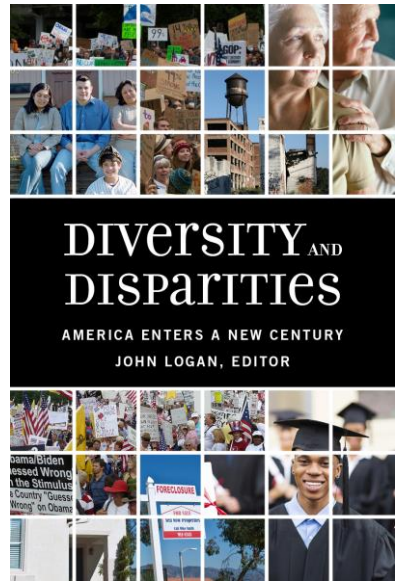

Lee, Barrett A., John Iceland, and Chad R. Farrell. 2014.
"Is Ethnoracial Residential Integration on the Rise? Evidence from Metropolitan and Micropolitan America Since 1980"
In *Diversity and Disparities: America Enters a New Century*, edited by John Logan. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation.

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Chapter 13

Is Ethnoracial Residential Integration on the Rise? Evidence from Metropolitan and Micropolitan America Since 1980

Barrett A. Lee, John Iceland, and Chad R. Farrell

The United States has a well-earned reputation as a nation of immigrants.[1] This tradition is eloquently conveyed by the Emma Lazarus sonnet that appears on a plaque enshrined in the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." From the colonial era through the midtwentieth century, the vast majority of people heeding Lady Liberty's call came from Europe, a fact that facilitated their—or their descendants'—eventual incorporation into the societal mainstream (Alba and Nee 2003). However, another significant group of newcomers was forced to move here, the Africans victimized by the slave trade, and they faced more difficult circumstances upon arrival and across subsequent generations than their European-origin counterparts (Lieberson 1980). A variety of fateful consequences followed from these distinct migration streams.

Part of the legacy was demographic—a racial and ethnic landscape painted in two colors. As recently as a half-century ago, whites were still numerically dominant, making up over four-fifths of all U.S. residents. African Americans constituted the only large minority, with a population roughly double that of Hispanics and Asians combined (Hirschman 2005). Because of the symbolic and instrumental barriers posed by the color line, blacks and whites for the most part led separate lives (Myrdal 1944/1962). They held different kinds of jobs, attended different schools, and worshiped at different churches. Of greatest relevance for our purposes, they were concentrated in different regions, communities, and neighborhoods.

Obviously, much has changed during the last fifty years. The civil rights movement, fair housing legislation, and declines in discrimination and prejudice have increased opportunities for blacks, reducing their social and economic distance from whites (Farley and Allen 1987). Another aspect of ethnoracial transformation can be traced to critical shifts in immigration policy. The bracero program, implemented as a temporary fix for agricultural labor shortages during World War II, lasted into the 1960s and strengthened the tradition of Mexicans heading northward in search of work. With the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (the Hart-Celler Act), exclusionary quotas were replaced by a system that gave preference to applicants who possessed desired skills or who had relatives already living in the United States. Once the door was opened to the world beyond Europe, large flows of immigrants began arriving from Asia as well as Latin America and the Caribbean (Daniels 2004; Lee 2004). These immigrants have done more than alter the dichotomous black-white composition of the host country: they are dramatically affecting all of its major institutions.

Education represents an institutional domain where the impact of the new racial-ethnic order is often visible. One need only pay a visit to Queensborough Community College (QCC) for a vivid illustration. A two-year open-admissions school in the City University of New York (CUNY) system, QCC has a student body comprising nearly equal shares of whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, and it boasts a major immigrant presence: one-third of its students are foreign-born, drawn from 129 countries and speaking 99 different languages.[2] Of course, schools such as QCC—not to mention workplaces, religious congregations, civic and political organizations, and the like—are influenced by their community contexts. Queens ranks as the most ethnoracially diverse county in the nation, and it is part of a metropolitan area (New York–northern New Jersey–Long Island) that has long been a gateway for immigrants and home to a number of sizable minority groups.[3] However, while these groups (along with whites) share the same metropolis, they are less likely to reside in the same neighborhoods. New York is highly segregated compared to other areas (Iceland et al. 2010; Logan and Stults 2011). Even when members of different groups do live side by side, their neighborhood-level mixing may be temporary. Gentrification, succession, and other forms of neighborhood change have continuously reshaped the racial and ethnic geography of New York (Alba et al. 1995; DeSena and Shortell 2012; Lobo, Flores, and Salvo 2002).

The New York case raises the more general issue of just how common intergroup residential proximity has become. Thus, rather than focus exclusively on a single mega-metropolis, we include all metropolitan areas (large, medium, and small) and their nonmetropolitan cousins, micropolitan areas, in our study. We examine both the panethnic populations (such as Hispanics and Asians) and the detailed groups (such as Mexicans and Chinese) inhabiting these areas.[4] The temporal window of interest to us extends from 1980 through 2010, when the interplay of race, nativity, and residence may have produced less uniform outcomes than in the previous black-white era. Our approach is anchored in a broadened conceptualization of "integration," a term we use to indicate the sharing of community environments by racial-ethnic groups at different geographic scales (in neighborhoods and places as well as areas). Our analysis addresses the following three questions about key manifestations of integration:

1. Which metropolitan and micropolitan areas have experienced increasing overall (area-wide) ethnoracial diversity during the last three decades?
2. To what extent has residential segregation declined across all types of areas for panethnic populations and their component groups?
3. How prevalent and stable over time are neighborhoods with racially diverse or mixed compositions?

Although we pose these questions in an optimistic, pro-integration direction, the theoretical perspectives framing our research differ about which answers seem most reasonable. Moreover, the answers could depend on the history and attractiveness of areas as destinations for immigrants, a possibility considered throughout the chapter.

LIVING TOGETHER, LIVING APART

In a fundamental sense, residential integration—expressed either as high diversity or as low segregation—is about the physical proximity of members of different racial-ethnic groups. Despite this unifying thread, diversity and segregation are not identical concepts. Diversity refers to the overall composition of a community—for instance, its percentages of white, black, Hispanic, and Asian inhabitants. Segregation reflects the degree to which two or more groups are

differentiated across spatial subunits composing some larger unit—in our case, how groups are spread across the census tracts that make up a metro or micro area. Following these definitions, a diverse area may be more or less segregated if members of various races live in isolation or share the same neighborhoods. Diversity and segregation thus remain distinct, a point reinforced by the modest empirical association between the two (DeFina and Hannon 2009; Farrell 2005; Iceland 2004).

Though conceptually distinguishable, ethnoracial diversity and segregation are both consequential features of community sociospatial organization. The implications of diversity have been examined not only for educational institutions but also for the economy, housing market, health care, human services, and taxes (Bean and Stevens 2003; Borjas 1999; Smith and Edmonston 1997). Research also analyzes the relationship between city or neighborhood diversity and social capital, trust, place attachment, crime, and intergroup relations (Hou and Wu 2009; Lee and Bean 2010; Putnam 2007). Overall, the empirical record concerning these issues is mixed, leading to positive, neutral, and negative assessments of diversity's impact (for overviews, see Lichter 2013; Lindsay and Singer 2003). In the case of segregation, the evidence is less equivocal. When minority groups (especially African Americans and Hispanics) are concentrated in neighborhoods separate from those occupied by whites, group members tend to suffer from deficits in health, safety, school performance, and employment, among other outcomes (Card and Rothstein 2006; Kramer and Hogue 2009; Peterson, Krivo, and Browning 2009). Simply put, their spatial isolation heightens their exposure to problems and reduces their access to resources and opportunities.[5]

Theoretical Perspectives

This range of effects justifies our task of documenting the direction and pervasiveness of trends in diversity and segregation over an extended period and for different types of communities. Two theoretical perspectives drawn from the racial segregation and locational attainment literatures can be used to formulate expectations about what kinds of trends we will find. The spatial assimilation model holds that as minority groups become more socially and economically integrated, their likelihood of sharing residential environments with whites and each other increases. With upward mobility and—for immigrants—increasing acculturation, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are predicted to pursue better-quality housing and communities (Alba and Logan 1991; Rosenbaum and Friedman 2007; South, Crowder, and Pais 2008). Evidence of the kinds of advancement believed to drive spatial assimilation is abundant. Numerous investigations document that, over time and across generations, most ethnoracial groups have registered gains in educational and occupational attainment, earnings, citizenship status, English-language proficiency, voting participation, and rates of intermarriage (Alba and Nee 2003; Bean and Stevens 2003; Clark 2003; Park and Myers 2010; White and Glick 2009; Xie and Goyette 2004).

The assimilation model has been employed primarily to understand spatial integration and group dispersion across neighborhoods, but it is germane to the residential options available to minority groups at higher geographic scales. Assimilation logic implies a future in which all groups are widely and similarly distributed across metropolitan and micropolitan areas and places in addition to neighborhoods. Over time, then, the racial-ethnic diversity of most community units should rise while segregation declines. That logic is qualified in the segmented variant of the assimilation model, which maintains that chances for minority immigrant incorporation vary by attributes such as race (dark skin tone), national origin, and age at arrival (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1999). All else equal, groups falling on the "right" and "wrong" sides of the color line should exhibit different residential patterns, with those on the "wrong" side unable to climb the socioeconomic and locational ladders of American society.

The ethnic stratification model goes further, citing significant barriers to spatial assimilation across the board. Audit studies show that minority home-seekers still face pernicious housing market discrimination (Pager and Shepherd 2008; Turner and Ross 2005). Another barrier is density zoning—also known as "snob" zoning—which can make it prohibitively expensive for minority households of modest means to enter white communities (Rothwell and Massey 2009). Even when they manage to do so, some whites appear sufficiently averse to the presence of other races that they exit in response (Crowder, Hall, and Tolnay 2011; Frey 1995). The stratification model also notes that own-group residential preferences, which are strong among newly arrived immigrants drawn to enclave-based resources and support, often persist over time (Charles 2006, 2007; Clark 2002).

In short, the model casts doubt on the prospects for increasing diversity or decreasing segregation as long as external constraints and self-selective processes operate. It predicts, at the extreme, that ethnoracial groups will live largely apart from each other at the community and neighborhood levels, clustered in different residential environments. This prediction need not be incompatible with spatial assimilation reasoning. A particular group, for example, may remain overrepresented in a handful of traditional metropolitan gateways (consistent with the stratification perspective) but move to a growing number of integrating suburban destinations within those gateways over time (evidence of spatial assimilation).

Previous Research

Neither the assimilation nor stratification models have seen much duty in research on racial-ethnic diversity, perhaps because the varied approaches to diversity obscure their relevance. One approach gauges the spread of a particular racial-ethnic group across locations (such as the percentage of all Asians nationally living in each metropolitan area). This research, which we refer to as "group-centric," suggests that, despite persistent tendencies toward concentration (Portes and Rumbaut 2006), the dispersion of most groups is under way, with increasing shares of Asians and especially Hispanics residing in rural settings, suburbs, and nongateway states and metro areas (Durand, Massey, and Charvet 2000; Lichter and Johnson 2006, 2009; Massey and Capoferro 2008). Here we take a "geocentric" approach that emphasizes the ethnoracial diversification of communities rather than group dispersion. Geocentric studies of large metropolises and cities document changes in racial-ethnic mix due to minority gains and, in some instances, white losses; such changes are now occurring beyond traditional metro "melting pots" (Berube 2003; Frey 2006, 2011b; Singer 2005; Suro and Singer 2003). Other studies find a rise in black, Hispanic, and Asian proportions—and, by implication, a rise in diversity—in suburban rings and places (Frey 2011a; Li 2009; Logan 2001; Wen, Lauderdale, and Kandula 2009).

Geocentric researchers often operationalize diversity rather crudely, calculating the proportion of minority residents in a community or employing arbitrary thresholds to establish group presence. We opt instead to highlight the number of ethnoracial groups that make up a community population and the sizes of the groups relative to each other (White 1986). Intuitively, a population marked by *evenness*—the presence of many groups of equal size—would be highly diverse. Statistical measures that conform to this refined meaning of diversity are available but rarely used in geocentric investigations (for exceptions, see Allen and Turner 1989; Johnson and Lichter 2010; Lee and Bean 2010). We rely on one such measure, the entropy index, throughout the chapter. However, an evenness-based approach can stress the magnitude of diversity to the neglect of a community's racial-ethnic structure, that is, the specific groups represented. As a precaution, our analysis incorporates complementary measures to capture both

dimensions (magnitude and structure) over the last three decades. The result is a more thorough and up-to-date portrait of diversity trends than previously provided.

In contrast to diversity, residential segregation has been heavily studied since the midtwentieth century (Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz 2002; Massey and Denton 1993; Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). Investigators now rely on well-established statistical tools such as the index of dissimilarity, the *P** family of exposure and isolation measures, and the information theory index to capture distinct aspects of segregation (Massey and Denton 1988; Reardon and Firebaugh 2002). Despite variation in which measures are used and how neighborhoods and groups are defined, research supports a few basic conclusions about post-1980 segregation patterns (Farley and Frey 1994; Iceland 2009; Logan and Stults 2011; Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004; Reardon et al. 2009). Perhaps the clearest conclusion is that blacks continue to be the most segregated minority group and Asians the least, while Hispanics occupy an intermediate position. Over time, however, differences among the groups have narrowed to some extent.

Black segregation declines are apparent in the majority of metropolitan areas, although scholars debate their magnitude (Glaeser and Vigdor 2012; Logan 2013). Average levels of Hispanic and Asian segregation, on the other hand, have held stable or, on the isolation dimension, have risen. The Hispanic and Asian trends appear to be due to the rapid growth of both groups (through natural increase as well as immigration), coupled with the gradual pace of household or individual assimilation; together, these processes have fostered the development and expansion of ethnic enclaves. Decreases in African American segregation are partly a function of redistribution dynamics—such as black migration to metropolitan areas in less-segregated regions of the country (Iceland, Sharp, and Timberlake 2013)—but black segregation tends to be lower in communities with a particular constellation of structural or ecological characteristics. Examples of these characteristics include small total and black populations, a high minority-to-white income ratio, recent housing construction activity, location in the West or South, and functional specialization as a government or military center (Farley and Frey 1994; Lee et al. 2008; Logan et al. 2004).

Our purpose is to fill some significant gaps in the segregation literature. For example, we move beyond the metropolitan emphasis in that literature and assess trends in micropolitan areas as well. Such areas, which consist of one or more nonmetro counties anchored by an urban core, have received scant attention but are assumed to be less segregated than their metropolitan counterparts. This assumption deserves closer scrutiny in light of block-level evidence reported by the sociologist Daniel Lichter and his associates (2007) that the levels of black and Hispanic segregation in nonmetro places are on a par with those in metro settings (for contrary Hispanic results, see Wahl, Breckenridge, and Gunkel 2007). In addition to an expanded geographic scope, we cover a greater number of groups than normal. First, unlike many previous studies, our research explicitly considers the segregation of whites rather than treating them as an unexamined referent. This approach is pertinent to the stratification model, which predicts a lag in white integration compared to other panethnic populations. Second, we analyze some of the detailed ethnoracial groups that constitute the broad panethnicities (see Crowder 1999; Galster, Metzger, and Waite 1999; Kim and White 2010). That is, we describe segregation patterns for Mexicans, Chinese, and other specific Hispanic and Asian groups across decades to determine how many of them are becoming more integrated.

