Global Neighborhoods: Pathways to Diversity and Separation

John R. Logan
Brown University

Charles Zhang
Texas A&M University

Global Neighborhoods: Pathways to Diversity and Separation

Social scientists have developed clear models of the paths of neighborhood change that underlie persistent residential segregation between blacks and whites. Chicago School sociologists introduced an ecological metaphor of invasion and succession to describe a common tendency for initial entry of African Americans into previously all-white neighborhoods to be followed by continued change leading finally to a predominantly black composition. Some white neighborhoods, it was recognized, remained resistant to black invasion, but once begun the process was destined to result in succession (Duncan and Duncan 1957, Taeuber and Taeuber 1965). Economists Hoover and Vernon (1959) formalized this as a life cycle model of neighborhood change, suggesting that it was rooted in a natural loss of attractiveness of zones with aging and deteriorating housing stock, causing groups with more options (whites and higher income residents) to begin abandoning the area, thus creating opportunities for others.

This model is so widely accepted in sociology that empirical studies of community racial composition (Guest 1978) embrace terms like "invasion" and "succession" communities as descriptors of neighborhoods with modest or large shares of black residents. In a related literature, researchers have investigated the alternative possibility of "stable integration" (Ellen 2000, see also Molotch 1972). At best they find that a mix of white and black residents can be maintained in unusually favorable circumstances.

We argue that the classic model of racial transition must be reconsidered in an era when massive waves of Hispanic and Asian immigration are transforming the racial and ethnic composition of metropolitan America. There is no need here to recite the statistics;

it is well understood that in large parts of the country, particularly along the coasts, the pattern of race relations in black and white has been replaced by a new diversity. In a growing number of metropolitan regions, in fact, Hispanics or Asians or both outnumber the African American population.

Where this is occurring, we identify the emerging phenomenon of "global neighborhoods" – neighborhoods with large shares of residents with immigrant backgrounds, where the usual categories of predominantly white, predominantly black, or racially mixed are no longer adequate. In this study we identify other types, such as places that are predominantly Asian or Hispanic, those where blacks share neighborhoods with Hispanics, others where there are substantial numbers of whites, Hispanics and Asians but few blacks. The most striking new type is the most diverse, four-group neighborhood, where none of these four racial/ethnic groups is excluded.

There are some direct antecedents of this finding. Farley and Frey (1994) hypothesized that black-white segregation would tend to be lower and declining faster in metropolitan regions with larger shares of Hispanic and Asian residents. They surmised that these new minorities could play a buffering role, weakening white resistance to living in more diverse places. Their empirical analysis provided no support for this view, but their hypothesis has been widely circulated. In another study (Farley and Frey 1996) they showed that black segregation from non-blacks was reduced in multiethnic metropolitan areas, but that this finding did not generally hold for segregation from whites. Other studies of residential segregation since the 1970s have looked not only at black-white segregation but also at segregation of whites from Hispanics and Asians (Denton and Massey 1988, Logan, Stults and Farley 2004, Iceland 2004). Implicitly, as

they found that the latter two groups are less segregated than blacks, they indicated that there must be many neighborhoods where Asians and Hispanics are intermixed with whites. Some studies made this point explicitly (Denton and Massey 1991; Alba et al. 1995). These studies not only enumerated the census tracts with every combination of racial composition. They also traced over time the transitions in racial makeup of tracts, pointing to a decline of all-white neighborhoods and emergence of more diverse categories.

We conduct a similar investigation using information from 1970 through 2000. Our approach is inductive and descriptive. In the following analysis we develop criteria for a multifold classification of local areas based on the distribution of residents by race and Hispanic origin. We evaluate the distribution of neighborhoods across these types in 1980 and 2000, showing the overall rise and fall of each category. We then trace the evolution over time of each type of neighborhood.

These analyses demonstrate a remarkable growth in the number of four-group neighborhoods and the rising share of the members of each racial/ethnic group who live in such places. At the same time, they reveal strong obstacles to overcoming the legacy of segregation that is manifested in all-minority neighborhoods. These data reveal the new pathways to diversity, but they also suggest its limits.

