17060	0.499	0.498	0.181	0.182
Cincinnati-Middletown OH-KY-IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	17140	0.680	0.730	0.414	0.482
Clarksdale MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	17260	0.379	0.493	0.160	0.232
Clarksville TN-KY Metropolitan Statistical Area	17300	0.357	0.378	0.128	0.148
Clarksburg WV Micropolitan Statistical Area	17220	0.391	0.405	0.018	0.027
Clearlake CA Micropolitan Statistical Area	17340	0.274	0.386	0.019	0.044
Cleveland MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	17380	0.573	0.561	0.388	0.383
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	17460	0.715	0.767	0.561	0.640

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Cleveland TN Metropolitan Statistical Area	17420	0.391	0.425	0.039	0.050
Clewiston FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	17500	0.381	0.434	0.129	0.137
Clinton IA Micropolitan Statistical Area	17540	0.389	n/a	0.037	n/a
Clovis NM Micropolitan Statistical Area	17580	0.251	0.274	0.021	0.028
Coffeyville KS Micropolitan Statistical Area	17700	0.411	0.436	0.064	0.081
Coldwater MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	17740	0.737	0.762	0.214	0.262
College Station-Bryan TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	17780	0.348	0.409	0.097	0.135
Colorado Springs CO Metropolitan Statistical Area	17820	0.340	0.389	0.041	0.059
Columbus GA-AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	17980	0.523	0.559	0.337	0.374
Columbus IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	18020	0.262	0.287	0.019	0.025
Columbia MO Metropolitan Statistical Area	17860	0.349	0.382	0.072	0.098
Columbus MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	18060	0.438	0.388	0.251	0.208
Columbus OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	18140	0.603	0.621	0.336	0.380
Columbia SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	17900	0.464	0.468	0.280	0.299
Columbia TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	17940	0.369	0.350	0.131	0.140
Concord NH Micropolitan Statistical Area	18180	0.388	n/a	0.014	n/a
Cookeville TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	18260	0.405	0.419	0.020	0.024
Cordele GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	18380	0.210	0.212	0.062	0.066
Corinth MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	18420	0.457	0.459	0.113	0.123
Cornelia GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	18460	0.431	0.485	0.120	0.168
Corning NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	18500	0.373	0.358	0.012	0.011
Corpus Christi TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	18580	0.311	0.351	0.037	0.070
Corsicana TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	18620	0.262	0.289	0.044	0.067
Crowley LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	18940	0.492	0.493	0.225	0.214
Culpeper VA Micropolitan Statistical Area	19020	0.220	0.245	0.031	0.042
Cumberland MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	19060	0.559	0.512	0.186	0.114
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	19100	0.475	0.537	0.234	0.304
Dalton GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	19140	0.297	0.414	0.017	0.038
Danville IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	19180	0.678	0.691	0.287	0.254
Danville KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	19220	0.402	0.427	0.044	0.063
Danville VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	19260	0.366	0.336	0.174	0.167
Daphne-Fairhope-Foley AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	19300	0.388	0.395	0.100	0.113
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island IA-IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	19340	0.479	0.530	0.131	0.174
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	19660	0.494	0.569	0.257	0.336
Dayton OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	19380	0.656	0.724	0.480	0.537
Decatur AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	19460	0.551	0.567	0.227	0.272
Decatur IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	19500	0.524	0.536	0.250	0.249
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield CO Metropolitan Statistical Area	19740	0.567	0.602	0.131	0.198
DeRidder LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	19760	0.462	0.507	0.139	0.174
Des Moines-West Des Moines IA Metropolitan Statistical Area	19780	0.478	0.561	0.105	0.166
Detroit-Warren-Livonia MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	19820	0.735	0.842	0.610	0.728
Dillon SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	19900	0.188	0.174	0.054	0.044

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Dixon IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	19940	0.596	0.610	0.117	0.131
Dothan AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	20020	0.451	0.448	0.236	0.248
Douglas GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	20060	0.281	0.272	0.087	0.076
Dover DE Metropolitan Statistical Area	20100	0.262	0.318	0.087	0.103
Dublin GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	20140	0.338	0.339	0.172	0.181
DuBois PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	20180	0.692	0.772	0.100	0.172
Dubuque IA Metropolitan Statistical Area	20220	0.502	n/a	0.055	n/a
Duluth MN-WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	20260	0.471	0.526	0.024	0.022
Dunn NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	20380	0.238	0.230	0.060	0.067
Durham-Chapel Hill NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	20500	0.417	0.431	0.220	0.256
Dyersburg TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	20540	0.406	0.460	0.139	0.159
East Liverpool-Salem OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	20620	0.595	0.584	0.077	0.071
Easton MD Micropolitan Statistical Area	20660	0.250	0.297	0.056	0.082
East Stroudsburg PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	20700	0.271	0.256	0.060	0.035
Eau Claire WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	20740	0.394	n/a	0.025	n/a
El Campo TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	20900	0.314	0.321	0.085	0.106
El Centro CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	20940	0.513	0.523	0.144	0.104
El Dorado AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	20980	0.394	0.391	0.213	0.189
Elizabethtown KY Metropolitan Statistical Area	21060	0.386	0.466	0.077	0.105
Elizabeth City NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	21020	0.285	0.274	0.134	0.123
Elkhart-Goshen IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	21140	0.470	0.541	0.104	0.148
Elmira NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	21300	0.490	0.516	0.140	0.156
El Paso TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	21340	0.385	0.430	0.042	0.063
Enid OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	21420	0.264	0.283	0.017	0.015
Enterprise-Ozark AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	21460	0.313	0.295	0.101	0.108
Erie PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	21500	0.631	0.641	0.207	0.227
Eufaula AL-GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	21640	0.187	0.177	0.058	0.055
Eugene-Springfield OR Metropolitan Statistical Area	21660	0.241	0.297	0.003	0.004
Eureka-Arcata-Fortuna CA Micropolitan Statistical Area	21700	0.259	0.306	0.005	0.009
Evansville IN-KY Metropolitan Statistical Area	21780	0.522	0.560	0.160	0.193
Fairbanks AK Metropolitan Statistical Area	21820	0.357	0.417	0.037	0.064
Fairmont WV Micropolitan Statistical Area	21900	0.518	0.548	0.122	0.172
Fargo ND-MN Metropolitan Statistical Area	22020	0.328	0.358	0.014	0.010
Faribault-Northfield MN Micropolitan Statistical Area	22060	0.500	n/a	0.082	n/a
Farmington MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	22100	0.626	0.673	0.091	0.206
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers AR-MO Metropolitan Statistical Area	22220	0.382	0.526	0.021	0.033
Fayetteville NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	22180	0.272	0.283	0.108	0.122
Findlay OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	22300	0.301	n/a	0.024	n/a
Fitzgerald GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	22340	0.256	0.255	0.088	0.092
Flagstaff AZ Metropolitan Statistical Area	22380	0.322	0.390	0.012	0.016
Flint MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	22420	0.676	0.765	0.512	0.616
Florence-Muscle Shoals AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	22520	0.415	0.428	0.168	0.192