Increasing integration should produce more neighborhoods with diverse compositions. Several investigators have confirmed this, showing a rise in multiethnic census tracts and a shrinking number of all-white and all-black tracts as a concomitant of Hispanic and Asian growth (Denton and Massey 1991; Farrell and Lee 2011; Holloway, Wright, and Ellis 2011; Logan and Zhang 2010, 2011). We focus on the long-term fate of multiethnic or mixed neighborhoods,

following them from 1980 through 2010. Comparative case studies identify the conditions under which mixed neighborhoods are able to preserve their multigroup structures over time (Maly 2005; Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart 1997), and some tract-based investigations reveal substantial persistence from one census year to the next (Ellen 2007; Fasenfest, Booza, and Metzger 2006).

In general, these findings adhere to spatial assimilation logic. Yet the ethnic stratification perspective—not to mention the succession model of racial-ethnic change—suggests that diversity should be considered a temporary phenomenon that occurs as a neighborhood transitions between two homogeneous states. The potentially fragile nature of diversity within neighborhoods is implied by the sensitivity of whites to mixed residential settings, manifested in their exits from such settings, their disinclination to move into them in the first place, and subsequent white population losses (Charles 2006; Crowder, Hall, and Tolnay 2011; Crowder, Pais, and South 2012; Friedman 2008).

Perhaps the most compelling recent work on neighborhood diversity has been conducted by the sociologists John Logan and Charles Zhang (2010, 2011), who document a dramatic increase and impressive degree of stability in what they term "global" neighborhoods, which contain nontrivial proportions of white, black, Hispanic, and Asian residents. However, they restrict their search for such neighborhoods to a handful of very ethnoracially diverse metropolitan areas. We take the next step, tracing the trajectories of mixed neighborhoods drawn from metropolitan and micropolitan areas throughout the United States. This more inclusive approach allows us to assess the generalizability of Logan and Zhang's results across a variety of settings. We also operationalize the concept of mixed neighborhood in a couple of different ways. We classify census tracts separately on the basis of racial-ethnic structure and diversity magnitude, paying particular attention to those tracts in which no group achieves majority status (Farrell and Lee 2011).

Type of Immigrant Context

No-majority neighborhoods may appear more often in communities boasting a large foreign-born population, especially if the members of that population hail from Latin America or Asia. Community racial diversity and segregation can be shaped by the number and origins of immigrant residents as well (Alba et al. 1995; White and Glick 1999). In recognition of these possibilities—and to gain additional comparative leverage—our analysis considers the kind of context that an area provides for immigrants. We benefit from the efforts of fellow scholars to develop typologies of "gateway" and "new destination" communities that take into account the historical settlement patterns of all immigrants or of the immigrant segments of selected ethnoracial groups (Hall 2013; Lichter et al. 2010; Singer 2005; Suro and Singer 2003). Some major metropolises such as New York and Chicago constitute what Audrey Singer (2005) refers to as continuous gateways. They have long histories of receiving and incorporating newcomers. Other metro areas formerly served that function or are only recently beginning to do so. Of course, the same area can be an established gateway and a new destination, depending on the group in question (Hall 2013).

Although elaborate typologies offer a valuable degree of precision, we opt to distinguish among three fundamental types of immigrant contexts. "Gateway" areas, marked by a high proportion of foreign-born, presumably have local economies, organizational infrastructures, support networks, and traditions that are attractive to immigrants. At the other extreme, we identify "native" contexts as those with a minimal immigrant presence. The remaining areas qualify as "outposts," at least in a relative sense: nontrivial shares of foreign-born people live in these

settings, but they lack the critical mass of coethnics and resources available in gateways. Sticking to fewer and simply defined types of contexts allows us to classify micropolitan as well as metropolitan areas as gateway, outpost, or native-dominant communities. The scheme also facilitates the formulation of hypotheses about ethnoracial diversity levels and trends. According to the spatial assimilation model, both community and neighborhood diversity should be highest in gateways but increasing in all types of contexts. From an ethnic stratification perspective, however, fewer mixed neighborhoods should exist, and neighborhoods in gateway areas are especially likely to become more homogeneous over time.

The implications of the two theoretical perspectives for context-specific differences in residential segregation (as distinct from diversity) are less straightforward. In line with assimilation reasoning, gateways might facilitate the local dispersion of Hispanics and Asians, allowing them to take advantage of enclave resources while living in suburbs and neighborhoods not dominated by coethnics (Hardwick and Meacham 2008; Price et al. 2005; Zelinsky and Lee 1998). Whites in gateway areas may also be more willing to share neighborhoods with minority group members, given the blurred ethnoracial boundaries and elevated intergroup exposure common to such areas. Each of these processes could contribute to a decline in segregation. But large concentrations of immigrants in gateway settings could just as easily fuel resistance to integration by native-born whites, which in turn might increase the appeal of enclave residences to Hispanics and Asians. This scenario, consistent with the principles of the stratification perspective, suggests stable or increasing segregation over time.

Following the same principles, it is possible that the arrival of immigrant groups in native contexts threatens incumbent residents. Any negative or hostile reactions from the incumbents may amplify immigrants' tendency to consolidate ethnic resources and band together residentially when they are few in number. Once again, however, a plausible alternative hypothesis can be posited: that the movement of Hispanic and Asian households to outpost and native areas is the spatial expression of upward socioeconomic mobility and acculturation. Households undertaking this kind of move should thus be the best able to attain favorable residential outcomes, including residential integration with other groups.

Suffice it to say that the range of alternative hypotheses available makes the comparison of segregation patterns across types of immigrant contexts a worthwhile objective, in both metropolitan and micropolitan areas. A comparative approach is further recommended by the unsettled empirical record to date. Some investigations document higher segregation levels among Hispanics and Asians in new destinations (akin to our outpost and native contexts) than in gateways (Hall 2013; Lichter et al. 2010). In other analyses, immigrants tend to be more segregated in the gateway areas (Alba et al. 2010; Fischer and Tienda 2006; Park and Iceland 2011).

GROUPS AND COMMUNITIES

Our assessment of trends in local racial-ethnic integration requires decisions about the groups and communities to be used in the analysis. With respect to groups, we rely on a handful of general categories that are panethnic in nature and widely recognized by researchers and the public. The race by Hispanic origin cross-tabulation in Summary File 1 of the 1990 through 2010 decennial censuses and in Summary File 2A of the 1980 census yields counts of Hispanics of any race and of non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Asians, Pacific Islanders (tabulated separately from Asians since 2000), Native Americans (American Indians and Alaska Natives), multi-race individuals (since 2000), and those reporting some other race. Small numbers in certain categories and modifications of the census classification scheme over time necessitate some recoding. Specifically, we combine Asians and Pacific Islanders into a single category (hereafter labeled

"Asians"), and we create a combined "other" category made up of Native Americans and multirace and other-race individuals. These adjustments leave us with five panethnic populations that are exhaustive, mutually exclusive, and comparable across censuses from 1980 through 2010: Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Asians, and "others."

Though practical, such broadly defined categories can mask variation in the residential experiences of people who belong to the same panethnic population but differ in their specific ethnoracial identity. Previous investigations, for example, have found nontrivial levels of segregation among specific Asian groups and among specific Hispanic groups (Kim and White 2010; Lobo et al. 2007; Zhou and Logan 1991). In recognition of this heterogeneity, our analysis periodically distinguishes among thirteen detailed Hispanic and Asian groups. These groups merit attention because they are the largest in their respective panethnic categories (accounting for 86 percent of all Hispanics and 85 percent of all Asians in 2010) and include many recent immigrants, making them of interest from a public policy standpoint. The seven Hispanic groups are Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Colombians. We also examine six Asian groups: Chinese, Filipinos, Asian Indians, Vietnamese, Koreans, and Japanese. Data on each Asian group and on three of the detailed Hispanic groups are available from 1980 forward. (Dominicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Colombians were not tabulated separately until 1990.)

Both panethnic and detailed racial-ethnic groups must be situated in communities to assess trends in their proximity to one other. Four types of census-recognized community units serve as cases during our analysis. Toward the higher end of the geographic scale, we focus on metropolitan and micropolitan areas. These areas qualify as communities because most of them have achieved a degree of self-sufficiency and approximate functional domains (such as housing and labor markets) where people live and work. Metropolitan areas contain at least one urbanized population of 50,000 or more, the central county (or counties) in which that population is located, and any surrounding counties that share strong commuting ties with the central county. Micropolitan areas are similar but smaller, comprising at least one urban cluster of 10,000 to 50,000 residents, the host core county, and any contiguous counties linked to the core via commuting (Frey et al. 2006). Although micro areas are core-based like metro areas, they are officially considered nonmetropolitan by the Census Bureau.

We impose December 2009 Office of Management and Budget (OMB) spatial definitions throughout the 1980–2010 period to obtain a constant number of cases with constant boundaries: 366 metropolitan areas and 576 micropolitan areas in each year, together capturing over nine-tenths of the total U.S. population.[6] (The remainder of the population inhabits stand-alone nonmetro nonmicro counties that are excluded from our study.) Despite the emphasis on areas, we occasionally refer to a third type of community: the "places" that exist within areas. The large majority of all places are incorporated municipalities—cities, suburbs, towns, and villages—and many coincide with school districts and service delivery zones. As government jurisdictions, they have fiscal and policy responsibility for any issues associated with shifts in racial-ethnic diversity or segregation that occur within their territory.

The last kind of community unit featured here is the census tract. Conceptually, tracts are among the census units (along with blocks and block groups) that correspond in a rough way to the popular notion of neighborhood. The U.S. Census Bureau (1997) defines a tract as a relatively compact, recognizable, and homogeneous territorial unit with stable boundaries and an optimum population of about 4,000, but deviations from the ideal exist on each of these criteria (Lee et al. 2008). In particular, boundary changes are common, leading us to impose 2010 boundaries throughout the three-decade span.[7] We employ tracts to address two of our guiding questions about trends in residential integration. They serve as building blocks across which we

calculate dissimilarity and information theory indexes in order to chart the degree to which metropolitan and micropolitan areas have become less segregated. We also utilize the magnitude and structure of tract diversity to identify ethnoracially mixed neighborhoods in 1980 and 1990 and to monitor their fate during subsequent decades.

Compositional patterns in tracts and places are expected to be contingent on the type of immigrant context provided by the surrounding area. As noted earlier, we have developed a simplified alternative to the increasingly complex typologies available. The first step in constructing our own typology involves classifying each metropolitan area as a gateway, outpost, or native context based on its foreign-born population at the end of each decade. The gateway designation is reserved for a metropolis with a percentage of foreign-born residents that is at least 1.75 times greater than the mean calculated across all metro areas in a given census year. At the other extreme, the percentage foreign-born in a native metropolis is one-fourth or less the mean for all areas. Outpost metro areas constitute an intermediate type of context, attracting some immigrants but lacking the critical mass present in gateways.[8]

Of the 366 metropolitan areas in our sample, 79 percent are classified the same way at the end of all three decades—as a gateway, outpost, or native context. The remaining 21 percent have a consistent designation for two of the three decades. In these instances, we assign an area to its majority type for the entire 1980–2010 period. We follow the same procedure with micropolitan areas, but the end-of-decade comparison of an area's foreign-born percentage is to the mean calculated across all micro areas. (The mean micro foreign-born share is only about one-half the size of the metro mean at each time point.) Like their metropolitan counterparts, virtually all of the micro areas (573 out of 576) qualify as consensus or majority types over the three decades of interest. The overall classification of the three micro areas that fall in a different category each year (for example, 1990 native, 2000 outpost, 2010 gateway) is based on their most recent (2010) type.

The potential utility of the immigrant context typology can be inferred by comparing the areas included in each type (see table 13.1). Although just 53 metropolises are defined as gateways, their average proportions of foreign-born, Hispanic, and Asian residents dwarf the proportions in outpost and native contexts. Moreover, these three groups exhibit high degrees of gateway concentration: among metropolitan dwellers nationally, three-fourths of all foreign-born persons, Hispanics, and Asians now live in gateway settings. What distinguishes the 110 outpost and especially the 203 native areas are their robust shares of whites and blacks. Similar differences by type of context occur for micropolitan areas, but the average micro foreign-born percentages lag well behind the metro percentages. As in the metro case, the distribution of micro areas across contexts is skewed toward the outpost (N = 162) and native (N = 338) types, with the remaining 76 areas meeting the gateway criterion.

DIVERSITY: MASTER TREND WITH VARIATIONS

Local diversity trends are embedded within a larger demographic landscape that has undergone a major transformation in racial-ethnic composition. Over the last thirty years, whites' share of the U.S. population has declined from four-fifths to less than two-thirds and blacks' share has remained nearly stable, but the Hispanic, Asian, and "other" slices of the population pie have tripled in size. Hispanics now constitute the largest minority group, surpassing African Americans. Some of the key forces fueling the rise of nonblack minorities include higher fertility rates, youthful age structures, intermarriage (and the ensuing multiracial offspring), switches in racial-ethnic self-identification, and, of course, large-scale immigration (Lee and Bean 2010; Lichter 2013).

TABLE 13.1 *Mean Population Characteristics of Metropolitan Areas in 1980 and 2010, Total and by Immigrant Context*

	1980 Mean	2010 Mean	1980–2010 Difference
All areas (N = 366)			
Population	499,907	705,786	205,879
Foreign-born	3.9%	7.8%	4.0%
White	83.3	71.5	–11.8
Black	9.4	10.5	1.1
Hispanic	5.4	12.4	7.0
Asian	0.9	2.8	1.9
Gateway areas (N = 53)			
Population	1,422,882	2,166,926	744,044
Foreign-born	10.8%	21.6%	10.8%
White	69.3	45.4	–23.9
Black	6.3	6.4	0.1
Hispanic	19.9	37.9	18.0
Asian	3.1	7.2	4.1
Outpost areas (N = 110)			
Population	479,332	690,436	211,104
Foreign-born	4.1%	8.7%	4.6%
White	84.6	71.3	–13.3
Black	8.3	9.3	0.9
Hispanic	5.2	13.5	8.3
Asian	0.8	3.0	2.2
Native areas (N = 203)			
Population	270,081	332,624	62,543
Foreign-born	1.9%	3.7%	1.8%
White	86.2	78.4	–7.8
Black	10.8	12.2	1.5
Hispanic	1.7	5.1	3.4
Asian	0.4	1.5	1.1

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

In light of the national transformation under way, the diversity trajectory for communities might seem inevitable. But there are good reasons to reserve judgment. The empirical literature, which shows group-specific patterns of spatial concentration amid dispersion, is mixed, giving us pause about rushing to local-level conclusions. So does the fact that few studies conceptualize or measure diversity directly or examine its trend line over multiple decades through 2010. Finally, our guiding theoretical perspectives lead to different predictions—one (spatial assimilation) pointing toward diversity increases across communities, and the other (ethnic stratification) toward stable or even declining diversity. Thus, a central question is worth asking: in which metropolitan and micropolitan areas are racial-ethnic groups more likely to live together than they were thirty years ago?

