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Minority Suburbanization and Continued "White Flight" in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Assessing Findings from the 1990 Census

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MINORITY SUBURBANIZATION AND CONTINUED "WHITE FLIGHT" IN U.S. METROPOLITAN AREAS: ASSESSING FINDINGS FROM THE 1990 CENSUS

Abstract

This paper provides an overview of minority suburbanization and continued "white flight" for 314 metropolitan areas (MSAs/PMSAs/NECMAs) as defined as of June 30, 1990. It addresses these questions: Which minorities -- Blacks, Hispanics or Asians -- are suburbanizing faster in the 1980s? How do these patterns differ across metropolitan areas of different types? To what degree does "white flight" respond to city-minority presence in metropolitan wide minority growth? For the Black population, 1980s suburbanization patterns are contrasted with those of the previous two decades. The paper also evaluates how 1980-90 minority and majority (non-Hispanic White) suburbanization has affected the racial and ethnic compositions of the nation's suburbs. It identifies metropolitan suburbs with greatest increases in Black, Hispanic and Asian representation, as well as those most and least segregated from their central cities.

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MINORITY SUBURBANIZATION AND CONTINUED "WHITE FLIGHT" IN U.S. METROPOLITAN AREAS: ASSESSING FINDINGS FROM THE 1990 CENSUS

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This paper provides an overview of minority suburbanization and continued "white flight" in US metropolitan areas for the 1980s. Studies from the 1970s show that Hispanic and Asian suburbanization outpaced that for Blacks in most of these areas (Frey and Speare, 1988; Massey and Denton, 1988), but that Black suburbanization accelerated past its slow pace of previous decades (Long and DeAre, 1981;; Frey and Speare, 1988). At the same time, there is evidence of a slowdown during that period in the suburbanization of the majority population, at least in many large industrial metropolitan areas. Each of these dynamics varied widely across metropolitan areas in different regions, with different growth histories, and with different relative gains of minority and majority residents (Frey and Speare, 1988). Still, studies which looked at the dynamics of racial change at the city-suburb and neighborhood level indicated the familiar negative relationship between an area's minority composition and white population growth (Fielding, 1987; Lee and Wood, 1991).

There is reason to believe that race-space dynamics between cities and suburbs are still evolving and, probably, quite differently among areas that have experienced significant numerical increases in their minority populations (Frey, 1991, 1992 forthcoming). Minority growth in these areas is fueled by a surge of immigration (Passel and Edmonston,

1991). It is comprised, to a large degree, of Hispanics and Asians -- minorities that have been more prone to suburbanize than Blacks. Their destination metropolitan areas tend to be places where each group's "turf" is not yet well established.

The extremely high rates of minority growth in these areas may well lead to the kinds of minority "invasion", majority "flight" patterns observed for Blacks and whites in older metropolitan areas and in earlier times (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Frey, 1979). Yet, the new patterns may be more complicated because of the diverse racial and ethnic minorities, and because many of the turf battles will play out across suburban communities within some of the sprawling, less dense South and West metropolitan areas.

Black suburbanization may also be evolving. In those North and South suburbs where blacks have already gained a foothold, the city-suburb "flight" dynamic may be subsiding. Yet emerging black migration to new metropolitan destinations in the South and West (Johnson, 1990; Frey, 1992 forthcoming) could provide the impetus to increased white suburbanization within these areas.

Questions to be addressed

This paper examines minority and majority suburbanization during the 1980s among the 314 metropolitan areas with separately designated central city and suburb components. It contrasts the non-Hispanic white population with the combined minority population, as well as specific minorities: Blacks, Hispanics and Asians (Asians and Pacific Islanders). It addresses the following:

(1) Which minorities are suburbanizing faster in the 1980s when compared with the white majority population?

(2) How have the racial and ethnic compositions of the nation's suburbs changed? Have they become more or less segregated from their central cities?

(3) How have the new patterns of metropolitan minority growth affected minority suburbanization and "white flight"?

The first question evaluates the suburbanization experiences of different population groups: how they compare with each other, how they vary across regions and metropolitan areas, and (for Blacks) how their 1980s patterns differed from early decades. The second question evaluates the experiences of suburban areas and identifies those areas which show greatest increases in minority representation and smallest differences with their central cities. This part of the paper focuses on the impact of both minority and majority suburbanization for areas, and results in an assessment that differs from the focus on groups.

The third question, taken up with multivariate analyses, evaluates the importance of metropolitan minority gains for both minority and majority white suburbanization patterns in the 1980s. Because of the destinations of fast-growing "new minorities" -- Hispanics and Asians -- differ from earlier minority destinations, and because Black migration is expanding to new areas, the relationship between metropolitan minority gains and white/minority suburbanization deserves attention. This part of the paper also reassesses the relationship between central city minority presence and suburban "white flight" within metropolitan areas, over the 1980-90 decade.

Data Sources and Definitions

The data for this investigation were compiled from county and place population counts, by race and Hispanic origin, from the 1990 U.S. Census (STF-1A Files) and comparable statistics from the 1980 (and for Blacks and non-Blacks) 1990 and 1960 U.S. decennial censuses. The data were assembled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center for 314 metropolitan areas according to consistent metropolitan central city and suburb (non-central city) definitions. The metropolitan definitions are MSAs, PMSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, defined by the Office of Management and Budget as of June 30, 1990. (Six additional metropolitan areas are omitted from the study because they do not contain separate central city and suburb components).

It should be noted that these central city and metropolitan area definitions reflect significant revisions, first initiated in 1983, and differ from those used in the 1980 and earlier census publications (Starsinic and Forstall, 1989). These new definitions add additional central cities, so that previous published statistics will understate central city population sizes, and overstate suburban population sizes, in comparison to the data presented here.

The metropolitan area size categories are based on 1990 population sizes: large (1,000,000 +), medium (250,000-999,999), and small (under 250,000). The region categories are North (Northeast and Midwest census regions), South, and West. The race and ethnic categories are whites (non-Hispanic whites), all minorities (combined Hispanics and non-Hispanics of all other races), and, for specific minority analyses,

Hispanics, Blacks and Asians. The latter include Hispanic Blacks and Hispanic Asians, respectively, unless otherwise stated.