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Florence SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	22500	0.358	0.392	0.205	0.241
Fond du Lac WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	22540	0.382	n/a	0.028	n/a
Forest City NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	22580	0.334	0.351	0.067	0.076
Forrest City AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	22620	0.339	0.310	0.159	0.111
Fort Collins-Loveland CO Metropolitan Statistical Area	22660	0.243	0.292	0.004	0.005
Fort Dodge IA Micropolitan Statistical Area	22700	0.446	0.463	0.043	0.049
Fort Leonard Wood MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	22780	0.281	0.363	0.042	0.078
Fort Madison-Keokuk IA-MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	22800	0.456	0.459	0.063	0.059
Cape Coral-Fort Myers FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	15980	0.545	0.656	0.230	0.384
Fort Payne AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	22840	0.562	0.628	0.060	0.079
Port St. Lucie FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	38940	0.409	0.569	0.218	0.378
Fort Polk South LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	22860	0.432	0.460	0.125	0.138
Fort Smith AR-OK Metropolitan Statistical Area	22900	0.505	0.507	0.068	0.090
Fort Valley GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	22980	0.520	0.605	0.357	0.444
Crestview-Fort Walton Beach-Destin FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	18880	0.303	0.285	0.045	0.051
Fort Wayne IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	23060	0.564	0.686	0.258	0.389
Frankfort KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	23180	0.428	0.458	0.112	0.125
Freeport IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	23300	0.517	0.540	0.140	0.174
Fremont OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	23380	0.527	0.569	0.068	0.085
Fresno CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	23420	0.391	0.421	0.059	0.089
Gadsden AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	23460	0.656	0.686	0.373	0.407
Gaffney SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	23500	0.496	0.399	0.206	0.129
Gainesville FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	23540	0.393	0.416	0.219	0.246
Gainesville GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	23580	0.339	0.443	0.084	0.140
Gainesville TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	23620	0.376	0.422	0.053	0.057
Galesburg IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	23660	0.509	0.529	0.104	0.115
Georgetown SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	23860	0.444	0.410	0.239	0.214
Gettysburg PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	23900	0.309	0.423	0.016	0.031
Glasgow KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	23980	0.371	0.378	0.045	0.047
Glens Falls NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	24020	0.586	0.681	0.136	0.159
Gloversville NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	24100	0.363	n/a	0.024	n/a
Goldsboro NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	24140	0.394	0.399	0.210	0.218
Grand Forks ND-MN Metropolitan Statistical Area	24220	0.362	0.411	0.019	0.037
Grand Island NE Micropolitan Statistical Area	24260	0.410	n/a	0.030	n/a
Grand Rapids-Wyoming MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	24340	0.591	0.632	0.221	0.300
Great Falls MT Metropolitan Statistical Area	24500	0.357	n/a	0.044	n/a
Greeley CO Metropolitan Statistical Area	24540	0.340	0.287	0.012	0.005
Green Bay WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	24580	0.478	0.462	0.074	0.085
Greeneville TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	24620	0.426	0.456	0.051	0.063
Greensboro-High Point NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	24660	0.498	0.512	0.298	0.338
Greenville MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	24740	0.470	0.513	0.266	0.315
Greenville NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	24780	0.275	0.297	0.120	0.144