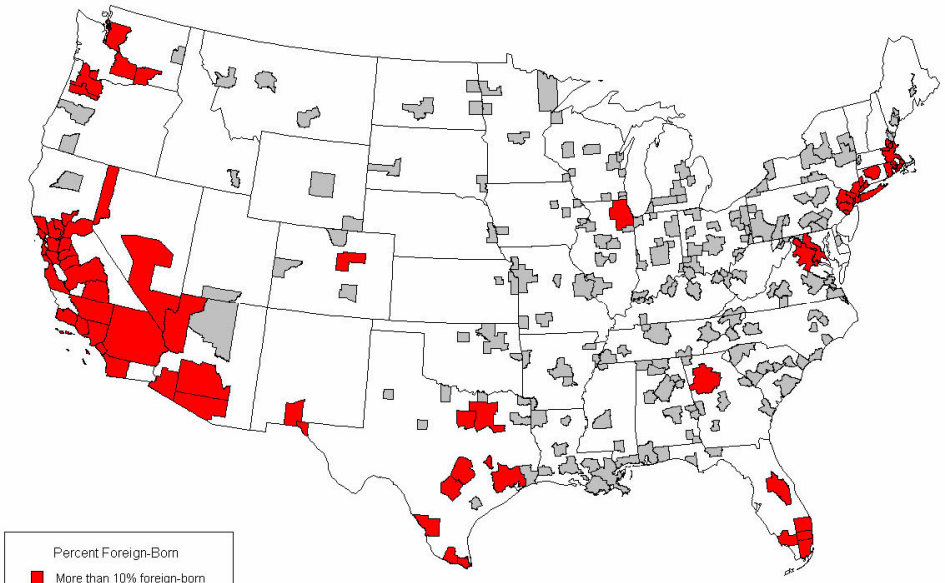
Identifying diverse metropolitan areas and diverse neighborhoods

The new diversity spawned by immigration is hardly uniform across the country. Figure 1 illustrates the variations in percent of the population born abroad in 2000 by metropolitan region. Red-shaded areas had more than 10% foreign-born, while gray areas were less than 5%. Clearly we should not be looking for global neighborhoods in

large areas of the United States, especially most of the Midwest and South where the traditional black-white color line prevails. But what level of diversity is enough to merit a closer look?

The problem of establishing a cutoff is critical in this study, because we need to set criteria first for which metropolitan regions to study and then to classify census tracts within them by their composition. We have experimented with several alternative approaches at the metropolitan level, seeking criteria that would 1) establish that there is a significant presence of whites and all three minority groups, but 2) not disqualify a region if one of the three minority groups fell modestly short. We have selected 24 metropolitan regions in which in 1980, 1990, and 2000 at least two minority groups were present at or above their average national level, and the third group was present at or above one-half of their average national level. (By way of comparison, Farley and Frey (1996) described as multiethnic 37 areas in which two groups were present at this level in 1990, regardless of the population of the third minority group.) Our selection includes many of the largest metropolises: New York (plus Newark, Bergen-Passaic, and Trenton), Chicago, and Los Angeles. Florida is well represented (Miami, Orlando, Fort Lauderdale, Gainesville, and West Palm Beach). So also are Texas (Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, Austin, College Station, and Galveston) and California (San Francisco, Sacramento, San Diego, Bakersfield, Riverside, Stockton, Salinas, and Vallejo). Others, more regionally isolated, include Washington, D.C., Denver, Colorado Springs, and Las Vegas.

Figure 1. Metropolitan regions where more than 10% or less than 5% of residents are foreign-born, 2000.



Source: Lewis Mumford Center

Table 1 lists the threshold values. These shifted over the decades, beginning quite low for Asians (1.1% in 1980, meaning only 0.55% was the absolute minimum presence for that year). In the aggregate, however, the selection criteria identify a set of metropolitan regions that clearly stand out from the U.S. average.