Suburbanization of Minority Groups

To contrast different groups' suburbanization levels, we utilize the measure, proportion of the group's metropolitan population that resides in the suburbs, as well as changes on this measure over the 1980-90 decade. The reader should note that while this represents an appropriate measure for comparing suburbanization levels between population subgroups, it does not bear a necessary relationship to the minority composition of suburban areas, to be reviewed later. This is because the measure "controls" for (does not take into account) differences in group sizes and growth rates -- elements which affect the magnitude of a suburb's minority population gain.

WHITES AND MINORITIES IN THE 1980S The suburbanization of metropolitan whites in 1990 continues to outpace that of the combined minority population: for the nation, in each broad region, and in most (295) of the 314 metropolitan areas (see Figure 1 and Table 1). Among these areas, 220 house over half of their white population in the suburbs, while only 86 make such accommodation for their minority populations. Still, the majority-minority disparity in suburbanization varies widely across metropolitan areas. Consistent with historical patterns (Frey and Speare, 1988), it is most extreme in large metropolitan areas of the North, and far less accentuated in the West.

(Figure 1 and Table 1 here)

Within minority ranks, there tends to be a "pecking order" such that Asians are followed by Hispanics, and then Blacks, in their levels of suburbanization. This is generally consistent with these groups' socio-economic statuses (Farley and Allen) and with national suburbanization statistics (Figure 1). Still, there are distinctions across regions such that Hispanics are much closer to Black suburbanization levels in the North and South, while they exceed levels for both Asians and Blacks in many western metropolitan areas.

While these 1990 group variations are, by and large, consistent with expectations, the statistics for 1980-90 changes in suburban proportions show some surprises. Nationally, the combined minorities increased their suburban proportion to a greater extent than whites; and each of the three primary minority groups increased its proportion at least as much as the white population. Yet, each of these groups concentrated its 1980s suburban gains in specific regions and metropolitan areas.

The most surprising shifts were for Hispanics, whose greatest 1980-90 gains in suburban proportion occurred in large metropolitan areas of the North and South rather than the West. Sixteen metropolitan areas increased their Hispanic suburban proportions by greater than .10, with 15 -- including Tampa-St. Petersburg, Miami-Hialeah and Atlanta -- located in the South. Among the 68 metropolitan areas that increased their Hispanic proportion by greater than .05 are large northern metropolitan areas, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, as well as the New Jersey areas -- Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, Newark, Jersey City, and Bergen-Passaic.

Only 6 of the 68 metropolitan areas are located in the West and only two of these, San Francisco and Seattle, are large metropolitan areas. The general lack of increase in Hispanic suburban proportions among western metropolitan areas is surprising. These areas have the highest absolute levels for these proportions and have received strong metropolitan-wide gains in Hispanics through immigration and internal migration during the 1980s (Frey, 1991). Apparently the new in-migrants are disproportionately locating in central cities.

For both Asians and Blacks, 1980s suburban proportion gains are also concentrated in specific regions and metropolitan areas. Among medium and smaller-sized metropolitan areas, in all regions, Asian suburban proportions became reduced over the 1980s. This suggests that the new Asian growth, outside of large metros, is more city- than suburban-concentrated.

While 204 of the 314 metropolitan areas increased their Black suburban proportion over the 1980s, only 24 increased it by more than .10. The greatest increase occurred in Atlanta, from .45 to .63. The list includes other large southern metropolitan areas: Washington, DC, Houston, and Dallas, as well as Seattle, Denver and Riverside-San Bernardino in the West. Blacks' suburban proportion gains were more sharply focused in large South and West areas, although a number of medium- and large-sized metros in the North shows increases of .05 or greater.

BLACK SUBURB PROPORTIONS, 1960-1990 Because of the long-standing city "confinement" of Blacks within American metropolitan areas, it is useful to look at the 1980s gains in the context of the previous two decades.

The 1970s has been termed a "benchmark" decade for Black suburbanization because Blacks began to show a noticeable increase in suburbanization within many large metropolitan areas (Frey and Speare, 1988). Do the 1980s Black suburbanization patterns represent an extension or even acceleration of the 1970s? The three-decade trends shown in Figure 2 and Table 2 suggest that the answer is mixed.

(Figure 2 and Table 2 about here)

Both decades have shown a continued increase (or reduced decrease) in Black suburban proportions for all categories of metropolitan areas. (Note that the decreases in proportions, for smaller areas, are generally due to white displacement of rural Black enclaves that developed prior to the city's outward suburban expansion (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965)). Also, in both decades, suburban increases were greatest within the largest metropolitan areas of each region. However, during the 1980s, the magnitude of this increase has only accelerated for large metropolitan areas in the South region.

This provides some encouragement, for areas that have attracted more Blacks in the 1980s. These Blacks appear to be suburbanizing. Yet it is discouraging to see that suburban proportion gains have become smaller in large metropolitan areas of the North and West. For these areas, the 1970s seems to be have been a "peak" period for Black suburbanization rather than a "benchmark" for continued gains.

SUMMARY This section's comparison of minority groups' suburban proportion levels suggests the emergence of new underlying

suburbanization dynamics. One of these is the "concentrating" influence of new minority immigration patterns for areas that are destinations for Hispanics, Asians, and other new minority groups. While these areas continue to show high minority suburban proportions, their proportions have not increased significantly, over the 1980s, with the new immigration. On the other hand, Black suburban proportions are increasing in those areas which are gaining great numbers of Blacks -- larger metropolitan areas in the "New South." Hence, while a static comparison of 1990 suburban proportions among minorities results in the usual "pecking order" -- Asians, Hispanics, then Blacks -- with some regional variation, these new underlying dynamics imply some alteration for the 1990s.

Suburb Minority Populations

This section reviews the changing minority composition of suburban areas and shows a different pattern of results than those discused in the previous section. The first part of this section focuses on minority compositions in the suburban portions of the nation's 314 metropolitan areas. The second part examines how suburban minority compositions are becoming similar/dissimilar to those of their central cities.