We address this question by examining the two dimensions of diversity noted previously. The magnitude of diversity is measured with the entropy index, symbolized by *E* (for more detail, see Massey and Denton 1988; Reardon and Firebaugh 2002; White 1986). The index reflects how evenly members of a population are spread across categories on some variable of

interest; in our case, the categories correspond to the five panethnic groups. *E* achieves its maximum value (the natural log of the number of groups) only when all groups are of equal size. Because *E* has no fixed upper limit, a community consisting of more equal-sized groups produces a higher *E* score than one with fewer equal-sized groups. To standardize the entropy index, we divide it by its maximum (1.609 for five groups), then multiply by 100. Fine-tuned in this way, an *E* value of 100 indicates complete heterogeneity, with each of the five panethnic groups representing one-fifth of the community population. At the opposite extreme, an *E* of 0 denotes complete homogeneity, with all residents belonging to the same group.

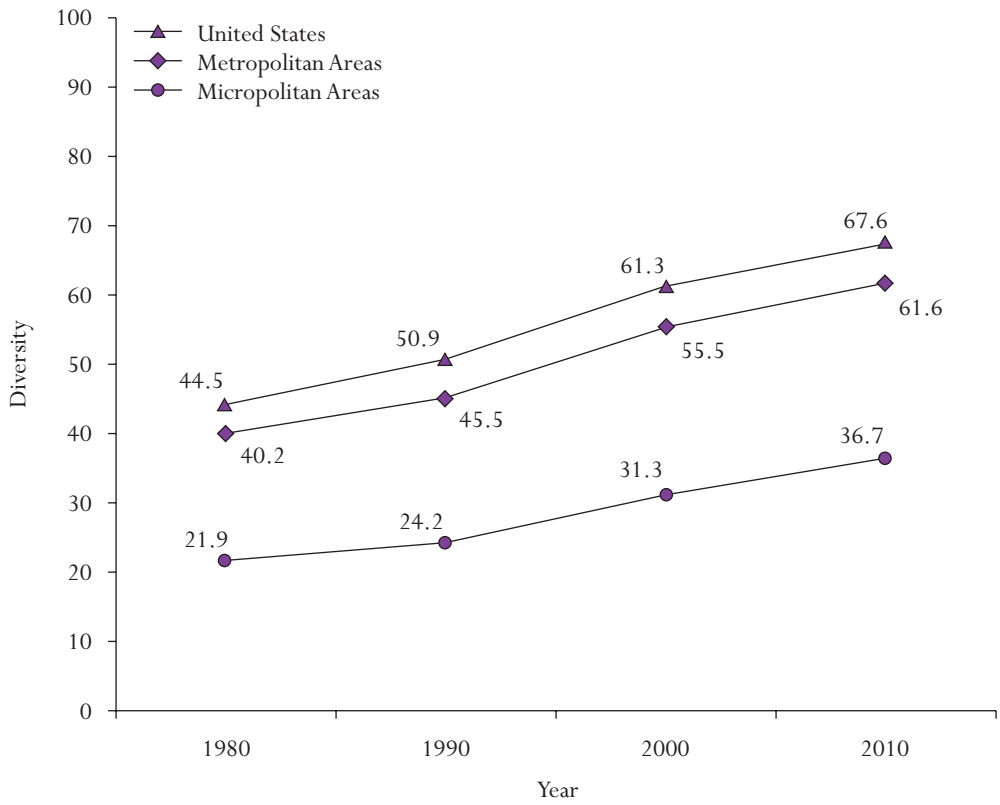
The second diversity dimension, racial-ethnic structure, refers to the specific groups present. Taking structure into account becomes important when one realizes that a community with equal numbers (thirds) of white, Asian, and Hispanic inhabitants receives the same *E* score as another community where Hispanics, blacks, and "others" each make up one-third of the population. We therefore supplement the entropy index with pie charts, bar graphs, and a "majority rule" typology (introduced shortly) that summarize the group proportions underlying the magnitude of diversity. Throughout the aggregate parts of the analysis, both group percentages and *E* values are weighted by a community's population size relative to the summed population of all communities with which it is classified (for example, all micropolitan areas or all gateway metropolitan areas). This weighting procedure generates means depicting the diversity magnitude and panethnic group proportions experienced by the average resident of a particular class of communities.

The entropy index is put to work in figure 13.1, which makes the master trend in one form of residential integration easy to see: just as the United States as a whole has become more diverse, so have its metropolitan and micropolitan areas. The weighted mean metro *E* scores closely shadowed the scores for the national population, climbing by over twenty points between 1980 ($E = 40$) and 2010 ($E = 62$). Micropolitan diversity increased steadily as well, although to levels only one-half to three-fifths those of metro areas. Indeed, the magnitude of diversity observed for the average micropolitan dweller in 2010 was less than that to which his or her metropolitan counterpart was exposed three decades prior. Patterns vary a bit by community population size and region. Larger, Western, and Southern metro and micro areas register higher diversity magnitudes at each time point (not shown).

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of the diversification trend is its prevalence: 98 percent of all metro areas and 97 percent of all micro areas exhibited upward movement during the thirty-year span, their increases in *E* ranging from negligible to extreme. The pervasiveness of this upward shift can be readily seen in figure 13.2, which displays scatterplots of 1980 diversity by 2010 diversity separately for individual metro and micro areas. In both plots nearly all of the cases fall above the diagonal line, reflective of diversity's ascent. As anticipated, the concentrations of micro areas in the lower left corner and close to the diagonal highlight their modest levels of and increases in *E* relative to those for metros. The biggest diversity jumps, however, are apparent for the handful of micropolitan areas close to and midway up the Y axis: they display 2010 *E* values in the 50 to 60 range, a sharp increase over the single-digit *E*s of 1980. Such increases in smaller communities may have been driven by new employment opportunities, such as the opening of a meat processing operation, a manufacturing plant, or a casino, each of which would draw members from a variety of ethnoracial groups in search of work. No metropolis experienced so substantial a rise during the same period.

Despite the almost universal diversification occurring among areas, a countertrend is evident for some of the census-defined places (cities, suburban municipalities, towns) located within them. Sociologists Barrett Lee and Lauren Hughes (forthcoming) have divided places with populations of 1,000 or more from 1980 through 2010 into "peak cohorts," based on the

FIGURE 13.1 *Weighted Mean Diversity of Metropolitan and Micropolitan Areas, 1980–2010*

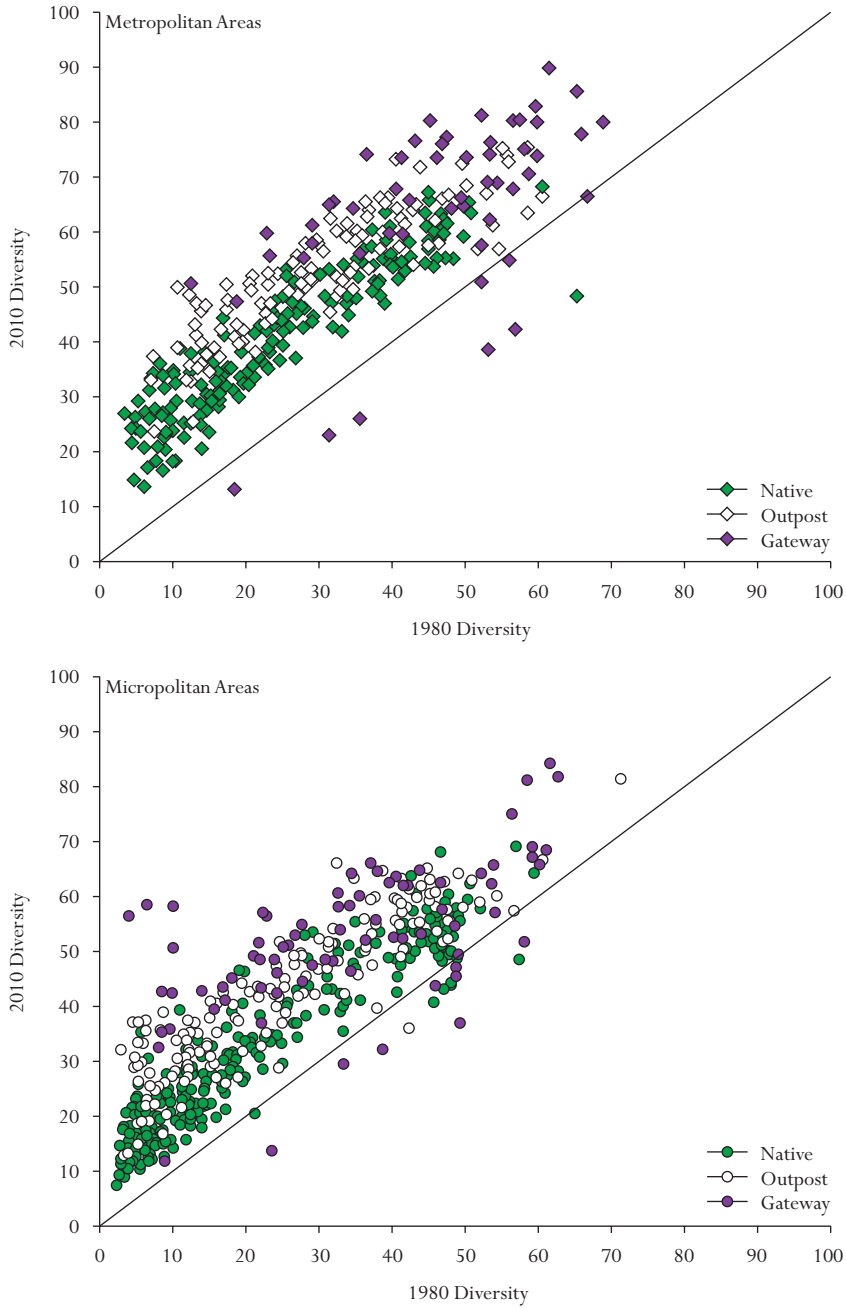


Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

census year of their maximum or peak diversity (highest *E* value). Both the 1980 and 1990 peak cohorts reach mean *E* values of approximately 50 in 1980, then the *E*s for the 1980 cohort decline to 37 by 2010, while those for the 1990 cohort rise to 60 in 1990 before returning to the near-50 level twenty years later. Simply put, the places in these cohorts have become more homogeneous than heterogeneous over an extended period. They did so when an ethnoracial group already in the majority became more dominant, when one majority group succeeded another, or when a complex compositional structure lacking any majority group eroded in the face of a surge by a particular segment of the population, often Hispanics. The key fact about the 1980 and 1990 peak cohorts, however, is how small they were, together containing fewer than 6 percent of all places. By contrast, the 2010 cohort alone captured roughly nine out of ten places. We thus conclude that a countertrend to diversification exists but amounts, relatively speaking, to a drop in the bucket at present.

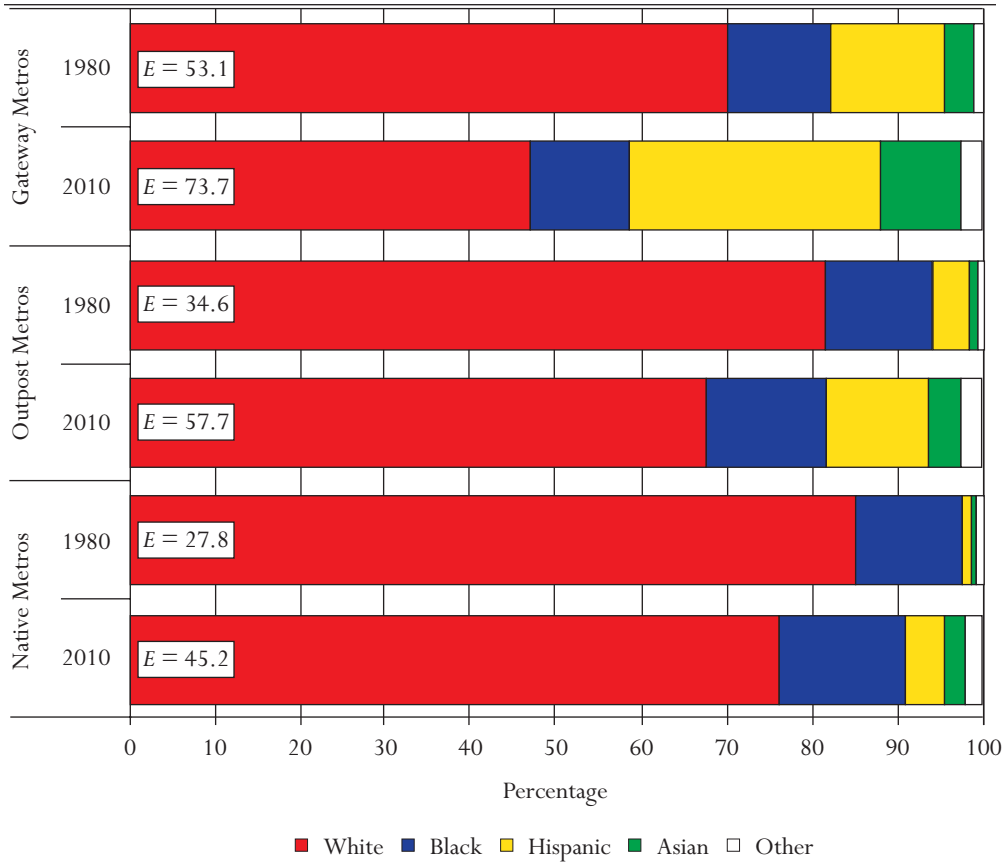
How does racial-ethnic diversity differ across our three types of immigrant contexts? The results for metropolitan areas in figure 13.3 best correspond to the expectations of spatial assimilation theory. According to the 1980 mean entropy scores (in the boxes at the left edge of

FIGURE 13.2 *1980 and 2010 Diversity of Metropolitan and Micropolitan Areas, by Immigrant Context*



Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

FIGURE 13.3 *Weighted Mean Racial-Ethnic Composition of Metropolitan Areas, by Immigrant Context, 1980 and 2010*