Table 1. Average composition of metropolitan areas in the U.S.

	1980	1990	2000
Non-Hispanic white	82.7	80.1	74.8
Non-Hispanic black	9.6	9.9	10.9
Hispanic	5.8	7.3	9.9
Asian	1.1	2.0	2.9
Other	0.8	0.7	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Following Denton and Massey (1991) and Alba et al (1995), our next methodological decision was how to classify census tracts within each metropolitan region in terms of the specific combination of groups that are present in them. In theory tracts could be all-white, all-black, all-Hispanic, or all Asian. They could include any combination of two groups (white and black, black and Hispanic, etc.), or of three groups, or they could include all four groups.

The criteria for determining that a group is present or absent should be consistent across regions and over time, and they should also take into account the relative sizes of the groups in the total population. Previous studies used an absolute numerical threshold, 30 for the 1970-1980 decade, or 100 for 1970-1990. Evidently any criterion based on absolute number of residents will be more difficult to attain for a small group (Asians) than for a large one (non-Hispanic whites). In fact, in a census tract with only 100 whites (out of a typical population of about 5,000, or roughly 2%) in most parts of the country an observer would consider whites to be very seriously under-represented. The same number of Asians might be an over-representation.

Therefore we use percentages rather than absolute numbers. We based the cutting points on the average percent white, black, Hispanic, or Asian across regions in our sample; specifically, at one-quarter the group's average presence in this set of regions. The resulting cutting points are presented in Table 2. In 2000, if non-Hispanic whites were more than 14.9% of the tract's residents (equal to about 750 whites in a typical tract), whites were considered present. This percentage was only 1.6% for Asians (equal to about 80 Asians in a typical tract).

Table 2. Minimum share to be considered "present"			
	1980	1990	2000
Non-Hispanic white	17.5%	16.3%	14.9%
Non-Hispanic black	3.3%	3.3%	3.5%
Hispanic	3.2%	4.0%	4.7%
Asian	0.7%	1.2%	1.6%

Applying these criteria leads to identification of census tracts whose actual composition, on average, corresponds well with our intention. All-white tracts averaged 94.5% white in 2000, with small shares of black (1.1%), Hispanic (2.4%) and Asian (.9%) residents. All-black tracts were 94.9% black, all-Hispanic tracts 91.4% Hispanic, and all-Asian tracts 88.0% Asian. At the other extreme, the most diverse all-group tracts had a slight majority of white residents (52.1%, somewhat below whites' 59.6% share of the total population of these metros). Blacks were 14.2%, compared to 14% of the metro total. Hispanics were 22.6%, somewhat above their 18.8% of the population. And Asians were 9.6%, compared to 6.4% of the total.

These results give us confidence that our methodology reasonably identifies the varieties of tract composition.

Table 3. Average composition of tracts by type, 2000				
	White	**Black**	**Hispanic**	**Asian**
Tract type:				
White	94.5%	1.1%	2.4%	0.9%
Black	2.6	94.9	1.7	0.4
Hispanic	6.6	0.9	91.4	0.6
Asian	8.4	0.9	2.4	88.0
BA	7.8	79.7	0.0	9.5
HA	8.0	1.6	70.2	19.3
BH	4.2	52.6	41.9	0.6
BHA	7.5	32.7	46.0	12.5
WA	87.8	1.4	2.9	7.2
WH	70.3	1.4	25.9	0.9
WHA	69.1	1.8	17.9	9.6
WB	73.2	22.4	2.5	0.9
WBA	74.2	15.7	3.0	6.1
WBH	51.0	21.5	25.4	0.9
WBHA	52.1	14.2	22.6	9.6

Trends in racial composition and paths of change

To simplify the presentation, in the following tables we have aggregated data for tracts in all metropolitan regions in the sample. There are significant differences across regions in the relative proportions of types of tracts, but similar trends are found in all of them.