SUBURBAN MINORITY PERCENTAGES Unlike the earlier focus on minority groups, these results focus on suburban populations and how their minority percentages have changed over the 1980s. Data presented in Figure 3 show the broad outlines of minority demographic change in the nation's suburbs. Nationally, the suburban minority percentage has

increased from 13.1 to 17.6. The increase is greatest for Hispanics, who now constitute more of the suburban minority population than either Blacks or Asians.

(Figure 3 about here)

Comparisons across minority groups and regions make clear that Hispanics and "Sunbelt" metropolitan areas take the lead in suburban minority gains for the 1980s. The highest 1980-90 increases in suburban minority percentages occurred in parts of the country with already large minority representation -- West metropolitan areas of all sizes, and large metropolitan area in the South. In each of these categories Hispanics showed the greatest 1980-90 increases of the three major minorities. (Note: These strong Hispanic gains on the measure, suburban minority percentage, might seem to contradict the earlier finding that metropolitan Hispanics, in the West, increased their suburban proportion only marginally during the decade. However, the earlier analysis did not take into account the high 1980s levels of metropolitan-wide Hispanic growth, in these areas, which served to increase the Hispanic percentage of total population in both the central city and the suburbs.)

(Table 3 about here)

At the other extreme, small and medium-size metropolitan areas in the North have unusually low levels of minority representation.

Nevertheless, these areas showed modest increases in minority percentages for each of the three major minority groups.

The 1990 minority percentages of individual metropolitan areas vary widely -- from Laredo, TX (at 94.2) to Dubuque, IA (at 0.6). Yet suburbs with large suburban minority percentages are relatively rare. Only 11 suburbs house "majorities - minorities." These include several Texas border towns with large substantial Mexican-American populations, as well as the two large metros: Miami-Hialeah, and Los Angeles-Long Beach (see Chart 1 for the remaining areas). Only 90 of the 314 metropolitan areas have suburban minority percentages that exceed the national suburban minority percentage (17.6). As shown in Map 1 (upper left hand quadrant), there are sharp regional disparities in suburban minority percentages.

(Chart 1 and Map 1 about here)

Perhaps the most important finding of this analysis is the widespread <u>increase</u> in minority representation among the nation's suburbs during the 1980s. Most (265) of the 314 metropolitan areas increased their suburban minority percentages and these increases were greatest in Sunbelt metropolitan areas with large Hispanic and multicultural populations (see Charts 1 and 2). Among the 20 largest gainers, on this measure, are large metropolitan areas: Miami-Hialeah, Los Angeles-Long Beach, Riverside-San Bernardino, Anahiem-Santa Anna, San José, San Francisco, Houston, Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, and Oakland. However, metropolitan areas of all sizes in California, Texas and other West and South states participated in this trend -- as did

selected large areas in the Northeast and Midwest. (among the latter are areas in the greater New York metropolitan complex: New York, Bergen-Passaic, Middlesex-Summerset-Hunterdon, Jersey City, and Newark). At the other extreme, many small Southern metropolitan areas, with traditionally large Black populations reduced their suburban minority concentrations. (see Map 1, upper right-hand quadrant)

(Chart 2 about here)

In many metropolitan areas, the immigration of new minorities has helped to fuel the spread outward of older minorities leading, in some cases, to the "flight" of suburban whites. Among the 20 largest 1980-90 gainers in suburban minority percentages, 11 registered absolute loses in their suburban white populations. These include suburbs of large metropolitan areas: Miami-Hialeah, Los Angeles-Long Beach, San José, and San Francisco. In all, 81 metropolitan areas showed losses in their suburban white populations over the 1980s.

Once again, the examination of Black patterns is best understood from a three-decade perspective (see Figure 1 and Table 4). After registering a decrease during the 1960-70 period, black suburban representation increased in both the 1970s and the 1980s. The 1960s decrease occurred primarily in the South as a result of the white displacement patterns discussed in the earlier section. Yet the 1970 gains in Black suburban percentages were most pronounced in large metropolitan areas of each region. Among the top ten Black percentage gainers in the 1970s were large metros: Washington, D.C. (+17.9%), Newark, (+5.1%), Atlanta (+5.4%) and St. Louis (+3.8%). In the 1980s,

nine of the top ten gainers were large metros - led by Atlanta (+ 5.2%), Miami-Hialeah (4.1%) and Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood (+3.5%) (see Chart 2). While most (231) metropolitan suburbs increased their Black percentages in the 1980s, only 14 increased them by greater than 2%. Among large metropolitan areas, these gains were more modest in the 1980s than in the 1970s.

(Figure 4 and Table 4 about here)

CITY-SUBURB DISSIMILARITY Increases in minority suburban percentages do not necessarily imply greater similarity to the central city's racial and ethnic makeup. In many cases, the central city's minority percentage will increase even faster than that in the suburbs. The data on the right-hand side of Table 3 show that nationally suburbs became slightly more similar to central cities during the 1980s in their minority compositions. The statistics presented here are city-suburb dissimilarity indexes which compare central city and suburb racial composition with respect to all minorities, or specific minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, as contrasted to non-Hispanic whites). The index ranges from 0 (complete similarity in city-suburb racial compositions) to 100 (complete separation). An index of 100 would be the extreme situation where all minorities were located in the central city and all whites were located in the suburbs (see White (1986) for a general discussion of the Dissimilarity Index, and the footnote to Table 3 for its calculation in this application).

The similarity indices for 1990 vary broadly by region -- remaining lowest for western metropolitan areas and highest for northern

areas. Individual metropolitan areas range from 67.3 (for Detroit) to 0.1 (for Salem, Oregon). Among minority groups, city-suburb dissimilarity is greatest for Blacks and, generally, least for Asians except for the West region. These broad patterns are consistent with those observed in 1980 (Frey and Speare, 1988).

What is noteworthy about the 1980-90 shifts is that they served to moderate segregation among areas and groups with highest city-suburb dissimilarity indices (e.g., Blacks in large metropolitan areas) and increase segregation in areas with lowest city-suburb dissimilarity indices (e.g., Hispanics in the West). One might have expected West metropolitan areas to reduce their city-suburb dissimilarity with respect to Hispanic composition, since these areas showed such strong increases in their suburban Hispanic percentages. What happened is that their central cities increased their Hispanic percentages even greater, thus raising the city-suburb dissimilarity index.