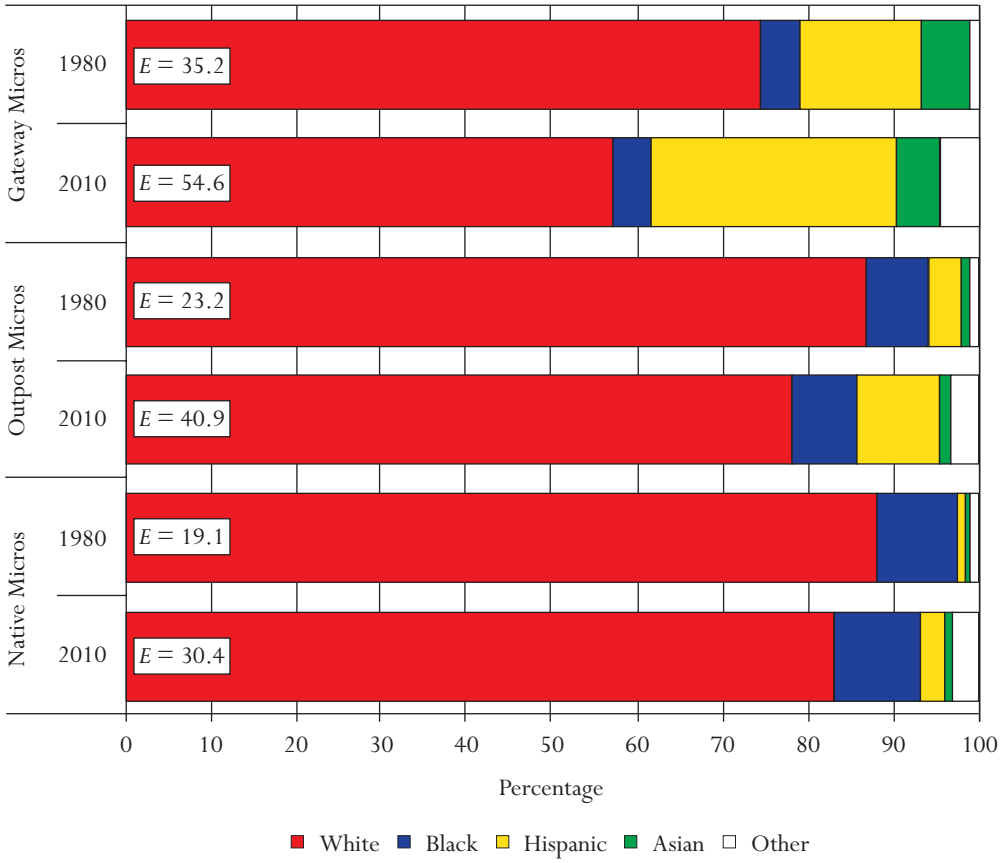


Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

the horizontal bars), the magnitude of diversity diminishes as one moves from gateway through outpost to native metro contexts. This order holds in 2010: outpost and native areas registered major percentage changes in *E,* but they still lagged far behind the gateway settings. The persistent diversity advantage enjoyed by gateways manifests itself in micropolitan areas (see figure 13.4) as well as metropolitan ones. Gateway advantages in diversity magnitude and change are also visible in disaggregated form, via the shading of areas by type of immigrant context in the figure 13.2 metro and micro scatterplots.

Gateway communities have especially rich racial-ethnic structures (reflected in the segments of the figures' horizontal bars). Compared to outpost and native contexts, the white share of the population in immigrant gateways is lower and has shrunk more substantially, to the point that whites on average account for fewer than half of all residents in gateway metro areas. The relative decline of whites can be traced to a major rise in the number of Hispanics, not only in gateways but in outposts as well. As of 2010, Hispanics constituted about three-tenths of both metro gateway and micro gateway populations. Mean Asian representation has also increased in marked fashion in metro gateways and outposts. The percentage of black inhabitants was fairly

FIGURE 13.4 *Weighted Mean Racial-Ethnic Composition of Micropolitan Areas, by Immigrant Context, 1980 and 2010*



Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

stable between 1980 and 2010 across all types of metro and micro contexts. Not surprisingly, blacks remain the largest minority in native metropolitan and micropolitan areas, which are less likely to host immigrant-rich groups.

The kind of context offered by an area should shape the ethnoracial diversity of the cities, suburbs, and towns within its boundaries. But in what ways? A simple "majority rule" typology allows us to shed light on this issue. Table 13.2 classifies metropolitan places with at least 1,000 residents in 1980 and 2010 into white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and other majority types depending on which group made up more than 50 percent of the local population. White-majority places are further subdivided into dominant (90 percent or more white) and shared (51 to 89 percent white) subtypes. Finally, in no-majority communities, three or four racial-ethnic groups are present but none has achieved more than a plurality.

A comparison of the 1980 and 2010 distributions of all metro places (top panel of the table) reveals three noteworthy patterns: a decline in the percentage of white-majority places, an increase in no-majority and minority-majority places, and rising diversity levels for every type of

TABLE 13.2 *Distribution and Diversity of Metropolitan Places by Racial-Ethnic Structure and Immigrant Context, 1980 and 2010*

	Percentage of Places		Weighted Mean Diversity	
	1980	2010	1980	2010
All metro places				
White majority	93.8	82.4	35.3	49.3
Dominant	65.6	31.9	13.3	19.9
Shared	28.2	50.6	48.6	54.2
Black majority	2.4	4.1	49.5	55.3
Hispanic majority	2.1	5.9	49.0	50.1
Asian majority	0.3	0.4	60.0	68.2
Other majority	0.1	0.2	18.1	26.4
No majority	1.4	7.2	71.8	78.8
N of places	7,439	10,166		
Places in gateway metros				
White majority	87.7	66.1	44.0	55.2
Dominant	49.9	10.5	16.1	21.3
Shared	37.7	55.6	54.1	57.4
Black majority	2.6	4.0	51.3	56.1
Hispanic majority	5.7	14.4	46.5	48.8
Asian majority	0.9	1.1	60.0	68.2
Other majority	0.1	0.1	19.7	26.6
No majority	3.2	14.5	73.2	80.3
N of places	2,351	3,448		
Places in outpost metros				
White majority	96.4	88.8	30.3	49.8
Dominant	70.2	31.3	13.0	20.9
Shared	26.2	57.5	44.0	54.1
Black majority	1.6	2.9	50.2	55.9
Hispanic majority	1.0	3.1	56.3	57.7
Asian majority	0.0	0.0	—	76.5
Other majority	0.1	0.1	71.9	5.8
No majority	0.8	5.0	60.9	74.7
N of places	2,199	2,998		
Places in native metros				
White majority	96.7	92.4	27.1	43.0
Dominant	74.9	52.1	11.2	18.9
Shared	21.9	40.4	41.6	50.7
Black majority	2.8	5.1	43.4	54.3
Hispanic majority	0.0	0.2	—	62.8
Asian majority	0.0	0.0	—	—
Other majority	0.1	0.2	24.2	31.1
No majority	0.3	2.1	49.7	67.0
N of places	2,889	3,720		

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

place save those with a Hispanic majority, which exhibited stable mean *E* values. These patterns are amplified significantly in gateway metro areas (second panel): as of 2010, two-thirds of all gateway places fell in the white-majority category, down from nine-tenths in 1980, and white-dominant places dropped from one-half to one-tenth of the total. Hispanic-majority and no-majority communities, on the other hand, have become much more common, each constituting 14 percent of the 2010 gateway sample. Moreover, average diversity reached its highest magnitude in no-majority places located in the metro gateways. A quite different profile emerges for outpost and native metro areas, where both Hispanic-majority and no-majority places remain uncommon.

A separate analysis (not shown) suggests that the shift toward diverse types of places is more pronounced in micropolitan gateways than in their metropolitan counterparts. White-dominant places, for example, made up one-third of the 1980 micro gateway sample but only one-twentieth three decades later, while the share of no-majority places climbed from less than 3 percent to over 20 percent. However, few micro places are located in gateway settings (one-seventh of the micro total versus one-third of all metro places). Most can be found in native micro areas, where over half of the places still qualify as white-dominant and both no-majority and Hispanic-majority communities continue to be rare. At the same time, the proportion of black-majority places in native micro areas has increased and is greater than in native metro contexts.

The aggregate trends documented so far are important, but they mask differences in the diversity dimension of integration across specific communities. We bring the extent of such differences into sharp relief by comparing the most and least diverse metropolitan and micropolitan areas nationally. Metro gateways in the West and South are disproportionately represented among the twenty-five areas with the highest 2010 *E* scores in table 13.3. Three California metro areas—Vallejo–Fairfield, San Francisco–Oakland, and Stockton—sit atop the list, which includes seven other areas from the Golden State. The California areas typically have higher proportions of Asian residents than do other metropolises, accompanied by sizable white and Hispanic populations. Blacks are more prominent than Asians in areas outside of California, with the exception of Honolulu. The distinctive racial-ethnic structure of Honolulu features an Asian majority and a substantial percentage of "others" (primarily mixed-race individuals). Consistent with their gateway status, most of the top twenty-five metropolitan communities house large shares of immigrants, led by Miami–Fort Lauderdale (38 percent foreign-born), San Jose (36 percent), and Los Angeles (34 percent).

Contrary to popular perception, high levels of diversity are not limited to metropolitan America. The twenty-five most diverse micropolitan areas in table 13.4 have 2010 entropy scores in the 63 to 84 range. Hawaiian micro gateways Hilo, Kahului–Wailuku, and Kapaa rank first, second, and fourth, respectively, and their multigroup compositions and large numbers of foreign-born residents resemble what we have described for metropolitan settings. But Lumberton, North Carolina, the third most diverse micro area, illustrates another common pattern: few immigrants but a high percentage of "others," typically Native Americans. Diverse micropolitan areas similar to Lumberton are found in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. These communities highlight the distinction between a very diverse population and a large foreign-born population: it is possible to have the former without the latter.

A large foreign-born population can also exist without an extremely diverse population, as an inspection of the *least* diverse metro and micro areas demonstrates. Laredo, Texas, exhibits the lowest *E* score (13) of any metropolis, thanks to an overwhelmingly Hispanic majority (96 percent) that contains many immigrants; a few other Texas areas are homogeneously Hispanic as well. Usually, however, the most homogeneous metropolitan and micropolitan communities are all-white and qualify as native contexts. They tend to be concentrated in the Midwest and North-

TABLE 13.3 *Population Characteristics of Twenty-Five Most Diverse Metropolitan Areas, 2010*

	Diversity	Percentage White	Percentage Black	Percentage Hispanic	Percentage Asian	Percentage Other	Percentage Foreign-Born	Immigrant Context
Vallejo–Fairfield, Calif.	89.3	40.8	14.2	24.0	15.1	5.9	19.9	Gateway
San Francisco–Oakland, Calif.	85.3	42.4	8.1	21.7	23.6	4.2	29.8	Gateway
Stockton, Calif.	82.5	35.9	7.1	38.9	14.3	3.9	23.3	Gateway
Washington, D.C.	80.8	48.6	25.2	13.8	9.3	3.1	21.0	Gateway
New York, N.Y.	80.5	48.9	16.1	22.9	9.9	2.3	28.3	Gateway
San Jose, Calif.	80.1	35.3	2.3	27.8	31.2	3.4	36.5	Gateway
Las Vegas, Nev.	79.8	48.0	10.0	29.1	9.1	3.8	22.1	Gateway
Houston, Tex.	79.6	39.7	16.8	35.3	6.5	1.7	22.0	Gateway
Los Angeles–Long Beach, Calif.	79.6	31.6	6.7	44.4	14.7	2.5	34.4	Gateway
Honolulu, Hawaii	77.6	19.1	1.9	8.1	52.1	18.9	19.5	Gateway
Sacramento, Calif.	76.9	55.7	7.0	20.2	12.4	4.7	17.2	Gateway
Trenton–Ewing, N.J.	76.3	54.5	19.5	15.1	8.9	2.0	19.7	Gateway
San Diego, Calif.	76.2	48.5	4.7	32.0	11.0	3.7	23.1	Gateway
Dallas–Fort Worth, Tex.	75.9	50.2	14.8	27.5	5.4	2.1	17.3	Gateway
Fayetteville, N.C.	75.3	46.4	35.3	9.8	2.3	6.2	5.7	Outpost
Miami–Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	74.9	34.8	19.7	41.6	2.2	1.7	37.8	Gateway
Killeen, Tex.	74.9	54.0	18.6	20.3	3.2	3.9	7.7	Outpost
Orlando, Fla.	73.9	53.3	15.0	25.2	4.0	2.5	16.2	Gateway
Lawton, Okla.	73.9	58.9	16.8	11.2	2.7	10.5	5.3	Outpost
Chicago, Ill.	73.7	55.0	17.1	20.7	5.6	1.7	17.5	Gateway
Riverside–San Bernardino, Calif.	73.5	36.6	7.1	47.3	6.2	2.8	22.0	Gateway
Fresno, Calif.	73.2	32.7	4.8	50.3	9.4	2.7	21.7	Gateway
Atlantic City, N.J.	73.0	58.6	14.9	16.8	7.5	2.2	15.4	Gateway
Yuba City, Calif.	73.0	54.0	2.3	27.1	11.2	5.3	18.3	Gateway
Atlanta, Ga.	73.0	50.7	31.9	10.4	4.8	2.2	13.5	Outpost

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary File 1).

TABLE 13.4 *Population Characteristics of Twenty-Five Most Diverse Micropolitan Areas, 2010*

	Diversity	Percentage White	Percentage Black	Percentage Hispanic	Percentage Asian	Percentage Other	Percentage Foreign-Born	Immigrant Context
Hilo, Hawaii	83.7	31.2	0.5	11.6	32.7	24.0	11.2	Gateway
Kahului–Wailuku, Hawaii	81.5	31.8	0.5	10.1	37.9	19.7	15.8	Gateway
Lumberton, N.C.	81.1	27.0	24.1	8.1	0.8	40.0	5.7	Outpost
Kapaa, Hawaii	80.8	30.7	0.4	9.4	38.8	20.7	13.7	Gateway
Kodiak, Alaska	74.7	52.5	0.6	7.3	19.9	19.6	16.5	Gateway
Grants, N.M.	70.4	21.5	0.8	36.5	0.6	40.6	2.7	Native
Laurinburg, N.C.	68.8	45.9	38.4	2.1	0.8	12.8	1.8	Native
Clewiston, Fla.	68.6	34.9	12.9	49.2	0.7	2.3	27.8	Gateway
Bay City, Tex.	68.1	47.4	11.1	38.3	1.9	1.3	10.2	Gateway
Muskogee, Okla.	67.6	58.3	11.2	5.2	0.6	24.8	2.8	Native
Alamogordo, N.M.	66.8	52.8	3.2	34.5	1.3	8.1	10.5	Gateway
Safford, Ariz.	66.3	51.6	1.6	33.6	0.6	12.6	4.9	Outpost
Crescent City, Calif.	65.7	64.7	3.4	17.8	3.4	10.7	7.3	Outpost
Huntsville, Tex.	65.7	58.5	22.2	16.8	0.9	1.6	8.3	Gateway
Sanford, N.C.	65.6	59.3	19.6	18.3	0.8	1.9	11.0	Gateway
El Campo, Tex.	65.4	47.7	13.7	37.4	0.4	0.8	7.9	Gateway
Wilson, N.C.	64.8	49.4	38.7	9.5	0.8	1.5	6.8	Outpost
Corsicana, Tex.	64.5	59.9	13.6	23.8	1.3	1.5	10.7	Gateway
Nacogdoches, Tex.	64.4	61.5	17.9	17.6	1.2	1.7	8.4	Outpost
Moultrie, Ga.	64.2	58.8	22.3	17.1	0.7	1.2	10.6	Gateway
Show Low, Ariz.	64.0	43.9	0.8	10.8	0.6	44.0	2.6	Native
Clovis, N.M.	63.9	50.7	5.7	39.5	1.2	2.8	7.9	Gateway
Morgan City, La.	63.8	57.2	32.3	5.3	1.7	3.4	3.7	Outpost
Mount Pleasant, Tex.	63.8	49.2	9.3	39.6	0.7	1.2	19.3	Gateway
Arcadia, Fla.	63.4	56.1	12.4	29.9	0.5	1.1	19.6	Gateway

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary File 1).

east, although five of the twenty-five least diverse metro areas fall wholly or partly within the state of West Virginia. Pennsylvania stands out with five of the least diverse micro areas and three of the least diverse metro areas nationally. Maine, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin are among the other states containing multiple areas of high homogeneity.