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Greenville-Mauldin-Easley SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	24860	0.415	0.457	0.185	0.235
Greenwood MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	24900	0.585	0.494	0.397	0.344
Greenwood SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	24940	0.250	0.296	0.087	0.142
Grenada MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	24980	0.392	0.442	0.197	0.231
Gulfport-Biloxi MS Metropolitan Statistical Area	25060	0.399	0.442	0.196	0.220
Hagerstown-Martinsburg MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	25180	0.397	0.544	0.166	0.297
Hammond LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	25220	0.350	0.370	0.163	0.176
Hanford-Corcoran CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	25260	0.368	0.347	0.078	0.060
Hannibal MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	25300	0.376	0.411	0.051	0.074
Harriman TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	25340	0.317	0.362	0.017	0.053
Harrisburg-Carlisle PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	25420	0.625	0.689	0.289	0.352
Harrisonburg VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	25500	0.351	0.386	0.031	0.026
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford CT Metropolitan Statistical Area	25540	0.563	0.595	0.287	0.321
Hattiesburg MS Metropolitan Statistical Area	25620	0.478	0.501	0.276	0.316
Helena-West Helena AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	25760	0.271	0.235	0.094	0.081
Henderson NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	25780	0.271	0.272	0.112	0.114
Hickory-Lenoir-Morganton NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	25860	0.400	0.445	0.087	0.114
Hilo HI Micropolitan Statistical Area	25900	0.190	n/a	0.001	n/a
Hilton Head Island-Beaufort SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	25940	0.456	0.427	0.213	0.215
Hinesville-Fort Stewart GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	25980	0.238	0.180	0.082	0.059
Hobbs NM Micropolitan Statistical Area	26020	0.280	0.331	0.026	0.036
Holland-Grand Haven MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	26100	0.356	0.410	0.012	0.010
Homosassa Springs FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	26140	0.253	0.263	0.009	0.009
Honolulu HI Metropolitan Statistical Area	26180	0.451	0.514	0.049	0.080
Hope AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	26260	0.287	0.241	0.089	0.082
Hot Springs AR Metropolitan Statistical Area	26300	0.461	0.552	0.108	0.177
Houma-Bayou Cane-Thibodaux LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	26380	0.422	0.453	0.146	0.177
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	26420	0.478	0.560	0.243	0.340
Hudson NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	26460	0.548	0.576	0.124	0.127
Humboldt TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	26480	0.418	0.407	0.194	0.232
Huntingdon PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	26500	0.714	0.729	0.161	0.161
Huntington-Ashland WV-KY-OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	26580	0.541	0.592	0.108	0.133
Huntsville AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	26620	0.476	0.537	0.279	0.318
Huntsville TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	26660	0.189	0.128	0.033	0.026
Hutchinson KS Micropolitan Statistical Area	26740	0.378	0.409	0.038	0.043
Indianapolis-Carmel IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	26900	0.630	0.704	0.357	0.457
Indianola MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	26940	0.290	0.303	0.126	0.202
Indiana PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	26860	0.566	0.536	0.064	0.048
Iowa City IA Metropolitan Statistical Area	26980	0.391	0.386	0.045	0.024
Ithaca NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	27060	0.269	0.310	0.023	0.029
Jacksonville FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	27260	0.504	0.526	0.326	0.374
Jacksonville IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	27300	0.558	0.519	0.087	0.058

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Jackson MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	27100	0.585	0.657	0.235	0.285
Jackson MS Metropolitan Statistical Area	27140	0.545	0.570	0.382	0.412
Jacksonville NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	27340	0.254	0.239	0.067	0.084
Jackson TN Metropolitan Statistical Area	27180	0.485	0.554	0.319	0.362
Jacksonville TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	27380	0.289	0.358	0.072	0.107
Jamestown-Dunkirk-Fredonia NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	27460	0.448	0.532	0.028	0.050
Janesville WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	27500	0.513	0.598	0.097	0.159
Jefferson City MO Metropolitan Statistical Area	27620	0.479	0.535	0.123	0.157
Jennings LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	27660	0.277	0.316	0.085	0.099
Jesup GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	27700	0.321	0.315	0.090	0.092
Johnson City TN Metropolitan Statistical Area	27740	0.477	0.518	0.060	0.073
Johnstown PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	27780	0.621	0.643	0.107	0.138
Jonesboro AR Metropolitan Statistical Area	27860	0.421	0.419	0.113	0.101
Joplin MO Metropolitan Statistical Area	27900	0.354	0.397	0.015	0.022
Kalamazoo-Portage MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	28020	0.470	0.491	0.184	0.221
Kankakee-Bradley IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	28100	0.579	0.687	0.349	0.476
Kansas City MO-KS Metropolitan Statistical Area	28140	0.577	0.686	0.354	0.467
Kennett MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	28380	0.473	0.523	0.111	0.122
Key West FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	28580	0.411	0.473	0.069	0.103
Killeen-Temple-Fort Hood TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	28660	0.353	0.369	0.106	0.113
Kingsport-Bristol-Bristol TN-VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	28700	0.420	0.461	0.040	0.060
Kingston NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	28740	0.389	0.415	0.062	0.080
Kingsville TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	28780	0.287	0.289	0.014	0.016
Kinston NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	28820	0.433	0.465	0.319	0.336
Knoxville TN Metropolitan Statistical Area	28940	0.529	0.567	0.236	0.315
Kokomo IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	29020	0.424	0.478	0.122	0.181
La Crosse WI-MN Metropolitan Statistical Area	29100	0.345	0.391	0.014	0.012
Lafayette IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	29140	0.333	0.328	0.028	0.014
Lafayette LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	29180	0.443	0.489	0.255	0.284
LaGrange GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	29300	0.323	0.375	0.134	0.175
Lake Charles LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	29340	0.604	0.615	0.427	0.438
Lake City FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	29380	0.406	0.384	0.128	0.110
Lake Havasu City-Kingman AZ Metropolitan Statistical Area	29420	0.219	n/a	0.005	n/a
Lakeland-Winter Haven FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	29460	0.397	0.501	0.169	0.269
Lancaster PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	29540	0.503	0.577	0.079	0.092
Lancaster SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	29580	0.319	0.277	0.149	0.141
Lansing-East Lansing MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	29620	0.507	0.535	0.138	0.166
Laredo TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	29700	0.199	n/a	0.001	n/a
Las Cruces NM Metropolitan Statistical Area	29740	0.261	0.283	0.011	0.012
Las Vegas-Paradise NV Metropolitan Statistical Area	29820	0.281	0.326	0.066	0.110
Laurel MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	29860	0.460	0.427	0.237	0.217
Laurinburg NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	29900	0.252	0.297	0.099	0.109