The changing city-suburb dissimilarity between Blacks and the rest of the population is of considerable interest, given the slow progress of Black suburbanization. The data on the right-hand panel of Table 4 show that the 1980s are significant because this is the first decade that large metropolitan areas in the North and South registered a decrease in the city-suburb dissimilarity index. Although both types of areas increased their Black suburbanization in the 1970s as well, the city-suburb dissimilarity index did not decline. (This is because their central cities registered equally large gains in Black percentages over that decade.) The 1980s pattern is heavily influenced by sharp city-suburb dissimilarity index declines in areas like Atlanta (reduced from 44 to 29), Washington DC (reduced from 39 to 27) and Middlesex-

Sommerset-Hunterdon (from 24 to 17). The impact of these declines is shown in the U.S. metropolitan total, which has declined for the first time during the 1980s (from 35 to 32).

SUMMARY This section has focused on suburban populations and changes in their minority compositions over the 1980s. The vast majority of metropolitan suburbs increased their minority percentages during this decade. These gains were most pronounced in the West and driven heavily by Hispanics. In many of these areas, high rates of metropolitan-wide immigration forced a suburban spillover of minorities as well as a "white flight" from the suburbs. The suburbs of many large South and North metropolitan areas also experienced minority gains -- attributable to the increased suburban relocation of Blacks and Hispanics. In these areas, city-suburb segregation between minorities and non-Hispanic whites was noticeably reduced. The reduction in Black city-suburb segregation for these areas contributed to the first nation-wide decline in the city-suburb dissimilarity decline between Blacks and the remainder of the population.

Metro Minority Growth, Minority Suburbanization and "White Flight"

The above analyses appear to imply that new patterns of metropolitan-wide minority growth, during the 1980s, are affecting both minority and majority suburbanization patterns. Our investigation of 1980-90 changes in minority suburban proportions suggested that high levels of metropolitan-wide minority growth are associated with reduced increases in those proportions. We speculated that these minority gains involved Hispanic and Asian immigrants who are more likely to locate in

central cities than suburban destinations. A contrary view was first proposed in Taeuber and Taeuber's (1965) study, which demonstrated that a city's minority growth would serve to increase racial transition across neighborhoods. This argument can be extended to apply to the relationship to metropolitan-wide minority growth and minority suburbanization (as in Frey and Speare, 1988).

In order to ascertain the impact of metropolitan-wide minority growth on over-time changes in the minority's suburban proportion, we estimated the regression equation shown in the first column of Table 5. Using metropolitan areas as units of analyses, the 1990 minority suburb proportion is regressed on the 1980 proportion as well as the 1980-90 metropolitan-wide minority growth rate. Additional variables in the equation include the 1980 minority percent of both the suburb and city populations, the 1980-90 metropolitan-wide white growth rate, and dummy variables for large-sized metropolitan areas, South and West regions, and region-size interaction terms. Because the 1980 minority proportion is included as one of the independent variables, the other variables can be interpreted as determinants of 1980-90 change in the suburban proportion.

The most important result, for our concern, is the negative relationship between the metropolitan minority growth rate and the change in minority suburban proportion. This would seem to confirm the suggestion that patterns of minority growth have served to inhibit minority suburbanization in selected metropolitan areas. This is probably due to the immigrant component of minority growth, since region-disaggregated equations (not shown) indicate the negative

relationship to show up for the North and West regions, but not the South.

The other variables in this equation show somewhat unexpected results. It was thought that minority suburban proportions would relate positively to the percent of minorities in the suburbs, and negatively to the percent minorities in the city. Perhaps these variables are capturing the effects of undesirable city or suburb attributes, not included in the model, which are related to minority city and suburb percentages. There was no a priori expectation for the impact of white growth on minority suburban gains. Perhaps this is a proxy for growth of suburban construction or general metropolitan expansion. Finally, the region and size dummy variables are generally consistent with the results shown in the first part of the paper. Smallest gains in minority proportion appear for moderate and small-sized metropolitan areas in the South and West regions.

The second equation in Table 5 estimates the 1980-90 change in suburban proportion for non-Hispanic whites. Following the classic transition model, it is anticipated that minority population gains would exacerbate "white flight" to the suburbs. This does not appear to be the case, however, given the nonsignificance of the minority growth variable. The variables that are significant operate in expected directions, such that white suburban proportion increases are negatively related to suburban minority percentages, positively related to city minority percentages, and positively related to metropolitan-wide white growth. The reduced increases for West region metropolitan areas are consistent with earlier observations.

In sum, these regression analyses provide some support for the premise that metropolitan-wide minority growth served to reduce the minority suburban proportions during the 1980s, particularly in areas with large immigrant components. However, no support was given for a proposed relationship between metropolitan-wide minority increase and "white flight." These analyses will be extended in future research to specify particular minority groups and their responses to minority and majority metropolitan-wide growth patterns.

Conclusion

This review of minority suburbanization in the 1980s points up both consistencies with and important differences from earlier periods. When minority group populations are compared with respect to their suburban-ization levels (suburban proportions), we find that the usual "pecking order" emerges -- Asians tend to be most likely to live in the suburbs, Blacks least likely, and Hispanics in-between. The distinction is less significant in the West, where Hispanics are often more suburban-located than the other two groups. All three groups increased their suburbanization levels during the 1980s, involving pronounced Black increases in large southern metropolitan areas, and new Hispanic increases in the North and South.

Perhaps the most dramatic finding of this paper is the widespread pervasity of minority increases within suburban populations. The vast majority (265) of the 314 metropolitan suburbs increased their minority percentages during the 1980s. These increases were most accentuated in West metropolitan areas and driven by sharp gains among Hispanics. Large metropolitan areas like Miami-Hialeah, Los Angeles-Long Beach and

Riverside-San Bernardino are among the greatest gainers in suburban minority percentages. Yet metropolitan areas of all sizes in California, Texas and other West and South states joined the trend. At the same time, Atlanta, Washington DC and many other southern and northern metropolitan areas increased their suburban percentages of Blacks during the 1980s.

City-suburb minority segregation levels still vary widely across metropolitan areas between Detroit (the most segregated metro) and Salem, Oregon (the least segregated), and the West region still remains far less segregated than the other two.