These extremely diverse and highly homogeneous communities anchor the upper and lower portions of hierarchies that have remained quite stable in recent decades. Little shifting is apparent between 1980 and 2010 in where all 366 metropolitan areas ranked with respect to the magnitude of racial-ethnic diversity (Spearman $r = 0.89$). A comparison of 1980 and 2010 diversity ranks for all micropolitan areas reveals an equally impressive degree of stability (Spearman $r = 0.88$). Among subsets of metro and micro areas distinguished by type of immigrant context, rank-order correlations are weaker (in the 0.60 to 0.62 range) for gateways, presumably owing to the compositional effects of differential Hispanic and Asian growth rates in the more dynamic gateway settings. For the most part, however, the near-universal increases in diversity experienced by communities of every type have only nominally altered the relative positions of these communities—that is, how they stack up against each other over time.

Given the parallel paths followed, it seems reasonable to speculate that the community characteristics associated with ethnoracial diversity might also be temporally robust. Elsewhere we have confirmed that speculation, estimating 1980 and 2010 cross-sectional regression models for metropolitan areas, micropolitan areas, and places of 10,000 or more (Lee, Iceland, and Sharp 2012; Lee, Farrell, and Sharp 2013). A consistent profile of the correlates of diversity emerges, irrespective of year or census geography. In general, more diverse areas and places tend to be located in coastal or Southern border states and have larger populations, lower minority incomes (relative to whites), plentiful rental-occupancy housing, higher rates of government or military employment, and smaller proportions of retirees and college students. Many of these correlates are identified as theoretically or empirically relevant in the diversity literature (Allen and Turner 1989; Farrell 2005; Hall and Lee 2010).

Immigrant context matters as well. In a respecification of the original models for this chapter, we use dummy variables to capture type of context for areas (not shown). The 2010 metro and micro equations reveal that the gateway and outpost indicators exhibited significant positive associations with ethnoracial diversity (compared to the native reference category) even when controlling for other characteristics of areas. Similar but weaker findings for immigrant context can be observed in 1980, with only the metro gateway type achieving statistical significance. The continued growth of supportive institutions, networks, and enclaves across both gateway and outpost areas may partly explain the more prominent role of immigrant context in 2010 than in 1980. Another possibility is that the shifting origins of immigrants in recent decades—most now come from Latin America and Asia—have increased the empirical overlap between foreign-born and minority populations, which are captured in our immigrant context and diversity measures, respectively.[9]

Overall, the results in this section provide a tentative answer to our initial question about trends in residential integration. Consistent with the spatial assimilation perspective, virtually all communities have changed in the same direction as the nation has over the last thirty years, becoming more diverse owing to Hispanic and Asian growth. Levels of and gains in diversity have been greater in metro than in micro areas and in gateway settings than in other types of immigrant contexts. Marked differences also exist in diversity magnitude and racial-ethnic structure across individual areas. However, the 2010 diversity hierarchy—where communities rank in relation to each other—looked much as it did in 1980, as did the community characteristics associated with diversity.

SEGREGATION: PERVASIVE DECLINE?

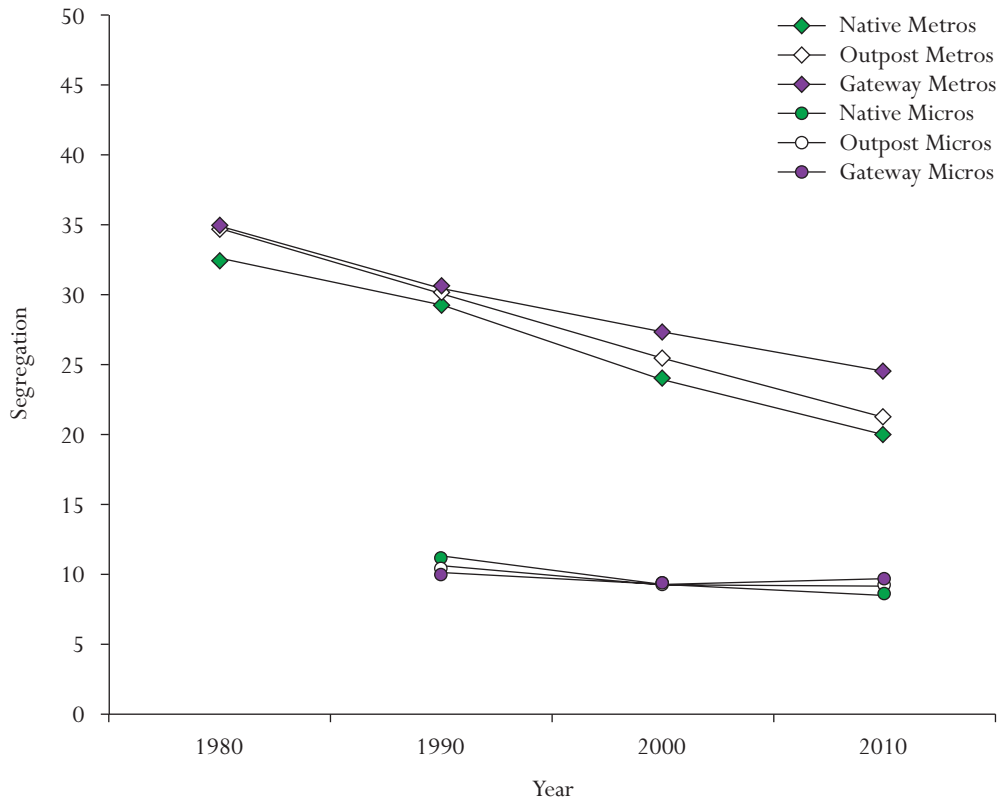
Increasing diversification in metropolitan and micropolitan areas across the country does not necessarily mean that people of different ethnoracial groups are now more apt to share neighborhoods. It could be that whites continue to prefer to live with other whites and minority group members likewise feel more comfortable living with coethnics. According to the spatial assimilation perspective, however, we should expect to see diminishing residential segregation over time as minority residents experience socioeconomic gains and—in the case of immigrants—become more acculturated. Both of these processes are anticipated to result in improved housing and neighborhood outcomes, including closer proximity to members of other racial-ethnic groups. In contrast, the ethnic stratification model emphasizes the continuing salience of race and discrimination. It predicts that high levels of segregation, even in the face of nationwide increases in diversity, will remain pervasive or rise further. Here we evaluate the relevance of each perspective to our second guiding question: does integration, broadly construed, manifest itself as declining segregation?

To address this question, we spatially disaggregate the racial-ethnic compositions of metro and micro areas, examining how different groups are distributed across the census tracts that make up an area. Only tracts that approximate residential neighborhoods—those that have at least 100 residents, fewer than one-fourth of whom occupy institutionalized group quarters such as prisons or hospitals—are eligible for the analysis. The areas in which the tracts are located also have to meet certain eligibility criteria. For a metropolitan area, the rule is simple: its population must contain 1,000 or more members of the ethnoracial group of interest in a given year. Because of the smaller size of micropolitan areas, we set the group bar lower, requiring a minimum of 100 members. But each micro area still needs to be substantial overall, with 10 or more tracts and a total population of at least 10,000. Because much micropolitan territory was untracted in 1980, the temporal window on micro areas is limited to the 1990–2010 period.

Our examination of census data for eligible areas, tracts, and groups indicates that, consistent with the assimilation perspective, increasing diversity has been accompanied by steady declines in residential segregation. We illustrate these declines in metropolitan and micropolitan areas using the multigroup information theory index (or Theil's *H*), which measures how evenly multiple ethnoracial groups are distributed across neighborhoods within the broader area. More specifically, *H* reflects the extent to which the diversity of census tracts (tapped by the entropy index *E*) differs from the diversity of the area as a whole (for more detailed treatments, see Farrell 2008; Reardon and Firebaugh 2002). If every tract is about as diverse as its metro or micro area, then segregation is very low. Conversely, if every tract is homogeneous (containing just one group), then segregation is very high. The information theory index varies from 0 to 100, with higher numbers indicating greater segregation. Weighting mean *H* values by the population size of metro areas or micro areas allows us to interpret these values as the magnitude of multigroup segregation that the average resident of each type of area experiences in a particular year.

We find that *H* has declined substantially in metropolitan areas, from 34 in 1980 to 23 in 2010 (figure 13.5). That is, metro residents now live in census tracts that, on average, are 23 percent less diverse (or more segregated) than the metropolis as a whole, down from 34 percent less diverse three decades earlier. This decline can be seen in all immigrant contexts, but it is a little less pronounced for gateway metro areas. By 2010, the highest average *H* values were evident in gateway metro areas and the lowest in native areas. Levels of multigroup segregation for micropolitan areas were quite modest (*H*s in the 9 to 11 range) throughout the 1990–2010 period, indicating small differences between mean tract diversity and micro-wide diversity. This pattern is consistent with previous work finding lower racial-ethnic segregation in smaller metro

FIGURE 13.5 *Weighted Panethnic Multigroup Segregation in Metropolitan and Micropolitan Areas, by Immigrant Context, 1980–2010*



Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

areas and places than in larger ones (Farley and Frey 1994; Iceland et al. 2002; Logan et al. 2004). Beyond slight decreases in *H,* not much change occurred during the two decades. Neither did overall levels and trends vary much by type of micropolitan immigrant context. Native micro areas were about as segregated as micro outposts and gateways, and all experienced minimal changes. In general, then, different ethnoracial groups now live in fairly similar census tracts across micropolitan America.

One concern with multigroup segregation measures such as *H* is that they can mask the variation in segregation experienced by specific groups. To guard against this possibility, we turn to the popular index of dissimilarity, symbolized by *D* (Massey and Denton 1988). The dissimilarity index, like the information theory index, is a measure of evenness. It describes the proportion of a group's population that would have to change residences for each neighborhood (census tract) to have the same ethnoracial composition as the metropolitan or micropolitan area as a whole. The scores in table 13.5 reveal the segregation of metropolitan whites, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and "others" from all nongroup members over the last thirty years. A common rule of thumb is that dissimilarity scores exceeding 60 are high, those from 30 to 60 are moderate, and those below 30 are low. The *D*s in the table are weighted by the metro or context-specific popu-

TABLE 13.5 *Weighted Mean Dissimilarity Indices for Panethnic Groups, by Metropolitan Immigrant Context, 1980–2010*

	1980	1990	2000	2010	2010–1980 Difference
White					
All metros	56.3	52.5	49.2	45.5	–10.8
Gateway metros	57.3	52.9	51.5	49.0	–8.3
Outpost metros	56.1	52.0	48.5	44.2	–11.9
Native metros	55.4	52.5	47.4	42.9	–12.5
Black					
All metros	71.5	66.0	61.1	55.0	–16.5
Gateway metros	74.6	67.2	61.7	55.6	–19.0
Outpost metros	71.9	67.2	61.7	54.8	–17.1
Native metros	66.4	62.9	59.4	54.3	–12.1
Hispanic					
All metros	47.6	46.2	46.3	43.5	–4.1
Gateway metros	49.3	47.6	47.7	45.2	–4.1
Outpost metros	44.0	42.4	42.7	39.7	–4.3
Native metros	30.4	31.9	34.7	34.9	4.5
Asian					
All metros	38.1	39.1	39.3	39.2	1.1
Gateway metros	38.6	39.4	40.2	40.3	1.7
Outpost metros	34.9	37.0	36.1	35.4	0.5
Native metros	37.7	39.3	37.1	36.9	–0.8
Other					
All metros	32.1	31.4	25.5	23.6	–8.5
Gateway metros	30.6	29.5	26.0	24.8	–5.8
Outpost metros	32.2	30.0	22.7	19.6	–12.6
Native metros	36.5	37.1	28.4	26.5	–10.0

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

lation size of the group in question, capturing the magnitude of segregation experienced by the average group member who lives in that type of setting. The results in each row are based on a constant sample of metro areas that satisfy our eligibility criterion: namely, they contain 1,000 or more members of the group at every time point.[10]

According to the top panel of the table, average white segregation from all nonwhites declined from 56 to 46 between 1980 and 2010. White segregation remained moderate across all kinds of immigrant contexts, although it was slightly higher in metropolitan gateways. Declines in these gateways were larger for whites than for any group save blacks, and white declines reached double digits in outpost and native areas. Blacks (second panel) represented the most segregated group in each year; at the same time, they experienced the greatest decreases over the three-decade period. In 1980 mean black segregation from nonblacks was quite high in absolute terms ($D = 72$), but by 2010 segregation had fallen into the more moderate range ($D = 55$). The largest decline in black segregation took place in gateway metro areas (nineteen points) and the smallest in native metros (twelve points). This finding aligns with previous research showing that growing diversity is associated with declines in black segregation, particularly in metro areas of the South and West (Iceland 2004; Iceland et al. 2013). In such areas, other

groups—Hispanics in particular—may have softened the color lines and served as buffers between historically separate white and black populations, resulting in less segregation of blacks from nonblacks (Frey and Farley 1996).

The buffering mechanism can take several forms. For example, Hispanics may adopt a spatially intermediate position between whites and blacks at the neighborhood level and thus increase intergroup exposure. The presence of Hispanics may also alert real estate agents, lenders, and residents to a new, more diverse housing market in which discriminatory practices that target any single minority group are less likely to have the intended impact. Finally, the presence of multiple groups may serve to reduce black-white tensions in what had been rigidly divided black-white cities.