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Lawrence KS Metropolitan Statistical Area	29940	0.234	0.261	0.011	0.017
Lawton OK Metropolitan Statistical Area	30020	0.248	0.295	0.060	0.092
Lebanon NH-VT Micropolitan Statistical Area	30100	0.389	n/a	0.012	n/a
Lebanon PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	30140	0.403	0.362	0.022	0.015
Lewisburg PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	30260	0.743	0.545	0.342	0.118
Lewisburg TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	30280	0.363	0.366	0.121	0.143
Lewiston-Auburn ME Metropolitan Statistical Area	30340	0.575	n/a	0.120	n/a
Lexington-Fayette KY Metropolitan Statistical Area	30460	0.451	0.473	0.141	0.202
Lexington Park MD Micropolitan Statistical Area	30500	0.346	0.318	0.086	0.068
Lima OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	30620	0.512	0.536	0.182	0.205
Lincoln IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	30660	0.636	0.654	0.209	0.252
Lincolnton NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	30740	0.336	0.348	0.036	0.042
Lincoln NE Metropolitan Statistical Area	30700	0.367	0.390	0.033	0.030
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway AR Metropolitan Statistical Area	30780	0.560	0.602	0.340	0.396
Longview TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	30980	0.330	0.372	0.115	0.158
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	31100	0.545	0.584	0.220	0.268
Louisville/Jefferson County KY-IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	31140	0.562	0.628	0.362	0.443
Lubbock TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	31180	0.373	0.450	0.172	0.240
Lufkin TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	31260	0.421	0.430	0.165	0.212
Lumberton NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	31300	0.333	0.344	0.135	0.150
Lynchburg VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	31340	0.358	0.364	0.165	0.173
Macomb IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	31380	0.457	0.490	0.056	0.085
Macon GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	31420	0.502	0.530	0.323	0.338
Madera-Chowchilla CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	31460	0.365	0.447	0.079	0.075
Madisonville KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	31580	0.403	0.443	0.062	0.079
Madison WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	31540	0.461	0.477	0.066	0.070
Magnolia AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	31620	0.303	0.327	0.134	0.134
Malone NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	31660	0.773	0.700	0.327	0.179
Manchester-Nashua NH Metropolitan Statistical Area	31700	0.391	0.376	0.022	0.012
Manhattan KS Metropolitan Statistical Area	31740	0.391	0.482	0.073	0.125
Mankato-North Mankato MN Metropolitan Statistical Area	31860	0.366	n/a	0.019	n/a
Mansfield OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	31900	0.607	0.632	0.261	0.291
Marion-Herrin IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	32060	0.346	0.390	0.025	0.048
Marion IN Micropolitan Statistical Area	31980	0.501	0.546	0.113	0.145
Marion OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	32020	0.567	0.525	0.213	0.169
Marquette MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	32100	0.637	n/a	0.085	n/a
Marshall MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	32180	0.278	0.256	0.043	0.041
Marshall TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	32220	0.374	0.336	0.179	0.176
Martin TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	32280	0.399	0.333	0.063	0.033
Martinsville VA Micropolitan Statistical Area	32300	0.318	0.329	0.143	0.166
Mayfield KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	32460	0.481	0.503	0.067	0.075
Maysville KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	32500	0.579	0.576	0.109	0.101

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
McAlester OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	32540	0.472	0.490	0.115	0.076
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	32580	0.341	0.393	0.025	0.023
McComb MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	32620	0.299	0.277	0.149	0.125
McMinnville TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	32660	0.259	0.200	0.015	0.014
Meadville PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	32740	0.504	0.492	0.031	0.050
Medford OR Metropolitan Statistical Area	32780	0.259	n/a	0.004	n/a
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	37340	0.448	0.476	0.138	0.171
Memphis TN-MS-AR Metropolitan Statistical Area	32820	0.591	0.638	0.427	0.492
Merced CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	32900	0.276	0.289	0.022	0.020
Meridian MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	32940	0.446	0.440	0.261	0.253
Mexico MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	33020	0.387	0.447	0.084	0.101
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	33100	0.581	0.636	0.377	0.428
Michigan City-La Porte IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	33140	0.573	0.629	0.216	0.257
Midland MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	33220	0.350	n/a	0.025	n/a
Midland TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	33260	0.391	0.461	0.089	0.148
Milledgeville GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	33300	0.311	0.317	0.126	0.138
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	33340	0.777	0.810	0.586	0.612
Minden LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	33380	0.348	0.373	0.214	0.218
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington MN-WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	33460	0.480	0.561	0.144	0.179
Minot ND Micropolitan Statistical Area	33500	0.333	0.487	0.039	0.047
Moberly MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	33620	0.264	0.325	0.046	0.068
Mobile AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	33660	0.580	0.631	0.420	0.493
Modesto CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	33700	0.255	0.283	0.011	0.013
Monroe LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	33740	0.624	0.653	0.482	0.532
Monroe MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	33780	0.464	0.497	0.058	0.075
Montgomery AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	33860	0.525	0.553	0.343	0.389
Morehead City NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	33980	0.440	0.383	0.069	0.056
Morgan City LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	34020	0.372	0.394	0.187	0.198
Morgantown WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	34060	0.368	0.422	0.039	0.032
Morristown TN Metropolitan Statistical Area	34100	0.389	0.409	0.028	0.035
Moultrie GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	34220	0.429	0.374	0.185	0.172
Mount Airy NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	34340	0.347	0.338	0.026	0.024
Mount Pleasant MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	34380	0.391	0.382	0.028	0.034
Mount Pleasant TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	34420	0.299	0.386	0.051	0.102
Mount Vernon IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	34500	0.604	0.632	0.185	0.164
Muncie IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	34620	0.465	0.540	0.240	0.327
Murray KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	34660	0.408	0.444	0.052	0.071
Muskegon-Norton Shores MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	34740	0.718	0.758	0.426	0.464
Muskogee OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	34780	0.458	0.517	0.147	0.199
Myrtle Beach-North Myrtle Beach-Conway SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	34820	0.403	0.443	0.141	0.176
Nacogdoches TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	34860	0.415	0.398	0.178	0.227
Napa CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	34900	0.563	0.532	0.054	0.051