To study trends, we analyze data in 1980 and 2000 in which data for individual tracts have been adjusted to constant boundaries (using a data file prepared by Geolytics). We have used the metropolitan region definitions in effect in 2000 for both 1980 and 2000. The Geolytics methodology for establishing equivalencies over time is subject to some error, but is becoming widely used because of its utility for longitudinal analyses

like this one. Its main limitation may be that it uses sample data (in 2000, these are from Summary File 3) rather than full count data on racial composition.

Results are presented in the form of a transition matrix. Along the x axis tracts are categorized by their composition in 2000; their 1980 composition is shown on the y axis. Cell entries are the number of tracts, not taking into account their population size.

Table 4 is rich with results. Note that the table has been organized into four quadrants to facilitate the discussion. The upper left quadrant contains tracts that were all-minority (though varying combinations of minority groups) in both 1980 and 2000. The lower right quadrant contains tracts that contained whites, in varying combinations with other groups, in both years. The upper right quadrant – almost empty – includes tracts that had no white presence in 1980 but gained a white presence by 2000. The lower left quadrant, in contrast, includes tracts where whites were present in 1980 but not in 2000.

Table 4. Transition matrix for tract racial/ethnic composition, 1980-2000

Composition in 1980	Tract composition in 2000																	
	a	h	ha	b	ba	bh	bha	w	wa	wh	wha	wb	wba	wbh	wbha	Total		
a	3				1											4	0.0%	
h		55	10		1	4				2				1	6	79	0.6%	
ha	1	39	61			5	12		1	1					3	123	0.9%	
b		1		309	33	105	26	1			2	2	2	2	4	487	3.7%	
ba				24	10	10	10						2		7	63	0.5%	
bh		5	2	49	10	416	139	1				1	3	6	7	639	4.9%	
bha		6	28	19	2	155	240				1		1	8	22	482	3.7%	
w			1	1	2		1	155	194	139	222	17	18	44	110	904	6.9%	
wa				2	2	1		55	498	35	390	5	54	13	206	1261	9.6%	
wh		83	17	1		19	8	25	34	244	441	4	4	94	276	1250	9.5%	
wha	1	91	215	1		23	69	12	174	151	1786	1	23	73	1364	3984	30.4%	
wb				4	2	7	3	5	5	7	6	12	13	35	44	143	1.1%	
wba				3	1	10	2	3	15		15	13	55	22	133	272	2.1%	
wbh		7	5	12	2	130	50	5	2	26	26	2	3	171	218	659	5.0%	
wbha	1	7	62	15	3	101	416	5	23	11	192	4	33	120	1781	2774	21.1%	
Total	6	294	401	440	69	986	976	267	946	616	3081	61	211	589	4181	13124	100.0%	
	0.0%	2.2%	3.1%	3.4%	0.5%	7.5%	7.4%	2.0%	7.2%	4.7%	23.5%	0.5%	1.6%	4.5%	31.9%	100.0%		

The table supports the following conclusions. We begin with discussion of changes involving tracts that had a white presence in 1980 or 2000.

1. There is increasing diversity of tract composition. For example, there has been a substantial decline in the share of all-white tracts, from 6.9% of the total in 1980 to only 2.0% in 2000. At the same time the greatest increase was in all-group tracts, rising from 21.1% to 31.9% of the total.

The absolute numbers of these types of tracts in any year certainly is contingent on how they were defined. Using different definitions, one could identify more or less all-white tracts in either year. But since the definition was consistent across years, the time trend is robust.

2. The increase in all-group tracts is mainly due to the persistence of this level of diversity in tracts that were already all-group in 1980 and to the entry of blacks into tracts that previously contained only whites, Hispanics, and Asians. About a third of tracts that were all-group by 2000 had been WHA in 1980. Clearly the main pathway toward the most diverse racial composition is through the intermediate step of having all groups except blacks.

3. WHA tracts were positioned in 1980 to contribute heavily to creation of all-group tracts because at that time they were the most numerous type, accounting for 30.4% of all tracts. About a third of them moved to all-group. These were not fully replaced. The number of WHA tracts has declined, so that the potential for continued creation of the most diverse neighborhood type – while still considerable – is beginning to diminish.