The rest of table 13.5 shows that metropolitan Hispanics and Asians were moderately segregated from all others in 2010 ($D = 44$ for Hispanics and 39 for Asians). However, modest declines occurred in Hispanic segregation during the preceding thirty years, while Asian segregation remained essentially stable. Among both groups, average *D* scores tended to be higher in gateway metros than in other immigrant contexts. Hispanic segregation declined in gateway and outpost metro areas by about four points but increased in native areas by nearly five points. We are not certain what explains this pattern, but it does have the effect of narrowing the differences in Hispanic segregation across the three types of immigrant contexts over time (see Park and Iceland 2011). Finally, the "other" racial-ethnic group (bottom panel) exhibited a low level of segregation in 1980, and that level decreased over time for all immigrant contexts.

Micropolitan residential segregation, reported in table 13.6, resembles its metropolitan counterpart in some respects but diverges in others.[11] As is the case with the information theory index, mean segregation levels for whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are lower in micro areas than metro areas. We also observe declines in black and white segregation in almost all immigrant contexts. Micro gateways constitute the lone exception, where white *D* values have been basically constant from 1990 to the present. In contrast, black declines were once again largest in gateway areas. Unlike the metro case, Hispanic segregation increased, if slightly, in micro areas in general and in gateway and outpost settings in particular, while Asian segregation decreased across most types of contexts. Nontrivial declines in micropolitan segregation are apparent for the "other" group, similar to the metro trend in table 13.5.

Beyond the mean patterns just described, progress toward residential integration can be inferred from how widespread declining segregation is geographically. Figure 13.6 focuses on the percentage of metropolitan areas experiencing declines in segregation overall and for each panethnic population. Slightly more than four-fifths of metro areas underwent declines in multigroup *H* from 1980 through 2010, and such declines were most prevalent in the last decade. Shifting to *D,* four-fifths of metro areas also witnessed a drop in white segregation, and black segregation decreased in virtually all metro areas (96 percent) during the past thirty years. The percentage of metro areas with downward-trending Hispanic and Asian segregation was closer to half. Micropolitan patterns paralleled those for metropolitan areas. Substantial majorities of micro areas experienced a 1990–2010 decline in multigroup (73 percent), white (69 percent), and black (82 percent) segregation. Roughly one-half of all micro areas exhibited a decline in Hispanic segregation (49 percent), but decreases in Asian (82 percent) and "other" (91 percent) segregation are apparent for many more over the past two decades.

Examining residential segregation for Hispanic and Asian panethnic populations ignores potential differences among the specific groups that make up these populations. In table 13.7, we drill below the panethnic level. The left half of the table reports the average extent of segregation between detailed Hispanic groups and nongroup members in metro areas as of 2010. Dominicans, many of whom have at least partial African ancestry, were the most segregated

TABLE 13.6 *Weighted Mean Dissimilarity Indices for Panethnic Groups, by Micropolitan Immigrant Context, 1990–2010*

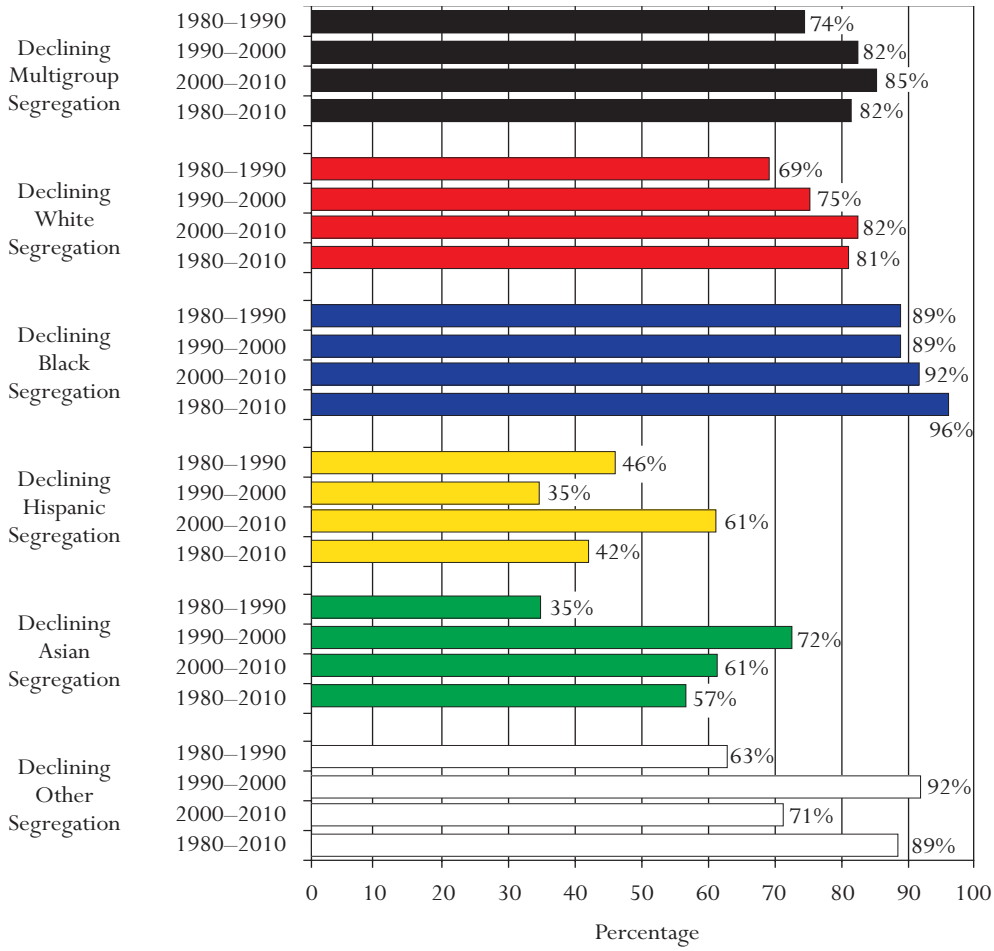
	1990	2000	2010	2010–1990 Difference
White				
All micros	31.5	28.7	28.3	–3.2
Gateway micros	30.0	29.5	29.9	–0.1
Outpost micros	29.6	28.4	28.3	–1.3
Native micros	32.7	28.7	28.1	–4.6
Black				
All micros	40.0	38.1	37.1	–2.9
Gateway micros	42.8	35.8	32.3	–10.5
Outpost micros	37.6	35.5	35.5	–2.1
Native micros	40.8	39.4	38.4	–2.4
Hispanic				
All micros	28.3	30.1	30.2	1.9
Gateway micros	28.5	29.7	30.7	2.2
Outpost micros	28.7	32.4	31.2	2.5
Native micros	27.3	27.6	27.8	0.5
Asian				
All micros	30.6	28.6	27.8	–2.8
Gateway micros	28.6	28.1	28.4	–0.2
Outpost micros	34.8	28.0	26.4	–8.4
Native micros	35.2	30.8	27.9	–7.3
Other				
All micros	46.2	37.7	36.1	–10.1
Gateway micros	34.9	22.5	23.6	–11.3
Outpost micros	45.2	35.1	35.4	–9.8
Native micros	48.0	42.0	38.7	–9.3

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary File 1).

group ($D = 57$), followed by Guatemalans and Cubans (both around 50) and Salvadorans (49). Mexicans (42), Puerto Ricans (41), and Colombians (40), on the other hand, had the lowest dissimilarity scores. There was no uniform pattern across groups by type of immigrant context. Among many groups (Colombians, Dominicans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans) segregation was highest in native metro areas, but two of the more prominent groups (Cubans and Mexicans) were most segregated in gateway contexts. Mirroring general declines in panethnic Hispanic metro segregation, every detailed Hispanic group experienced decreasing segregation from 1990 through 2010 (not shown).[12] The decrease was smallest for Mexicans (only two points) and in the thirteen- to nineteen-point range for every other group except Cubans (eight-point drop). Declines tended to be larger in outpost metropolises than elsewhere, although this pattern did not hold across all groups.

Among Asian ethnic groups (right half of table 13.7), segregation in 2010 was lowest for the Japanese ($D = 34$), who have not been replenished by recent immigration flows. Mean D scores were also low for Filipinos (36) and in the 47 to 51 range for the rest of the Asian groups. Again, differences by immigrant context are inconsistent, with segregation being higher in gateway metro areas for some groups but higher in native metros for other groups. The magnitude

FIGURE 13.6 *Metropolitan Areas Experiencing Declining Segregation, 1980–2010*



Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

of metropolitan segregation has declined for most groups since 1990 (not shown).[13] Exceptions to this rule include Asian Indians, who experienced a two-point increase in dissimilarity, and Koreans, whose segregation level remained stable. Among all of the detailed groups, declines have been most prominent in native metro areas, reflecting the pattern for Asians as a whole.

To further enrich our results for specific ethnic groups, we examine segregation in six large metro areas located throughout the United States: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and Denver. The first two are high-profile immigrant gateways that rank among the ten most diverse metropolises nationally. However, New York has also traditionally had substantial levels of black and white segregation, and despite declines in recent decades, both of these groups remained highly segregated (in the 60 to 65 range) in 2010, as table 13.8 documents. Hispanic and Asian *D* scores (49 for both groups in 2010) were also above their respective national averages. All of the detailed Hispanic groups became less segregated between 1990 and 2010 except Mexicans, who are relative newcomers to metropolitan New York. The

TABLE 13.7 *Weighted Mean Dissimilarity Indices for Detailed Hispanic and Asian Groups, by Metropolitan Immigrant Context, 2010*

	Dissimilarity	N		Dissimilarity	N
Colombian			Asian Indian		
All metros	39.6	66	All metros	47.9	170
Gateway metros	39.9	24	Gateway metros	47.4	40
Outpost metros	37.5	33	Outpost metros	47.5	66
Native metros	42.4	9	Native metros	52.6	64
Cuban			Chinese		
All metros	50.2	77	All metros	47.4	160
Gateway metros	52.9	23	Gateway metros	48.8	40
Outpost metros	36.5	37	Outpost metros	40.6	71
Native metros	42.2	17	Native metros	44.2	49
Dominican			Filipino		
All metros	56.8	62	All metros	36.2	161
Gateway metros	57.4	20	Gateway metros	37.5	47
Outpost metros	50.6	31	Outpost metros	30.4	66
Native metros	63.9	11	Native metros	29.8	48
Guatemalan			Japanese		
All metros	50.4	91	All metros	33.8	98
Gateway metros	49.2	31	Gateway metros	34.4	37
Outpost metros	53.8	37	Outpost metros	29.6	41
Native metros	60.3	23	Native metros	35.3	20
Mexican			Korean		
All metros	41.8	309	All metros	47.4	125
Gateway metros	42.5	51	Gateway metros	49.7	33
Outpost metros	40.5	96	Outpost metros	41.5	54
Native metros	36.5	162	Native metros	40.3	38
Puerto Rican			Vietnamese		
All metros	40.9	164	All metros	50.9	126
Gateway metros	39.0	39	Gateway metros	52.0	34
Outpost metros	43.9	63	Outpost metros	48.1	48
Native metros	41.7	62	Native metros	49.0	44
Salvadoran					
All metros	48.7	77			
Gateway metros	48.1	34			
Outpost metros	51.6	31			
Native metros	58.1	12			

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary File 1).

patterns for Asian ethnic groups appear more mixed, with some experiencing increasing segregation (Asian Indians, Chinese, and Koreans) and others declines in segregation (Filipinos, Japanese, and Vietnamese).

Los Angeles provides an interesting contrast to New York in that white, black, and Hispanic segregation levels were all similar in 2010 (*D*s between 52 and 55), but only black segregation had decreased over the preceding two decades. Asian segregation, though still lower than among other groups (2010 $D = 44$), increased by a small amount. Two Hispanic ethnic groups in Los

TABLE 13.8 *Dissimilarity Indices for Panethnic and Detailed Groups in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, 1990–2010*

	New York			Los Angeles			Chicago		
	1990 D	2010 D	2010–1990 Difference	1990 D	2010 D	2010–1990 Difference	1990 D	2010 D	2010–1990 Difference
White	66.4	60.3	–6.1	55.4	54.9	–0.5	66.5	54.9	–11.6
Black	72.7	64.7	–7.9	65.0	53.8	–11.2	82.2	72.0	–10.2
Hispanic	55.4	49.3	–6.1	50.5	51.6	1.1	59.6	54.0	–5.6
Colombian	61.8	47.3	–14.5	55.9	31.0	–25.0	75.9	41.3	–34.6
Cuban	50.9	36.7	–14.1	37.9	30.0	–7.8	52.1	36.2	–15.9
Dominican	70.9	59.7	–11.1	89.3	50.2	–39.1	92.4	55.0	–37.4
Guatemalan	78.8	55.9	–22.9	55.9	45.3	–10.6	81.2	50.9	–30.3
Mexican	50.4	54.4	4.0	49.6	48.0	–1.5	59.4	55.1	–4.3
Puerto Rican	56.9	43.3	–13.6	23.8	22.6	–1.2	66.9	44.9	–22.0
Salvadoran	74.7	62.1	–12.6	56.5	45.0	–11.5	88.3	53.6	–34.7
Other Hispanic	40.0	38.7	–1.3	24.8	21.1	–3.7	40.8	32.8	–8.0
Asian	45.9	48.9	3.0	40.1	43.7	3.6	50.2	47.3	–2.9
Asian Indian	47.5	50.0	2.6	39.4	43.5	4.1	56.6	55.3	–1.3
Chinese	56.4	58.6	2.1	53.7	58.4	4.7	58.1	53.9	–4.2
Filipino	49.3	43.1	–6.2	42.8	37.5	–5.3	51.4	40.9	–10.5
Japanese	63.7	52.9	–10.8	43.7	42.6	–1.1	55.9	44.8	–11.1
Korean	58.2	59.6	1.4	52.4	56.5	4.1	58.6	53.2	–5.4
Vietnamese	62.7	50.3	–12.3	54.5	61.8	7.3	67.8	53.0	–14.8
Other Asian	52.8	48.6	–4.2	47.1	55.7	8.6	56.0	36.2	–19.8
Other	37.4	31.9	–5.4	17.7	18.9	1.2	32.2	20.1	–12.1

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary File 1).

Angeles, Colombians and Dominicans, experienced dramatic downturns in segregation. However, the small size of these groups may make their results prone to large fluctuations associated with random data variability. While the Chicago metro area (like New York) has a history of very high black and white segregation (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965), we observe substantial declines (ten to twelve points) in the *D* values for both groups from 1990 to 2010. Chicago has also had a large Hispanic presence for years, and segregation levels for this panethnic population and its component groups are moderate and declining. Asian segregation is moderate and declining as well.

The nation's capital, Washington, D.C., is another city with a long-standing black-white divide. Yet in recent decades it has become among the most diverse metropolitan areas in the United States, thanks to an influx of immigrants from many different Latin American, Asian, and African countries (Price et al. 2005). As shown in the left portion of table 13.9, the segregation magnitudes of white and black Washingtonians fell in the moderate range by 2010 (*D*s = 46 and 56, respectively) after declines during the previous two decades. Hispanic segregation inched up slightly, from 38 in 1990 to 40 in 2010. Asian segregation is lower and fairly stable over time. Most but not all of the specific Hispanic and Asian ethnic groups in metropolitan Washington have experienced segregation declines since 1990.