Finally there is a suggestion that new underlying dynamics of metropolitan suburbanization are emerging. Large waves of new "immigrant" minorities are more likely to locate in central cities than in the suburbs. This could trigger off an outward "leapfrogging" pattern among different minority groups within fast-growing multi-ethnic metropolitan areas, as well as "white flight" from the suburbs. Black suburban gains are also more evident in metropolitan areas that are recipients of new Black migration streams. These evolving dynamics suggest that a greater diversity of suburbanization patterns will emerge during the 1990s, across regions and individual metropolitan areas.

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Table 1. Proportion Residing in Suburbs for Metropolitan Area Non-Hispanic Whites, All Minorities, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, 1980 and 1990.*

Region/Met Categories**	Non-Hispanic Whites			All Minorities			Blacks			Hispanics			Asians		
	1980	1990	Diff.	1980	1990	Diff.	1980	1990	Diff.	1980	1990	Diff.	1980	1990	Dift.
North															
Large Met	.69	.72	.03	.20	.25	.05	.18	.22	.04	.19	.23	.04	.43	.44	.01
Medium Met	.69	.72	.03	.30	.34	.04	.22	.25	.04	.42	.42	.01	.57	.54	-.03
Small Met	.55	.55	.00	.28	.27	-.01	.25	.24	.00	.33	.32	-.01	.36	.29	-.07
South															
Large Met	.67	.72	.05	.34	.44	.10	.32	.42	.10	.35	.44	.09	.59	.66	.08
Medium Met	.61	.65	.04	.36	.37	.01	.35	.35	.01	.37	.39	.03	.46	.44	-.02
Small Met	.57	.59	.02	.36	.36	-.01	.38	.37	-.02	.28	.31	.02	.38	.37	-.01
West															
Large Met	.63	.65	.02	.48	.52	.03	.35	.41	.07	.54	.54	.00	.48	.54	.06
Medium Met	.54	.54	.00	.48	.47	-.01	.37	.40	.02	.51	.49	-.02	.47	.44	-.02
Small Met	.54	.54	.00	.52	.53	.01	.36	.36	.00	.54	.56	.02	.55	.50	-.05
North	.68	.70	.03	.22	.27	.04	.19	.22	.03	.24	.27	.04	.45	.45	.00
South	.63	.67	.04	.35	.41	.06	.34	.39	.05	.35	.41	.07	.53	.58	.05
West	.60	.62	.01	.49	.51	.02	.35	.41	.06	.54	.53	-.01	.47	.51	.04
Large Met	.67	.71	.03	.32	.39	.07	.25	.31	.06	.39	.43	.04	.47	.53	.05
Medium Met	.64	.67	.02	.37	.39	.02	.31	.32	.02	.43	.44	.01	.48	.47	-.02
Small Met	.56	.57	.01	.38	.38	.00	.36	.34	-.01	.39	.42	.02	.43	.39	-.04
US Met Total	.65	.67	.03	.34	.39	.05	.27	.32	.05	.40	.43	.03	.48	.51	.03

*Proportion of a group's metropolitan area population that resides in the suburbs (outside the central city).
[Group's Suburb Population / Group's Metropolitan Area Population]

** Includes MSAs/PMSAs/NECMAs with separately designated central cities and suburbs according to OMB definitions, June 30, 1990.
Size categories are based on 1990 populations: large (greater than 1,000,000), medium (250,000 - 999,999), small (less than 250,000).

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.

Table 2. Proportion Residing in Suburbs for Metropolitan Area Blacks and Non-Blacks, 1960, 1970, 1980, and1990.

Region/Met Categories	Blacks							Non-Blacks						
	Years				Differences			Years				Differences		
	1960	1970	1980	1990	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1960	1970	1980	1990	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90
North														
Large Met	.12	.13	.18	.22	.01	.05	.04	.52	.60	.65	.67	.08	.06	.02
Medium Met	.20	.18	.22	.25	-.02	.03	.04	.58	.63	.68	.70	.05	.05	.02
Small Met	.31	.26	.25	.24	-.05	-.01	.00	.53	.52	.55	.55	-.01	.03	.00
South														
Large Met	.25	.25	.32	.42	-.01	.08	.10	.48	.56	.63	.67	.08	.07	.04
Medium Met	.41	.34	.35	.35	-.07	.00	.01	.57	.52	.59	.62	-.05	.08	.03
Small Met	.50	.42	.38	.37	-.08	-.04	-.02	.52	.49	.55	.57	-.03	.06	.02
West														
Large Met	.21	.25	.35	.41	.04	.09	.07	.54	.58	.61	.62	.04	.03	.01
Medium Met	.40	.35	.37	.40	-.05	.02	.02	.57	.52	.53	.52	-.05	.00	-.01
Small Met	.49	.39	.36	.36	-.11	-.03	.00	.59	.50	.54	.54	-.09	.04	.00
North	.14	.15	.19	.22	.00	.04	.03	.54	.60	.65	.67	.06	.05	.02
South	.36	.31	.34	.39	-.05	.03	.05	.52	.53	.60	.64	.01	.07	.03
West	.24	.27	.35	.41	.02	.08	.06	.55	.56	.58	.59	.01	.02	.00
Large Met	.17	.18	.25	.31	.01	.07	.06	.52	.58	.64	.66	.07	.05	.02
Medium Met	.35	.29	.31	.32	-.06	.01	.02	.57	.58	.63	.64	.00	.05	.02
Small Met	.47	.39	.36	.34	-.08	-.03	-.01	.53	.50	.55	.55	-.03	.04	.01
US Met Total	.25	.23	.27	.32	-.02	.04	.05	.54	.57	.62	.64	.03	.05	.02

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.