4. Tracing the origins of WHA tracts offers additional clues to this key intermediary. Besides the large number that persisted in this category from 1980 to 2000, there were increases from tracts that were previously all-white, white and Hispanic, and white and Asian. We note that these feeders in WHA have also diminished in number.

5. At the same time, there is a considerable counter-trend in which tracts that contained all groups in 1980 lost their white presence by 2000 – 416 or about one out of six became BHA, and an additional 178 became black-Hispanic, all-black, or all-Hispanic. White flight has not entirely disappeared from the change process.

We can summarize the findings pointing to increasing neighborhood diversity as a set of rules of neighborhood change:

- Whites do not enter minority neighborhoods; diversity results when minorities enter white neighborhoods.
- Blacks are the last entrant to diverse neighborhoods.
- Diversity can be reversed, most often by white exodus.

We now turn to the situation of all-minority tracts. These, too, are increasing in number, nearly doubling from 1877 in 1980 to 3172 in 2000. More than half (1791) of all-minority tracts in 2000 were already all-minority in 1980 (these are tracts in the upper left quadrant). But a considerable number (1381) resulted from a decline in white representation.

1. White decline is especially important because it appears to be a one-way transition. Standing out for its absence is a type of change that involves whites moving into new areas. Almost no WHA tracts in 2000 had previously been all-Hispanic, all-Asian, or mixed HA, although in principle the addition of whites to such neighborhoods could have been a contributor. Indeed, the strongest counterpoint to the finding of rapid growth in the number of all-group neighborhoods, certainly a positive development in terms of intergroup exposure, is the continuation of this feature of the classic black-white scenario. Invasion and succession were understood to operate principally in one direction; once tracts became all-black, it was assumed

that a new stable equilibrium had been reached. All-minority tracts are now in that same position.

2. There are almost no Asian-only tracts in either year. This does not mean that there were not many tracts with a large and growing, or even predominant, Asian presence. As we define these categories, however, Asians are almost always found in conjunction with one or more other groups.

3. Black-only tracts are a significant category, but have dropped in number over time. Hispanic-only tracts, by contrast, have increased, as have tracts including only blacks and Hispanics or Hispanics and Asians. The combination that remains rare is blacks with Asians.

4. Though the number of BHA tracts has grown over time, this does not in the main represent a growing tendency for all three minority groups to cohabit the same neighborhoods. The largest source of this growth is the loss of whites from WBHA areas.

These findings suggest a parallel set of rules about neighborhood change when whites are not present:

- Asians do not enter black neighborhoods.
- Blacks are the last entrant to 3-minority neighborhoods.
- Diversity among minority groups can be reversed, most often by Asian exodus.

The relative scales of growing diversity and persistent separation

The final step in this analysis will be to evaluate these patterns of change not in terms of the number of tracts in each cell of the matrix, but the numbers of residents of each racial group represented in them. To present the results in this way requires a simplification of the matrix in Table 4, and we do this by adding together all of the cells in each quadrant.

Table 5 reports the total population in these metropolitan areas, over 60 million in 2000. By far the largest share of people, over 46 million, lived in tracts where whites were present in both years. However the number of people living in tracts that never included a white presence held steady at about 6.7 million, and an additional 6.8 million people lived in tracts that became all-minority by 2000. Population in tracts that gained a white presence in 2000 was negligible.

Table 5. Population of tracts by their composition in 1980 and 2000

	Population of these tracts	
	1980	2000
All minority in 1980	6,876,123	6,970,679
Remained all-minority in 2000	6,650,653	6,705,353
Added whites in 2000	225,470	265,326
Whites present in 1980	38,643,317	53,306,445
Became all-minority in 2000	5,023,327	6,830,632
Whites remained in 2000	33,619,990	46,475,813

This overall table cannot be evaluated by itself without taking into account the race and Hispanic origin of the people living in these kinds of places. Table 6 reports these data for the non-Hispanic white population. Almost all whites, over 28 million, lived in areas with a white presence in both years. This is true almost by definition. However the very small number of whites living in areas that added white presence in 2000 is an independent result.