The final two case study sites qualify as outposts in our immigrant context typology. Atlanta is a southern metropolitan hub where white and black segregation levels decreased markedly between 1990 and 2010 (by eleven and fourteen points). Meanwhile, Hispanic segregation

TABLE 13.9 *Dissimilarity Indices for Panethnic and Detailed Groups in Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and Denver, 1990–2010*

	Washington, D.C.			Atlanta			Denver		
	1990 D	2010 D	2010–1990 Difference	1990 D	2010 D	2010–1990 Difference	1990 D	2010 D	2010–1990 Difference
White	52.3	46.2	–6.1	61.9	50.8	–11.1	42.7	42.7	0.0
Black	63.9	55.6	–8.3	68.1	54.5	–13.5	63.8	55.2	–8.7
Hispanic	38.3	40.3	2.0	30.9	43.4	12.5	44.9	45.4	0.5
Colombian	60.7	32.1	–28.6	69.3	42.7	–26.7	N/A	33.7	N/A
Cuban	33.9	24.4	–9.5	35.9	23.4	–12.6	37.0	27.3	–9.7
Dominican	78.5	42.8	–35.7	N/A	38.2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Guatemalan	69.6	50.2	–19.4	N/A	62.9	N/A	N/A	44.9	N/A
Mexican	30.4	33.9	3.5	42.9	51.1	8.2	45.8	47.2	1.4
Puerto Rican	27.3	24.0	–3.3	29.9	20.6	–9.4	32.5	22.9	–9.7
Salvadoran	66.6	51.0	–15.6	87.7	56.5	–31.2	N/A	50.9	N/A
Other Hispanic	37.5	35.2	–2.3	29.6	31.9	2.3	38.9	27.6	–11.3
Asian	35.9	36.3	0.4	40.7	43.4	2.7	26.4	26.3	–0.1
Asian Indian	40.0	40.1	0.1	45.3	47.3	2.0	43.2	41.7	–1.5
Chinese	41.6	41.2	–0.4	48.5	46.7	–1.7	36.5	30.7	–5.8
Filipino	34.8	27.0	–7.8	37.1	25.3	–11.8	33.4	24.3	–9.1
Japanese	38.0	31.7	–6.3	47.3	37.1	–10.2	22.0	17.9	–4.0
Korean	45.9	46.3	0.4	47.2	56.0	8.8	39.8	38.0	–1.7
Vietnamese	51.7	45.9	–5.8	60.9	55.3	–5.7	51.6	43.1	–8.5
Other Asian	40.0	28.9	–11.1	53.0	35.3	–17.7	50.7	45.3	–5.4
Other	21.2	15.3	–5.9	21.2	16.8	–4.4	26.0	14.6	–11.4

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary File 1).

climbed by thirteen points during the same period. Mexicans appear to be responsible for this trend. They are the lone Hispanic ethnic group with a rise in *D,* and their numbers increased from roughly 22,000 to 289,000. Shifting from the South to the Mountain West, Denver exhibits rather low levels of white and black segregation (*D*s = 43 and 55, respectively) compared to other large metro areas, and black segregation has declined significantly during the twenty-year observation window. Hispanic and Asian panethnic *D* scores remained stable in Denver, despite a majority of specific groups undergoing segregation declines.

Several important messages emerge from the foregoing analysis. One is that the dominant trend in multigroup residential segregation has been downward during the last few decades, driven mainly by declines in black and white segregation. For most of the period Hispanics and Asians have been less segregated than whites and blacks, although levels for the former two groups changed little over time. By 2010, Hispanic and white segregation levels had nearly converged. Among Hispanics, we see small declines in metropolitan segregation and increases in micropolitan segregation. Among Asians the pattern is reversed, with small increases in metro segregation and declines in micro segregation. Although there is significant variation in segregation magnitudes and trends among detailed Hispanic and Asian ethnic groups, their dissimilarity scores have tended to be in the moderate range. For some groups segregation is higher in metro gateways, while for others it is higher in native metro areas; thus, generalizations about how the type of immigrant context shapes segregation patterns are difficult.

What we can conclude in terms of theory is that growing ethnoracial diversity across metropolitan and micropolitan America does *not* go hand in hand with consistently high (or rising) levels of neighborhood segregation, as anticipated by the ethnic stratification perspective. In fact, greater diversity may help soften the traditional black-white color line, rendering housing market dynamics more complex and ultimately reducing segregation for these two groups in many communities.[14] Neither do diversification and immigration appear to be elevating segregation to a notable extent among Hispanics and Asians. Even as immigrant newcomers settle in enclaves, it is likely that ethnic group members and their children who have been in the United States for longer periods of time are living in more integrated settings, consistent with the logic of spatial assimilation (Iceland 2009; Iceland and Scopilliti 2008; White and Glick 2009).

THE FATE OF MIXED NEIGHBORHOODS

Rising metropolitan and micropolitan diversity confirms that members of different ethnoracial groups are not averse to sharing residential environments at a macro-geographic scale. Moreover, recent segregation trends point to increasing similarity in how these groups are distributed across neighborhoods. In this section, we consider a third and final question about integration broadly construed: what happens to individual neighborhoods inhabited by multiple groups? Such neighborhoods, though historically a small proportion of the total, deserve attention because of theoretical disagreement about their prevalence and future. Namely, is racial and ethnic mixing at the neighborhood level becoming more common over time (as predicted by the spatial assimilation perspective), or is it still rare and temporary, giving way to greater homogeneity (as predicted by ethnic stratification)? We bring new evidence to bear on this debate by considering the universe of all metro and micro neighborhoods (census tracts) in the United States. The tracts that first achieved a mixed state in 1980 or 1990 are featured to take advantage of the longer period over which their trajectories can be observed.

We operationalize mixed neighborhood in two ways. Within our majority rule typology, no-majority tracts qualify as mixed. These tracts, which lack any group that constitutes more than 50 percent of the population, tend to have very diverse racial-ethnic compositions. The second definitional strategy entails identifying mixed tracts based on their diversity magnitude. If the range of possible standardized entropy index values is divided into quintiles (0–19, 20–39, 40–59, 60–79, 80–100), mixed tracts are those with *E* scores that equal or exceed 60. The 60-or-greater standard means that a tract was at least as diverse as the average metropolitan area in 2010 (see figure 13.1). Both the majority rule and diversity magnitude approaches have been successfully employed in a recent study of neighborhood change in the 100 largest metropolises (Farrell and Lee 2011).

Our presentation of results emphasizes the no-majority version of a mixed neighborhood. Not only does the no-majority empirical story closely correspond to the story for high-diversity tracts, but the categories in the majority rule typology convey more information about ethnoracial structure than do *E* score quintiles. We take one other shortcut here: focusing on metropolitan rather than micropolitan tracts. As pointed out in the segregation analysis, the large portion of micropolitan territory not tracted in 1980 constrains the period during which mixed tracts can be observed. More important, however, is the fact that mixed neighborhoods are few and far between in micropolitan America. Of the 5,361 eligible census tracts, only a relative handful satisfied either the no-majority (N = 63) or high-diversity (N = 75) definition of a mixed neighborhood in 1990, although their numbers did climb modestly by 2010 (to 165 and 340, respectively). This paucity of mixed tracts in micro areas is in itself a significant substantive finding.

TABLE 13.10 *Transitions in Racial-Ethnic Structure of Metropolitan Tracts, 1980–2010*

1980 Type of Structure	2010 Type of Structure							
	White Dominant	White Shared	Black Majority	Hispanic Majority	Asian Majority	Other Majority	No Majority	N of Tracts
White dominant	31.4%	60.5%	1.9%	1.1%	0.1%	0.0%	5.0%	29,045
White shared	1.1	48.2	8.3	16.7	1.9	0.0	23.8	16,947
Black majority	0.0	3.7	80.1	8.0	0.2	0.0	8.0	4,079
Hispanic majority	0.1	2.8	0.5	91.2	0.7	0.0	4.7	1,901
Asian majority	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	94.7	0.0	4.3	187
Other majority	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	87.5	8.3	24
No majority	0.0	8.4	12.3	43.4	8.9	0.3	26.9	1,461
N of tracts	9,308	26,061	5,436	5,838	674	32	6,295	53,644

Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

The transition matrix in table 13.10 classifies all metropolitan census tracts by their majority rule type in 1980 (rows) and 2010 (columns). One clear lesson from the matrix concerns the dramatic increase in the prevalence of no-majority tracts. As reported in the table marginals, some 1,461 tracts (out of 53,644) lacked a majority racial-ethnic group in 1980, but their number had more than quadrupled—to 6,295, or approximately 12 percent of all metro tracts—three decades later. Hispanic- and Asian-majority neighborhoods also became much more common; indeed, by 2010 Hispanic-majority tracts outnumbered those with a black majority. At the other extreme, white-dominant neighborhoods (in which the white share of residents equaled or exceeded 90 percent) experienced a precipitous decline. Only 9,308 tracts qualified as white-dominant in 2010, compared to three times that many—and over half of all tracts—at the beginning of the period.

Another key finding speaks to the persistence of no-majority neighborhoods: whether they remain mixed or shift to a different type of ethnoracial composition. The seventh row of table 13.10 captures tracts meeting the no-majority definition in 1980; entries indicate the percentage of the tracts in each majority rule type thirty years later. Just over one-fourth (27 percent) of the tracts in the 1980 no-majority cohort were still mixed (that is, no-majority) as of 2010. Most of the rest (43 percent) transitioned to the Hispanic-majority type, while others wound up in black-majority, Asian-majority, and white-shared (50 to 89 percent white) "destinations." At first glance, then, mixed neighborhoods appear fairly unstable. This point is reinforced by the high persistence of the other neighborhood types. As the diagonal percentages show, four-fifths or more of the 1980-defined black-, Hispanic-, and Asian-majority tracts retained the same classification over an extended time. When Hispanic- and Asian-majority tracts did change, their most likely 2010 destination was the no-majority type. Black-majority tracts were equally likely to become no-majority or Hispanic-majority in composition.[15]

To develop a fuller picture of mixed neighborhoods, we examine their prevalence and persistence across our three kinds of immigrant contexts (table 13.11). Our focus is on 1980–2010 transitions in majority rule type for no-majority tracts located in gateway, outpost, and native metropolitan areas. Younger cohorts of no-majority tracts, which first satisfy the definitional criterion in 1990 or 2000, are included along with the 1980 cohort for comparative purposes. This exercise reveals that cohort size increased each census year. We can also see that no-majority neighborhoods were far more prevalent in gateway metro areas than in other contexts.

TABLE 13.11 *Transitions in Racial-Ethnic Structure for Cohorts of Metropolitan No-Majority Tracts, Total and by Immigrant Context*

	2010 Type of Structure							Mean Diversity		
Context/Cohort	White Dominant	White Shared	Black Majority	Hispanic Majority	Asian Majority	Other Majority	No Majority	Time 1	2010	N of Tracts
All areas										
1980	0.0%	8.4%	12.3%	43.4%	8.9%	0.3%	26.8%	69.7	59.5	1,461
1990	0.0	4.5	10.5	44.2	9.6	0.2	31.0	70.2	63.7	1,817
2000	0.0	4.8	8.5	28.9	3.2	0.1	54.6	73.4	70.9	3,266
Gateway areas										
1980	0.1	7.0	8.6	46.1	10.4	0.1	27.8	71.3	60.4	1,232
1990	0.0	3.1	5.6	47.9	11.6	0.1	31.7	71.7	64.2	1,477
2000	0.0	4.3	3.8	32.5	4.4	0.0	54.9	75.0	72.0	2,338
Outpost areas										
1980	0.0	16.2	24.7	36.4	1.3	1.3	20.1	62.7	55.2	154
1990	0.0	10.3	24.6	33.7	1.2	0.4	29.8	65.3	62.5	252
2000	0.0	4.7	16.2	23.4	0.1	0.0	55.5	71.4	69.5	679
Native areas										
1980	0.0	14.7	46.7	13.3	0.0	1.3	24.0	58.0	54.1	75
1990	0.0	10.2	53.4	12.5	0.0	1.1	22.7	57.6	57.8	88
2000	0.0	9.6	31.3	9.6	0.0	0.8	48.6	64.4	64.6	249

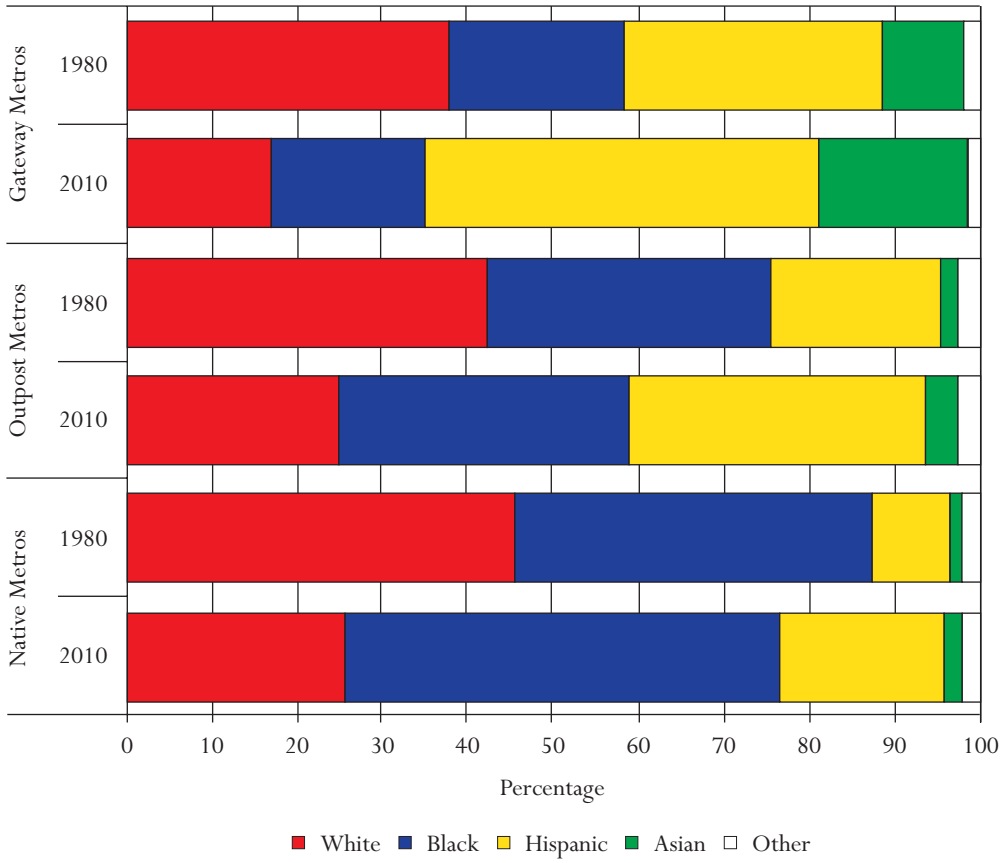
Source: Authors' calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

Of the 23,374 total gateway tracts, 1,232 (or a little over 5 percent) qualified as no-majority in 1980, compared to 154 (0.9 percent) and 75 (0.5 percent) in outpost and native areas, respectively. The gaps between contexts widened for the 1990 and 2000 cohorts.