Table 3. Percent of Suburb Population and City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index** for All Minorities, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, 1990 and 1980-90 Change.****

Region/Met Categories	Percent of Suburb Population								City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index							
	All Minorities		Blacks		Hispanics		Asians		All Minorities		Blacks		Hispanics		Asians	
	1990	Change 1980-90	1990	Change 1980-90	1990	Change 1980-90	1990	Change 1980-90	1990	Change 1980-90	1990	Change 1980-90	1990	Change 1980-90	1990	Change 1980-90
North																
Large Met	11.1	3.2	5.9	1.2	2.9	1.1	2.2	1.2	47.5	-1.6	50.9	-0.3	49.4	-1.2	28.3	2.0
Medium Met	6.6	1.7	2.8	0.5	2.6	0.8	1.1	0.6	37.8	-1.3	46.8	-0.7	29.5	2.0	17.7	5.6
Small Met	4.0	0.7	2.1	0.2	0.9	0.2	0.6	0.3	28.1	1.0	31.1	0.4	23.7	1.3	26.8	7.3
South																
Large Met	25.3	6.9	13.6	2.3	9.1	3.5	2.7	1.5	27.4	-5.3	30.0	-4.8	27.8	-4.4	5.5	-2.9
Medium Met	17.5	1.0	11.1	-0.5	5.1	1.0	0.8	0.3	27.6	2.1	29.6	2.9	25.5	0.9	20.7	5.5
Small Met	16.0	0.6	11.2	-0.8	3.5	0.9	0.7	0.3	23.5	3.1	22.6	4.0	28.5	0.2	22.2	3.4
West																
Large Met	32.8	8.2	5.0	0.6	19.7	4.7	7.9	3.9	13.7	-1.1	24.3	-4.3	11.5	2.7	11.7	-3.9
Medium Met	29.9	4.3	3.3	0.6	17.7	3.2	8.4	1.2	7.0	1.2	14.1	-2.4	4.5	2.0	9.3	2.0
Small Met	19.5	4.3	1.2	0.2	14.5	3.5	2.4	1.1	0.6	-1.5	17.3	-0.9	2.5	2.0	4.1	3.4
North	9.0	2.5	4.5	0.9	2.6	0.9	1.7	0.9	43.4	-1.8	48.0	-0.7	42.9	-1.1	25.0	2.5
South	21.1	3.9	12.3	0.8	6.8	2.3	1.7	0.9	25.9	-1.8	28.1	-0.7	25.6	-2.7	8.4	-1.3
West	31.2	7.2	4.3	0.6	18.9	4.3	7.6	3.2	10.8	-0.9	20.8	-4.5	8.4	1.9	10.2	-2.6
Large Met	20.8	6.3	7.6	1.5	9.2	3.1	3.9	2.1	31.3	-3.9	39.4	-3.2	27.6	-1.2	18.0	-1.9
Medium Met	13.8	2.2	5.9	0.3	5.6	1.4	2.0	0.6	28.1	0.5	34.4	0.7	22.9	1.8	20.1	4.1
Small Met	11.8	1.6	5.9	-0.1	4.4	1.3	0.9	0.4	18.9	0.7	22.4	2.2	15.1	-1.4	17.9	5.1
US Met Total	17.6	4.5	6.9	1.0	7.5	2.4	3.0	1.5	28.4	-2.7	35.7	-1.9	24.4	-0.7	16.8	-0.5

* Equals: (Group Suburb Population / Total Suburb Population) x 100.

** City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index measures the dissimilarity between the group's city-suburb distribution and the Non-Hispanic White population's city-suburb distribution. It ranges from 0 (complete similarity) to 100 (complete separation). In this instance, it is calculated as: [(Nonblack Suburb Population / Nonblack Metro Area Population) - (Black Suburb Population / Black Metro Area Population)] x 100. A high index typically means that the group is under represented in the suburbs.

*** 1980-90 change equals 1990 value minus 1980 value.

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.

Table 4. Black Percent of Suburb Population and City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990.*

Region/Met Categories	Black Percent of Suburb Pop.				Change			City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index*			
	1960	1970	1980	1990	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1960	1970	1980	1990
North											
Large Met	2.8	3.4	4.7	5.9	0.6	1.4	1.2	40.	46.	47.	46.
Medium Met	1.7	1.8	2.2	2.8	0.1	0.4	0.5	38.	44.	47.	45.
Small Met	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	21.	26.	30.	30.
South											
Large Met	11.4	9.6	11.3	13.6	-1.7	1.7	2.3	23.	31.	31.	25.
Medium Met	14.9	13.0	11.6	11.1	-2.0	-1.4	-0.5	16.	17.	25.	27.
Small Met	17.1	14.0	11.9	11.2	-3.1	-2.1	-0.8	2.	7.	17.	20.
West											
Large Met	2.2	3.1	4.4	5.0	0.9	1.3	0.6	32.	32.	26.	21.
Medium Met	2.0	2.2	2.7	3.3	0.2	0.5	0.6	17.	17.	15.	12.
Small Met	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.2	0.0	-0.1	0.2	10.	11.	18.	17.
North	2.3	2.7	3.7	4.5	0.4	0.9	0.9	39.	45.	46.	45.
South	14.1	11.7	11.5	12.3	-2.4	-0.2	0.8	17.	22.	26.	25.
West	2.1	2.8	3.8	4.3	0.7	1.0	0.6	30.	29.	23.	18.
Large Met	4.1	4.5	6.1	7.6	0.4	1.7	1.5	34.	40.	39.	35.
Medium Met	6.3	5.3	5.5	5.9	-1.0	0.2	0.3	22.	28.	32.	32.
Small Met	7.7	6.5	5.9	5.9	-1.2	-0.6	-0.1	7.	12.	19.	21.
US Met Total	5.3	5.0	5.9	6.9	-0.3	1.0	1.0	28.	34.	35.	32.

* In this table, the City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index compares the city-suburb distribution of the Black population with that of the Nonblack population.

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.

Table 5. Standardized Regression Coefficents for Equations Estimating 1990 Proportion in Suburbs for All Minorities and Non-Hispanic Whites.

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable: 1990 Proportion in Suburbs for All Minorities	Non-Hispanic Whites
1980 Proportion in Suburbs*	.990 ª	.957 ª
1980 Minority Percent of Suburb Population	-.095 ª	-.067 ª
1980 Minority Percent of City Population	.129 ª	.063 ª
1980-90 Percent Metro Growth-White	.099 ª	.023 ª
1980-90 Percent Metro Growth-Minorities	-.095 ª	-.004
Large Size**	.027	.004
South Region**	-.059 ª	.019
West Region**	-.044 ª	-.033 ª
Large Size x South Region**	.048 ª	.010
Large Size x West Region**	.037 ª	.024 •
R2	.952	.974
(N)	(314)	(314)

• Significant at .10 level

ª Significant at .05 level

* Pertains to All Minorities in first equation, Non-Hispanic Whites in second equation.