Table 6. White population of tracts by their composition in 1980 and 2000

	Population of these tracts	
	1980	2000
All minority in 1980	381,250	252,647
Remained all-minority in 2000	355,909	176,719
Added whites in 2000	25,341	75,928
Whites present in 1980	29,319,062	29,070,387
Became all-minority in 2000	1,985,184	588,480
Whites remained in 2000	27,333,878	28,481,907

From the perspective of the black population, Table 7 shows that the number of blacks living in neighborhoods that had a white presence in both 1980 and 2000 more than doubled to 3.6 million. This change represents increasing racial diversity and exposure between whites and blacks. On the other hand, adding together the black population that lived in all-minority tracts in 1980 and those that became all-minority in 2000, we find a high degree of persistence. More than half, about 5.1 million blacks lived in all-minority neighborhoods in 2000 despite their overall movement toward neighborhoods shared with whites.

Table 7. Black population of tracts by their composition in 1980 and 2000

	Population of these tracts	
	1980	2000
All minority in 1980	4,412,847	3,565,065
Remained all-minority in 2000	4,294,568	3,470,442
Added whites in 2000	118,279	94,623
Whites present in 1980	2,421,320	5,207,316
Became all-minority in 2000	903,431	1,564,476
Whites remained in 2000	1,517,889	3,642,840

Table 8 shows that Hispanics experienced a more substantial population growth in neighborhoods shared with whites, nearly tripling. For Hispanics, there is also a counter-trend of increasing numbers in areas that were already or that became all-minority by 2000, from 3.7 million to 6.8 million. But in the case of Hispanics, unlike that of blacks, more than half were nevertheless sharing neighborhoods with whites. This finding reflects the well known observation that Hispanics are less segregated from non-Hispanic whites than are blacks.

Table 8. Hispanic population of tracts by their composition in 1980 and 2000

	Population of these tracts	
	1980	2000
All minority in 1980	1,895,589	2,871,389
Remained all-minority in 2000	1,820,974	2,797,843
Added whites in 2000	74,615	73,546
Whites present in 1980	5,266,235	13,784,221
Became all-minority in 2000	1,842,907	3,925,089
Whites remained in 2000	3,423,328	9,859,132

Finally, Table 9 provides similar information for Asians. Here the balance of change is much more strongly tilted toward exposure to whites. There was nearly a four-fold increase in the number of Asians living in neighborhoods with a white presence, greatly outweighing the number (albeit growing) who lived in all-minority areas. This finding reflects the relatively modest segregation of Asians from whites.

Table 9. Asian population of tracts by their composition in 1980 and 2000

	Population of these tracts 1980	2000
All minority in 1980	161,867	264,635
Remained all-minority in 2000	155,871	245,046
Added whites in 2000	5,996	19,589
Whites present in 1980	1,470,235	5,055,143
Became all-minority in 2000	269,235	734,710
Whites remained in 2000	1,201,000	4,320,433

Conclusion

In certain parts of the country, in metropolitan regions that are home to over 60 million Americans, the traditional black-white color line is being replaced by a more complex array of whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. These are places where large-scale immigration is creating global neighborhoods. In the late 19th Century immigration from Europe introduced into the country's major cities a new array of white ethnic groups alongside a largely white U.S.-born "mainstream." The global neighborhoods of that era were German, Irish, Italian, Jewish – all combinations of new groups establishing enclaves in some places and mixing together in others. Today it is mostly Hispanic and Asian immigration that establishes a visible presence in metropolitan communities, though in absolute numbers there is also a heavy presence of whites from various parts of the world and immigration from Africa and the Caribbean has become a primary source of growth in the black population. Our research question is how this influx affects well established patterns of residential segregation and processes of neighborhood change.