Gateway no-majority neighborhoods are distinctive in three additional ways. First, the 1980 and 1990 gateway cohorts exhibited somewhat greater persistence than their outpost and native counterparts. That is, they were more likely to sustain their no-majority racial-ethnic structures for multiple decades. The second difference has to do with the destinations of tracts that lost their no-majority status. Nearly half of the tracts in the 1980 and 1990 gateway cohorts changed to Hispanic-majority and another tenth to Asian-majority. In outpost metropolises, the most common destinations were (in order of frequency) Hispanic- and black-majority and white-shared types. Roughly one-half of the 1980 and 1990 no-majority tracts in native metro areas became black-majority neighborhoods by 2010.

The third thing to note about the gateway no-majority neighborhoods is that they stayed racially and ethnically diverse despite rather low persistence rates. Mean diversity levels (*E* scores) had decreased by 2010, but the 1980 and 1990 gateway cohorts manifested higher diversity at the beginning and end of their observation periods than no-majority tracts in other kinds of immigrant contexts. We should stress, however, that mixed neighborhoods in all contexts have managed to maintain complex albeit evolving multigroup compositions over a long time span. Figure 13.7 documents this fact in a visually compelling manner. Each pair of horizontal bars provides a comparison between the average 1980 and 2010 racial-ethnic structures of gateway, outpost, and native tracts defined as no-majority in 1980.

FIGURE 13.7 *Mean Racial-Ethnic Composition of 1980 Metropolitan No-Majority Tracts in 1980 and 2010, by Immigrant Context*



Source: Author's calculations based on U.S. decennial census data (Summary Files 1 and 2A).

Once again the variation by immigrant context is striking. Tracts in the gateway metro areas approximate Logan and Zhang's (2010) global neighborhoods, in which the four principal pan-ethnic groups constitute nontrivial shares of the population. Their four-group structure is the result of marked gains in the size of the Hispanic and Asian shares and a substantial shrinkage of the white share over time. Outpost and native 1980 no-majority tracts also experienced Hispanic expansion and white contraction. However, the Asian share remained small in the outpost and native tracts, and the black share—larger to begin with than in the gateway areas—stayed the same or increased. In outpost settings, these shifts eroded whites' plurality and produced a composition that is now roughly one-third Hispanic, one-third black, and one-fourth white. The mean composition of no-majority neighborhoods in the native areas changed from primarily white and black to a three-group structure that now includes Hispanics and is dominated by blacks.

The group-specific population gains and losses underlying these compositional transformations are fairly intuitive. The number of whites, for example, decreased by three-fifths or more during the study period in 1980 no-majority tracts located in each type of immigrant context.

Also as expected, Hispanic populations exhibited 80 to 100 percent growth rates across all three contexts. Asian growth was most impressive in outpost no-majority neighborhoods, doubling the Hispanic rate, but it operated on a small 1980 base and thus had boosted Asians' proportional representation only modestly by 2010. Black populations in no-majority tracts were far more stable than those of the other panethnic groups. Yet the greatest average 1980–2010 black decline (–11.9 percent) occurred in native areas where African Americans increased their proportional share of no-majority neighborhood residents from two-fifths to one-half between the two census years.

In sum, the results for no-majority neighborhoods are consistent with aspects of both spatial assimilation and ethnic stratification. The rising number of such neighborhoods and their greater persistence in gateway areas than in other kinds of immigrant contexts aligns with expectations based on the assimilation perspective. Yet the low overall persistence rate for the 1980 cohort of no-majority tracts conforms to ethnic stratification reasoning, as does the loss of white residents from these tracts as they transition to Hispanic-, Asian-, or black-majority types (see also Holloway et al. 2011). Our assessment of the evidence favoring stratification should be tempered by the conservative approach taken here, namely, defining mixed neighborhoods in no-majority terms. When mixing is operationalized as a high level of diversity (a tract *E* score in the 60-or-greater range), the 1980 high-diversity tracts were more likely than the no-majority tracts to retain a mixed status through 2010.[16] Nevertheless, the changes in the racial-ethnic structure of the former are similar to those in no-majority neighborhoods, most notably a substantial decline over three decades in the proportion of high-diversity tracts that exhibited white-majority or plurality compositions. The potential for long-term stability in neighborhoods with mixed racial-ethnic compositions thus remains far from certain. An obvious next step involves looking beneath the panethnic level to see if particular combinations of detailed groups make such stability more or less likely.

CONCLUSION

Viewed in its entirety, the evidence presented here offers an affirmative response to the question posed in our chapter's title. Integration—a concept we define as the likelihood of different ethnoracial groups sharing the same community environments—has increased in important respects since 1980. A near-universal trend toward greater diversity is under way across metropolitan and micropolitan areas as their racial-ethnic structures become more complex owing to Hispanic and Asian growth. During the same period, multigroup segregation has decreased, fueled by substantial declines in the extent to which whites and blacks live in separate neighborhoods. Indeed, the proliferation of mixed, no-majority neighborhoods constitutes one of the most striking changes documented, and it accompanies a sharp contraction in the number of white-dominant tracts. These results suggest a shift from homogeneity to heterogeneity at both macro and local geographic scales.

From a theoretical vantage point, our findings seem most consistent with the spatial assimilation perspective. This perspective predicts rising community diversity as minority households gradually translate socioeconomic mobility and acculturation into desirable residential outcomes, achieving closer proximity to whites (and to other groups) with the passage of time. There are reasons to be cautious, however, about unconditionally embracing assimilation. One concern centers on group-specific patterns that diverge from the hypothesized path, such as the minimal changes in segregation experienced by Hispanic and Asian panethnic populations over the last three decades. Another concern is that support for the assimilation perspective varies by scale. In the smallest environments that we examine (tracts), three or more groups are often

present. The most diverse of these settings, no-majority neighborhoods, have become relatively common in metropolitan gateways. Yet their distinctive racial-ethnic compositions appear fragile, presumably because of whites' aversion to integration. As the number of white residents dwindles, no-majority neighborhoods move toward a minority-majority structure, in line with the logic of the ethnic stratification model.

At the opposite end of the scale continuum, marked differences in integration exist between metropolitan and micropolitan areas. Micro areas lag thirty years or more behind metro areas in average diversity magnitude, and micro segregation levels are lower and exhibit smaller gains and losses over time. It is also difficult to find mixed, multigroup neighborhoods in micropolitan America. Additional differences occur by type of immigrant context, with metro gateways standing out as more diverse, more segregated, and more likely to contain no-majority census tracts than their outpost or native-dominated counterparts. We conclude that, despite the recent outpouring of research on minority dispersion to new destinations, New York, Los Angeles, and other large gateway metropolises with a history of incorporating ethnic newcomers will remain attractive for a long time. Not coincidentally, Hispanics and Asians will continue to concentrate in these locations.

Gateway residential patterns raise a final issue, about the pace of integration. On one integration dimension (diversity), impressive increases are apparent across the board. But declines in segregation have been more modest and uneven, and relatively few no-majority neighborhoods remain stably mixed for as long as twenty years. Some scholars warn that this combination—rapid ethnoracial diversification coupled with stubborn segregative tendencies—portends a troublesome future for American communities, which will have to confront problems ranging from minority disadvantages in education and economic opportunity to decreasing social cohesion and stressed municipal budgets (Clark 1998; Lichter 2013; Oliver 2010; Putnam 2007). Such problems make it tempting to propose a comprehensive plan, bridging numerous policy domains, that would accelerate integration. Possible elements of the plan include improved employment options, stronger enforcement of fair housing and lending laws, steps to promote English-language proficiency, feasible pathways to citizenship, and reductions in immigration flows. Perhaps if these elements could be implemented immediately, spatial and other forms of assimilation might begin to catch up with rates of Hispanic and Asian growth.

In reality, however, there is no easy solution. Just as individual or family assimilation may take generations, the process of ethnoracial residential integration will unfold over many more decades than the three on which we focus. Keeping the need for patience in mind, some social and demographic trends can be discerned that offer reasons for optimism. Cohort succession, in which older, more prejudiced whites are replaced by younger people with greater exposure to members of other groups, bodes well for racial attitudes in general and residential preferences in particular. Persons still resistant to integration will find fewer homogeneous (all-white) neighborhoods and communities that constitute suitable "escape" destinations.

The growth of interracial households is another potentially consequential trend. Such households, whether formed through intermarriage, adoption, or other means, create residential diversity at an intimate scale. This fact, complemented by household members' preferences for multiethnic environments, may serve to reduce segregation and increase the frequency and persistence of mixed neighborhoods (Ellis et al. 2012). Moreover, the offspring of interracial unions blur the color lines that underpin residential manifestations of inequality. So do the descendants of immigrants who see themselves—and who are seen by others—in a less distinctively ethnic light. We suspect that the rate at which integration proceeds will ultimately hinge on the salience of traditional racial-ethnic categories. As these categories and their associated identities soften over time, the impediments to living side by side will further diminish.

NOTES

1. Support for portions of this research has been provided by a grant from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R01HD074605). Additional support comes from the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Alaska at Anchorage and from the Population Research Institute at Pennsylvania State University, which receives infrastructure funding from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R24HD041025). The content of the chapter is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not reflect the official views of the National Institutes of Health. We thank Lauren Hughes and Greg Sharp for their assistance and the US2010 Project editorial team for valuable feedback and guidance.
2. The many ethnic heritage–oriented clubs and events on the QCC campus reflect this diversity, as does a busy immigration center that provides legal advice and a range of other services. In addition to the standard curriculum, QCC offers English language and remedial skills courses to help students build a foundation essential to later academic and career success. More information about the school is available at: http://www.qcc.cuny.edu/ (accessed May 1, 2014).
3. This rank is based on a standardized entropy index score of 92.5 (with scores ranging from 0 to 100), which means that Queens County has very similar proportions of white (28 percent), black (18 percent), Hispanic (28 percent), and Asian (23 percent) residents. We provide a fuller introduction to the entropy index elsewhere in the chapter.
4. We refer to the Hispanic and Asian populations (and to their black and white counterparts) as "panethnic" because they each span multiple subpopulations that qualify conceptually as ethnic groups. Members of an "ethnic group" recognize a common ancestry, history, and cultural tradition, although the strength of identification with this shared background varies across individuals and over time. People in a "racial group" are less able to choose membership. Instead, they tend to be assigned to it by outsiders based on perceived physical attributes (like skin color, hair type, or facial features) that are considered inherent (Cornell and Hartmann 1998). The socially constructed nature of race and ethnicity contributes to an overlap in definitions; some groups can be both racial and ethnic in nature. Indeed, many of the panethnic populations that are covered by our analysis—as well as the detailed groups within them—have this dual character. For that reason, we use the terms "ethnoracial" and "racial-ethnic" interchangeably throughout the chapter.
5. Despite general agreement about the disadvantages of segregation, the relevant literature occasionally identifies benefits. In immigrant-heavy enclaves, for example, Hispanics may experience reduced crime (Kubrin and Ishizawa 2012) and lower levels of morbidity and mortality (Eschbach et al. 2004; Klinenberg 2002) than their coethnics living outside of such settings. Similarly, residence in segregated Chinatowns can provide social and organizational support and adult supervision, boosting children's academic performance (Zhou 2000).
6. The 1980 sample consists of 575 rather than 576 areas because Cibola County—the sole county comprising the Grants, New Mexico, micropolitan area—did not exist until 1981.
7. We achieve constant tract boundaries with the aid of bridging tools obtained from the US2010 Project's Longitudinal Tract Data Base (LTDB). For more details about this resource, see US2010, "Census Geography: Bridging Data from Prior to the 2010 Tract Boundaries," available at: http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Researcher/Bridging.htm (accessed May 1, 2014).
8. Following these guidelines, the 1980 foreign-born share needed to qualify as a gateway metro area is 6.83 percent or greater, the share for a native area is 0.98 percent or less, and the share for an outpost falls between these two cutpoints, based on a 3.9 percent foreign-born mean calculated across all 366 metro areas. By 2010, the cutpoint for a gateway area rises to 13.65 percent or greater, and the cutpoint for a native area rises to 1.95 percent or less.
9. Despite this overlap, a nontrivial proportion of immigrants to the United States still originate in Europe. As of 2010, nearly one of every eight foreign-born residents hailed from a European nation (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Moreover, a conceptual distinction remains between nativity and race.
10. The white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and "other" segregation scores in table 13.5 are based on the same 330, 281, 253, 166, and 159 metro areas, respectively. Context-specific Ns range from 42 (for "other" segregation in gateway metros) to 181 (for white segregation in native metros). The general patterns reported in the table hold when the number of metro areas is allowed to vary from one year to the next.

11. Of the 576 total micropolitan areas, 328 meet our eligibility requirements at every time point for the estimation of white *D* values, 276 for black *D*s, 325 for Hispanic *D*s, 273 for Asian *D*s, and 235 for "other" *D*s. As with the metro results, the micro findings reported here parallel those obtained when area eligibility is determined on a year-by-year basis (that is, when variable samples of micro areas are substituted for constant ones).
12. The over-time patterns for Colombians, Dominicans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans should be interpreted with caution because the constant samples employed in the calculation of *D* score differences consist of fewer than twenty-five metro areas for each of these groups. However, the directions in which their segregation levels have changed remain the same whether constant or variable samples are used.
13. The constant samples underlying these trends range in size from fifty-seven metro areas (for Japanese segregation) to ninety-one (for Chinese segregation).
14. Although our analysis covers black-nonblack and white-nonwhite patterns of segregation, we do not directly examine segregation between blacks and whites. Other studies, however, have documented gradual but steady declines in black-white dissimilarity and isolation measures over multiple decades (Logan and Stults 2011; Marsh et al. 2010).
15. In the rows of table 13.10 above the diagonal, white-dominant and white-shared census tracts in 1980 were especially likely to change to another racial-ethnic structure. Three-fifths of the white-dominant tracts became white-shared; that is, their white residents remained a majority in 2010, though a smaller one than three decades prior. Among white-shared neighborhoods, nearly three in ten wound up in the no-majority category, but nontrivial percentages shifted to Hispanic-majority (17 percent) and black-majority (8 percent) as well. Aside from the volatility of the 1980 no-majority tracts (discussed in the text), few transitions are apparent below the diagonal.
16. Roughly three-fifths of all 1980 high-diversity tracts still had *E* scores of 60 or above three decades later, and diverse tracts located in metropolitan gateway, outpost, and native contexts experienced a similar degree of persistence.

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