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Naples-Marco Island FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	34940	0.441	0.548	0.090	0.150
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin TN Metropolitan Statistical Are	34980	0.525	0.560	0.286	0.352
Natchez MS-LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	35020	0.464	0.489	0.263	0.304
Natchitoches LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	35060	0.448	0.401	0.231	0.206
New Bern NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	35100	0.362	0.290	0.124	0.100
Newberry SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	35140	0.232	0.203	0.089	0.054
New Castle IN Micropolitan Statistical Area	35220	0.542	n/a	0.103	n/a
New Castle PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	35260	0.608	0.645	0.152	0.201
New Haven-Milford CT Metropolitan Statistical Area	35300	0.544	0.601	0.237	0.283
New Iberia LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	35340	0.409	0.421	0.224	0.231
Norwich-New London CT Metropolitan Statistical Area	35980	0.473	0.513	0.074	0.088
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	35380	0.597	0.669	0.438	0.527
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island NY-NJ-PA Metropolitan Statistical	35620	0.647	0.687	0.424	0.476
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News VA-NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	47260	0.449	0.449	0.276	0.295
North Wilkesboro NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	35900	0.432	0.500	0.058	0.067
Oak Harbor WA Micropolitan Statistical Area	36020	0.425	0.473	0.024	0.041
Oak Hill WV Micropolitan Statistical Area	36060	0.398	0.362	0.039	0.040
Ocala FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	36100	0.451	0.477	0.165	0.215
Ocean City NJ Metropolitan Statistical Area	36140	0.477	0.543	0.073	0.110
Ocean Pines MD Micropolitan Statistical Area	36180	0.524	0.532	0.194	0.214
Odessa TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	36220	0.306	0.360	0.073	0.109
Ogdensburg-Massena NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	36300	0.622	0.663	0.069	0.105
Ogden-Clearfield UT Metropolitan Statistical Area	36260	0.284	0.388	0.014	0.022
Okeechobee FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	36380	0.486	0.446	0.111	0.117
Oklahoma City OK Metropolitan Statistical Area	36420	0.487	0.533	0.236	0.299
Olean NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	36460	0.393	n/a	0.014	n/a
Olympia WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	36500	0.308	0.355	0.015	0.018
Omaha-Council Bluffs NE-IA Metropolitan Statistical Area	36540	0.588	0.657	0.282	0.370
Oneonta NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	36580	0.453	0.474	0.036	0.043
Opelousas-Eunice LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	36660	0.404	0.387	0.229	0.205
Orangeburg SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	36700	0.272	0.288	0.111	0.118
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	36740	0.435	0.515	0.231	0.278
Oshkosh-Neenah WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	36780	0.431	0.531	0.039	0.058
Ottawa-Streator IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	36860	0.452	0.526	0.048	0.065
Owatonna MN Micropolitan Statistical Area	36940	0.489	n/a	0.083	n/a
Owensboro KY Metropolitan Statistical Area	36980	0.452	0.519	0.062	0.094
Oxford MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	37060	0.178	0.184	0.036	0.032
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	37100	0.244	0.342	0.009	0.017
Paducah KY-IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	37140	0.517	0.588	0.192	0.240
Palatka FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	37260	0.476	0.399	0.201	0.190
Palestine TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	37300	0.383	0.391	0.123	0.135
Palm Coast FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	37380	0.224	0.267	0.028	0.032