The results point in somewhat conflicting directions. From the perspective of intergroup exposure, the good news is a powerful trend toward representation of all four main racial/ethnic

groups in highly diverse neighborhoods, neighborhoods that come close to mirroring the composition of these diverse metropolitan areas as a whole.

What is more, there is strong evidence linking Hispanic and Asian presence to the emergence of these neighborhoods where whites and blacks live together, and where such integration is stable enough to have endured across two decades in a considerable number of census tracts. Rarely do we find tracts with whites and blacks without the presence also of Hispanics, Asians, or both. Further, by far the largest source of white-black exposure of this type is the prior creation of neighborhoods where whites have already been joined by Hispanics and Asians. Blacks are the last to enter, and it is reasonable to conclude that their entry was facilitated by the other minority groups. In this way our findings offer the first empirical support for the conjecture that immigration undermines the color line in American neighborhoods.

At the same time, other findings pinpoint powerful limits to the new diversity. Most important, there is no indication that the large expanses of metropolitan space that were established as minority ghettos during the 20th century have any prospect of dissolving. There is to be sure considerable diversity in these areas abandoned by whites, but it is mainly expressed in new relationships between blacks, Hispanics, and – to a limited extent – Asians. Blacks in particular continue to have a heavy concentration in these parts of the metropolis, and there is evidence of continuing white flight even in the last two decades, and even from neighborhoods where Hispanics and Asians are available as a social buffer between whites and blacks.

Hence the new diversity turns out to be consistent with sustained high levels of segregation, especially between blacks and whites. Further, there are signs that the processes that created white-Hispanic-Asian zones in these metropolitan areas are at risk of being exhausted. We hesitate to extrapolate from the transitions demonstrated in the last two decades

to those that will occur in the future. But one scenario that now seems possible is a new polarization of diverse metropolitan regions. One part could be the "white" zone in which the all-white neighborhood has become a relic of the past, and most whites (and most Asians, as well as many Hispanics) live in neighborhoods with high levels of diversity. The other could be the minority zone, where all-black, all-Hispanic, and black-Hispanic areas become the predominant types over time.

References

Alba, Richard D.; Nancy A. Denton,.; Shu-yin Leung, and John R. Logan. 1995. Neighborhood Change under Conditions of Mass Immigration: The New York City Region, 1970-1990. International Migration Review 29:625-656.

Denton, Nancy A. and, Douglas S. Massey. 1988. "Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians by Socioeconomic Status and Generation" Social Science Quarterly 69:797-817.

Denton, Nancy A. and, Douglas S. Massey. 1991. Patterns of Neighborhood. Transition in a Multiethnic World: U.S.. Metropolitan Areas, 1970-1980. Demography 28:41-63.

Duncan, O.D. and Beverly Duncan. 1957. The Negro Population of Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ellen. Ingrid Gould. 2000. Sharing America's Neighborhoods: The Prospects for Stable Racial Integration. Cambridge: Harvard University Press..

Farley, Reynolds and William Frey. 1994. "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks during the 1980s: Small Steps toward a More Integrated Society" American Sociological Review 59:23-45.

Farley, Reynolds and William Frey. 1996. "Latino, Asian, and Black Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Are Multi-ethnic Metros Different?" Demography 33: 35-50.

Guest, Avery. 1978. "The Changing Racial Composition of the Suburbs, 1950-1970" Urban Affairs Quarterly 14:195-206.

Hoover, Edgar and Raymond Vernon. 1959. Anatomy of a Metropolis. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Iceland, John. 2004. "Beyond Black and White: Metropolitan Residential Segregation in Multi-ethnic America" Social Science Research, 33:248-271.

Lee, Barry. 1985. "Racially Mixed Neighborhoods in the 1970s; Change or Stability?" Social Science Quarterly 66:346-364.

Molotch, Harvey L. 1972. Managed Integration: Dilemmas of Doing Good in the City. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taeuber, Karl and A.F. Taeuber. 1965. Negroes in Cities. Chicago: Aldine.