** Value=1.0 for category shown, 0 for all other categories.

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.

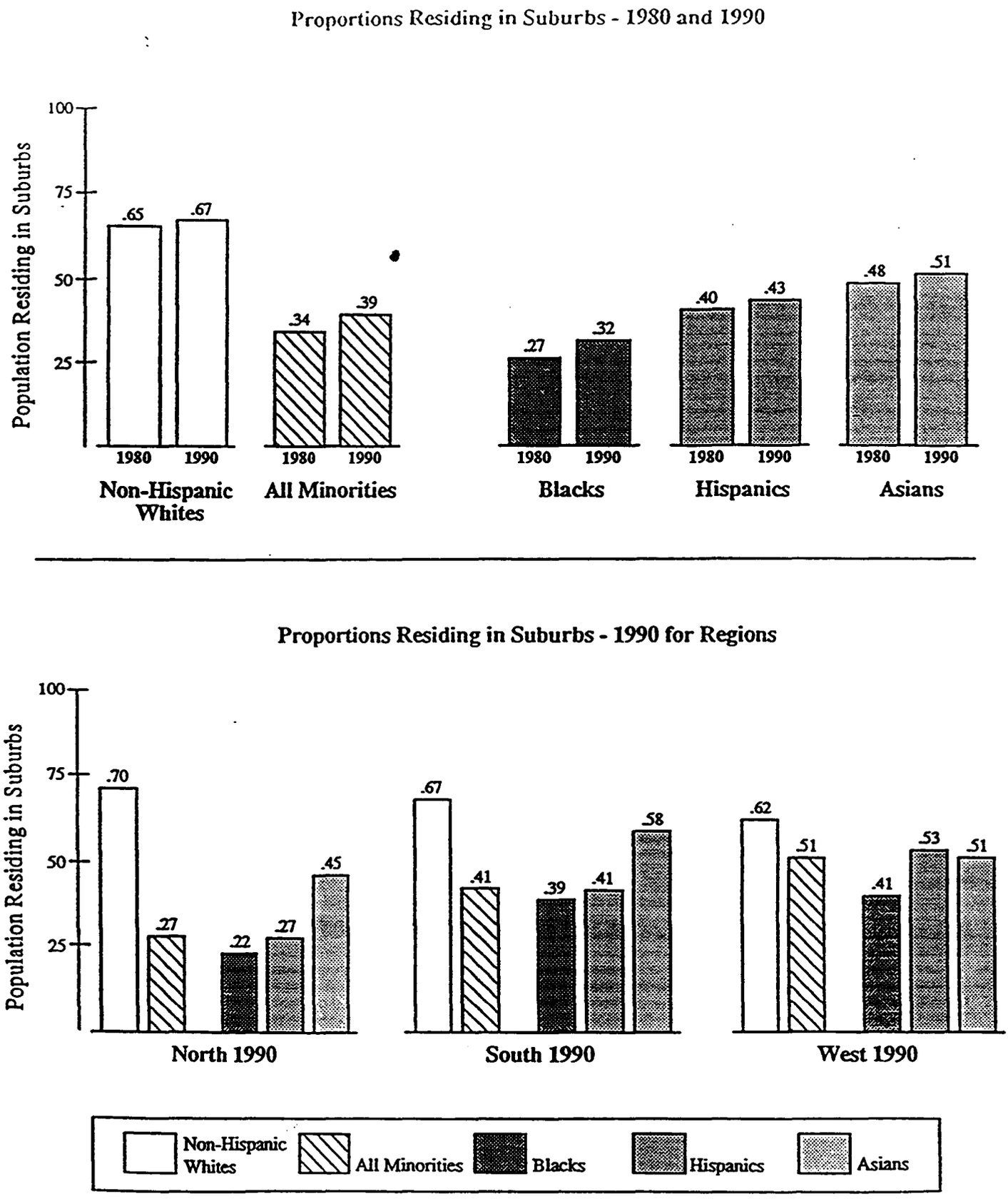


Figure 1. Proportions Residing in Suburbs, 1980-1990: Metropolitan Area Race and Ethnic Groups