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Pampa TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	37420	0.443	0.536	0.048	0.091
Panama City-Lynn Haven-Panama City Beach FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	37460	0.434	0.476	0.177	0.210
Paris TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	37540	0.485	0.497	0.127	0.144
Paris TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	37580	0.479	0.482	0.148	0.170
Parkersburg-Marietta-Vienna WV-OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	37620	0.372	0.372	0.010	0.010
Parsons KS Micropolitan Statistical Area	37660	0.405	0.383	0.053	0.060
Pascagoula MS Metropolitan Statistical Area	37700	0.510	0.554	0.295	0.332
Pensacola-Ferry Pass-Brent FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	37860	0.465	0.498	0.224	0.246
Peoria IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	37900	0.690	0.707	0.331	0.336
Peru IN Micropolitan Statistical Area	37940	0.624	0.503	0.179	0.091
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington PA-NJ-DE-MD Metropolitan Statistical Area	37980	0.626	0.670	0.446	0.505
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale AZ Metropolitan Statistical Area	38060	0.312	0.343	0.038	0.051
Phoenix Lake-Cedar Ridge CA Micropolitan Statistical Area	38020	0.734	0.764	0.279	0.130
Picayune MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	38100	0.455	0.451	0.132	0.130
Pierre Part LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	38200	0.511	0.502	0.245	0.246
Pine Bluff AR Metropolitan Statistical Area	38220	0.602	0.587	0.440	0.413
Pittsburgh PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	38300	0.649	0.684	0.356	0.427
Pittsfield MA Metropolitan Statistical Area	38340	0.378	0.404	0.035	0.032
Plainview TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	38380	0.231	0.261	0.016	0.020
Plattsburgh NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	38460	0.523	0.562	0.108	0.108
Pontiac IL Micropolitan Statistical Area	38700	0.629	0.661	0.136	0.139
Poplar Bluff MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	38740	0.378	0.413	0.055	0.083
Portsmouth OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	39020	0.623	0.666	0.092	0.123
Portland-South Portland-Biddeford ME Metropolitan Statistical Area	38860	0.507	0.415	0.051	0.017
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro OR-WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	38900	0.423	0.494	0.056	0.131
Pottsville PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	39060	0.630	0.716	0.152	0.137
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	39100	0.417	0.484	0.127	0.169
Prescott AZ Metropolitan Statistical Area	39140	0.161	n/a	0.002	n/a
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River RI-MA Metropolitan Statistical Area	39300	0.472	0.521	0.083	0.090
Provo-Orem UT Metropolitan Statistical Area	39340	0.205	0.268	0.002	0.001
Pueblo CO Metropolitan Statistical Area	39380	0.236	0.322	0.015	0.028
Punta Gorda FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	39460	0.428	0.390	0.051	0.036
Quincy IL-MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	39500	0.440	0.466	0.049	0.056
Racine WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	39540	0.475	0.522	0.145	0.208
Raleigh-Cary NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	39580	0.386	0.391	0.174	0.203
Rapid City SD Metropolitan Statistical Area	39660	0.264	0.372	0.014	0.017
Reading PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	39740	0.406	0.534	0.054	0.083
Redding CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	39820	0.264	0.245	0.003	0.004
Reno-Sparks NV Metropolitan Statistical Area	39900	0.257	0.280	0.011	0.012
Kennewick-Pasco-Richland WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	28420	0.240	0.313	0.005	0.010
Richmond IN Micropolitan Statistical Area	39980	0.429	0.496	0.048	0.065
Richmond-Berea KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	40080	0.407	0.403	0.037	0.051

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Richmond VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	40060	0.496	0.524	0.313	0.357
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	40140	0.326	0.370	0.050	0.065
Roanoke Rapids NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	40260	0.293	0.307	0.131	0.152
Roanoke VA Metropolitan Statistical Area	40220	0.542	0.601	0.330	0.394
Rochester MN Metropolitan Statistical Area	40340	0.473	0.525	0.049	0.040
Rochester NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	40380	0.616	0.646	0.337	0.363
Rockford IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	40420	0.528	0.586	0.214	0.281
Rockingham NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	40460	0.242	0.270	0.065	0.084
Rocky Mount NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	40580	0.359	0.399	0.199	0.219
Rolla MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	40620	0.368	n/a	0.042	n/a
Rome GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	40660	0.445	0.538	0.169	0.228
Roswell NM Micropolitan Statistical Area	40740	0.205	0.242	0.006	0.011
Russellville AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	40780	0.443	0.449	0.029	0.037
Ruston LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	40820	0.439	0.489	0.281	0.333
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	40900	0.445	0.484	0.081	0.101
Saginaw-Saginaw Township North MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	40980	0.622	0.696	0.421	0.501
Salem OR Metropolitan Statistical Area	41420	0.291	0.337	0.008	0.015
Salinas CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	41500	0.435	0.509	0.076	0.093
Salina KS Micropolitan Statistical Area	41460	0.267	0.313	0.015	0.020
Salisbury MD Metropolitan Statistical Area	41540	0.412	0.434	0.237	0.255
Salisbury NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	41580	0.472	0.457	0.232	0.228
Salt Lake City UT Metropolitan Statistical Area	41620	0.322	0.331	0.013	0.011
San Angelo TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	41660	0.258	0.258	0.025	0.042
San Antonio-New Braunfels TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	41700	0.421	0.476	0.101	0.141
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	41740	0.386	0.438	0.062	0.095
Sandusky OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	41780	0.602	0.603	0.148	0.150
Sanford NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	41820	0.316	0.386	0.116	0.159
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	41860	0.505	0.566	0.158	0.242
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	41940	0.253	0.256	0.012	0.012
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	42020	0.510	0.495	0.186	0.082
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Goleta CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	42060	0.290	0.350	0.019	0.042
Santa Cruz-Watsonville CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	42100	0.215	0.221	0.003	0.003
Santa Fe NM Metropolitan Statistical Area	42140	0.193	n/a	0.004	n/a
Santa Rosa-Petaluma CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	42220	0.272	0.292	0.007	0.008
North Port-Bradenton-Sarasota FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	35840	0.503	0.641	0.174	0.284
Sault Ste. Marie MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	42300	0.823	0.739	0.370	0.146
Savannah GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	42340	0.470	0.545	0.305	0.396
Scottsboro AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	42460	0.478	0.531	0.046	0.066
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	42540	0.496	0.585	0.062	0.063
Seaford DE Micropolitan Statistical Area	42580	0.336	0.339	0.078	0.074
Searcy AR Micropolitan Statistical Area	42620	0.315	0.355	0.027	0.033
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	42660	0.430	0.479	0.075	0.092

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Sebastian-Vero Beach FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	42680	0.456	0.576	0.208	0.376
Sebring FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	42700	0.367	0.468	0.105	0.145
Sedalia MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	42740	0.397	0.458	0.106	0.206
Selma AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	42820	0.496	0.481	0.262	0.274
Seneca Falls NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	42900	0.669	n/a	0.185	n/a
Seneca SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	42860	0.459	0.503	0.103	0.129
Shawnee OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	43060	0.266	0.311	0.016	0.021
Sheboygan WI Metropolitan Statistical Area	43100	0.456	0.546	0.037	0.084
Shelby NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	43140	0.307	0.270	0.126	0.126
Shelbyville TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	43180	0.330	0.301	0.037	0.038
Sherman-Denison TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	43300	0.418	0.447	0.056	0.082
Shreveport-Bossier City LA Metropolitan Statistical Area	43340	0.553	0.557	0.391	0.401
Sierra Vista-Douglas AZ Micropolitan Statistical Area	43420	0.424	0.486	0.037	0.069
Sikeston MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	43460	0.612	0.599	0.260	0.236
Sioux City IA-NE-SD Metropolitan Statistical Area	43580	0.405	0.455	0.025	0.025
Sioux Falls SD Metropolitan Statistical Area	43620	0.465	0.405	0.045	0.014
Somerset PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	43740	0.780	0.784	0.140	0.204
South Bend-Mishawaka IN-MI Metropolitan Statistical Area	43780	0.496	0.571	0.199	0.261
Southern Pines-Pinehurst NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	43860	0.333	0.252	0.107	0.058
Spartanburg SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	43900	0.400	0.386	0.199	0.206
Spokane WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	44060	0.304	0.362	0.012	0.018
Springfield IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	44100	0.547	0.576	0.277	0.302
Springfield MA Metropolitan Statistical Area	44140	0.557	0.603	0.166	0.224
Springfield MO Metropolitan Statistical Area	44180	0.445	0.489	0.029	0.054
Springfield OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	44220	0.569	0.630	0.258	0.334
Starkville MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	44260	0.219	0.279	0.072	0.088
State College PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	44300	0.457	0.491	0.105	0.063
Statesboro GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	44340	0.252	0.228	0.072	0.074
Statesville-Mooresville NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	44380	0.429	0.373	0.169	0.154
Staunton-Waynesboro VA Micropolitan Statistical Area	44420	0.343	0.393	0.044	0.056
St. Cloud MN Metropolitan Statistical Area	41060	0.548	0.413	0.054	0.010
Steubenville-Weirton OH-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	44600	0.546	0.604	0.123	0.174
Stillwater OK Micropolitan Statistical Area	44660	0.330	0.362	0.022	0.030
St. Joseph MO-KS Metropolitan Statistical Area	41140	0.414	0.448	0.053	0.055
St. Louis MO-IL Metropolitan Statistical Area	41180	0.710	0.732	0.538	0.567
St. Marys GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	41220	0.143	0.141	0.019	0.019
Stockton CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	44700	0.314	0.407	0.045	0.063
Sturgis MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	44780	0.490	0.531	0.069	0.103
Sulphur Springs TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	44860	0.418	0.432	0.092	0.127
Summerville GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	44900	0.481	0.458	0.131	0.121
Sumter SC Metropolitan Statistical Area	44940	0.335	0.393	0.185	0.217
Sunbury PA Micropolitan Statistical Area	44980	0.560	0.653	0.093	0.173

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Susanville CA Micropolitan Statistical Area	45000	0.588	0.609	0.118	0.139
Syracuse NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	45060	0.646	0.693	0.322	0.368
Talladega-Sylacauga AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	45180	0.309	0.312	0.147	0.130
Tallahassee FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	45220	0.419	0.423	0.243	0.251
Tallulah LA Micropolitan Statistical Area	45260	0.525	0.663	0.329	0.517
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater FL Metropolitan Statistical Area	45300	0.504	0.609	0.260	0.348
Terre Haute IN Metropolitan Statistical Area	45460	0.576	0.597	0.100	0.143
Texarkana TX-Texarkana AR Metropolitan Statistical Area	45500	0.410	0.419	0.197	0.221
The Villages FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	45540	0.667	0.318	0.331	0.068
Thomasville-Lexington NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	45640	0.547	0.556	0.164	0.220
Thomaston GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	45580	0.362	0.357	0.144	0.131
Thomasville GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	45620	0.350	0.379	0.133	0.157
Tiffin OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	45660	0.435	0.508	0.069	0.103
Tifton GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	45700	0.446	0.539	0.238	0.301
Toccoa GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	45740	0.262	0.211	0.056	0.059
Toledo OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	45780	0.630	0.696	0.383	0.464
Topeka KS Metropolitan Statistical Area	45820	0.480	0.513	0.102	0.131
Torrington CT Micropolitan Statistical Area	45860	0.306	0.295	0.009	0.006
Traverse City MI Micropolitan Statistical Area	45900	0.538	n/a	0.045	n/a
Trenton-Ewing NJ Metropolitan Statistical Area	45940	0.556	0.596	0.351	0.394
Troy AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	45980	0.231	0.270	0.079	0.108
Tucson AZ Metropolitan Statistical Area	46060	0.293	0.322	0.020	0.023
Tullahoma TN Micropolitan Statistical Area	46100	0.357	0.347	0.038	0.041
Tulsa OK Metropolitan Statistical Area	46140	0.517	0.558	0.280	0.358
Tupelo MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	46180	0.424	0.322	0.173	0.102
Tuscaloosa AL Metropolitan Statistical Area	46220	0.536	0.550	0.358	0.368
Tuskegee AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	46260	0.523	0.508	0.228	0.228
Tyler TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	46340	0.396	0.455	0.172	0.251
Union City TN-KY Micropolitan Statistical Area	46460	0.430	0.449	0.140	0.139
Union SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	46420	0.236	0.205	0.079	0.071
Utica-Rome NY Metropolitan Statistical Area	46540	0.612	0.634	0.173	0.174
Valdosta GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	46660	0.435	0.435	0.246	0.261
Vallejo-Fairfield CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	46700	0.291	0.315	0.067	0.083
Valley AL Micropolitan Statistical Area	46740	0.273	0.278	0.098	0.115
Vernon TX Micropolitan Statistical Area	46900	0.355	0.368	0.088	0.116
Vicksburg MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	46980	0.332	0.399	0.151	0.206
Victoria TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	47020	0.296	0.315	0.025	0.033
Vidalia GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	47080	0.252	0.239	0.065	0.060
Vincennes IN Micropolitan Statistical Area	47180	0.534	n/a	0.172	n/a
Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton NJ Metropolitan Statistical Area	47220	0.341	0.336	0.153	0.151
Visalia-Porterville CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	47300	0.312	0.385	0.013	0.019
Waco TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	47380	0.427	0.451	0.175	0.220

Geographic Area (CBSA)	CBSA code	Dissimilarity Index		Isolation Index	
		2010	2000	2010	2000
Walla Walla WA Micropolitan Statistical Area	47460	0.481	n/a	0.244	n/a
Walterboro SC Micropolitan Statistical Area	47500	0.239	0.227	0.069	0.061
Warner Robins GA Metropolitan Statistical Area	47580	0.230	0.299	0.077	0.107
Warrensburg MO Micropolitan Statistical Area	47660	0.365	0.356	0.027	0.039
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria DC-VA-MD-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	47900	0.561	0.597	0.391	0.440
Washington NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	47820	0.287	0.295	0.093	0.094
Waterloo-Cedar Falls IA Metropolitan Statistical Area	47940	0.616	0.691	0.272	0.332
Watertown-Fort Drum NY Micropolitan Statistical Area	48060	0.354	0.441	0.035	0.066
Wauchula FL Micropolitan Statistical Area	48100	0.262	0.265	0.029	0.086
Waycross GA Micropolitan Statistical Area	48180	0.365	0.364	0.198	0.226
West Point MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	48500	0.159	0.140	0.044	0.034
Wheeling WV-OH Metropolitan Statistical Area	48540	0.539	0.558	0.103	0.112
Wichita KS Metropolitan Statistical Area	48620	0.528	0.564	0.231	0.314
Wichita Falls TX Metropolitan Statistical Area	48660	0.452	0.525	0.153	0.199
Williamsport PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	48700	0.583	0.614	0.117	0.123
Willimantic CT Micropolitan Statistical Area	48740	0.413	0.436	0.026	0.025
Wilmington NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	48900	0.451	0.435	0.187	0.217
Wilson NC Micropolitan Statistical Area	48980	0.336	0.395	0.163	0.221
Winchester VA-WV Metropolitan Statistical Area	49020	0.332	0.413	0.039	0.066
Winfield KS Micropolitan Statistical Area	49060	0.326	n/a	0.024	n/a
Winston-Salem NC Metropolitan Statistical Area	49180	0.512	0.570	0.290	0.362
Wooster OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	49300	0.458	0.526	0.018	0.026
Worcester MA Metropolitan Statistical Area	49340	0.473	0.481	0.061	0.049
Yakima WA Metropolitan Statistical Area	49420	0.320	0.366	0.007	0.012
Yazoo City MS Micropolitan Statistical Area	49540	0.436	0.371	0.250	0.188
York-Hanover PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	49620	0.477	0.678	0.125	0.194
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman OH-PA Metropolitan Statistical Area	49660	0.658	0.715	0.346	0.436
Yuba City CA Metropolitan Statistical Area	49700	0.261	0.301	0.011	0.019
Yuma AZ Metropolitan Statistical Area	49740	0.311	0.334	0.012	0.021
Zanesville OH Micropolitan Statistical Area	49780	0.477	0.513	0.059	0.072

Note: Segregation indices reported only for geographic areas with at least 1,000 African-American residents in a given year.

The Manhattan Institute's **Center for State and Local Leadership (CSLL)** promotes promising new approaches to reform of state and local government. CSLL works on a broad range of issues, including public sector reform (specifically of pensions and health benefits), education reform, prisoner reentry, policing, public housing, infrastructure, immigration, and public service delivery. By spotlighting new ideas, and providing the research and proposals to inform creative new policies, the CSLL hopes to lay the groundwork for an environment in which commerce, employment, and a rich civic life can flourish.

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