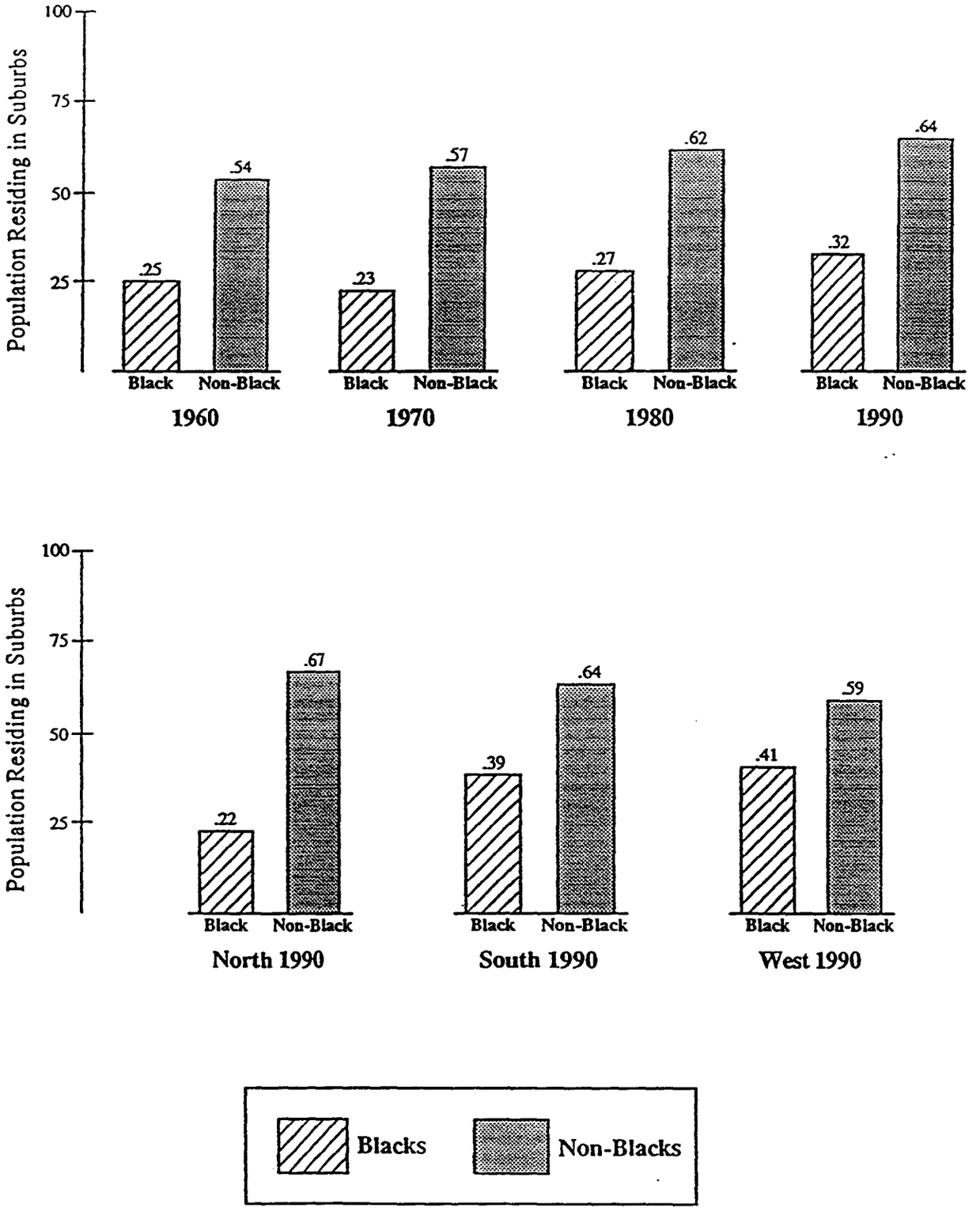


Figure 2. Proportions Residing in the Suburbs 1960-90: Metropolitan Area Blacks and Non-Blacks

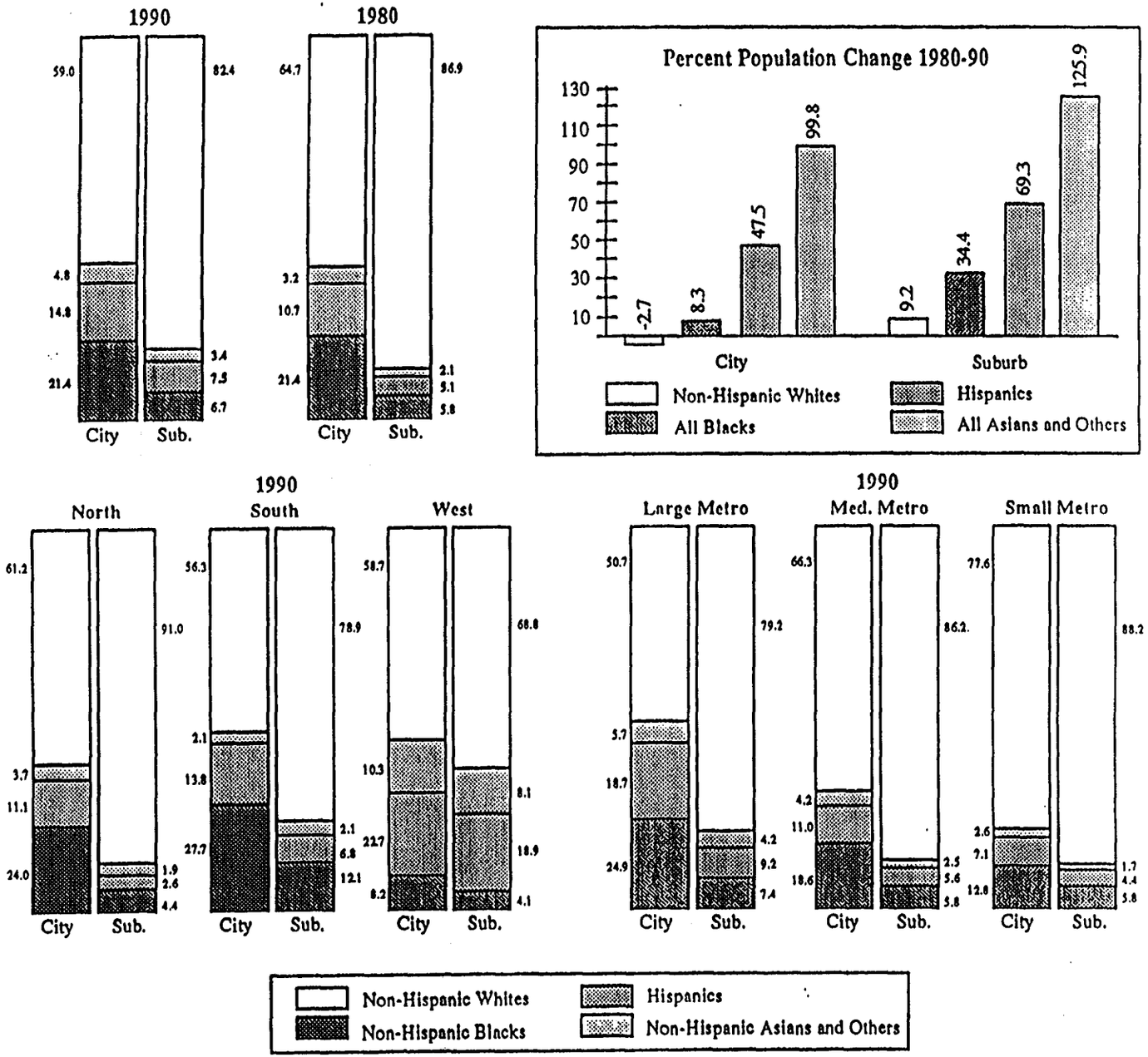


Figure 3. Race/Ethnic Percent Compositions of Central City and Suburb Populations, 1980-90

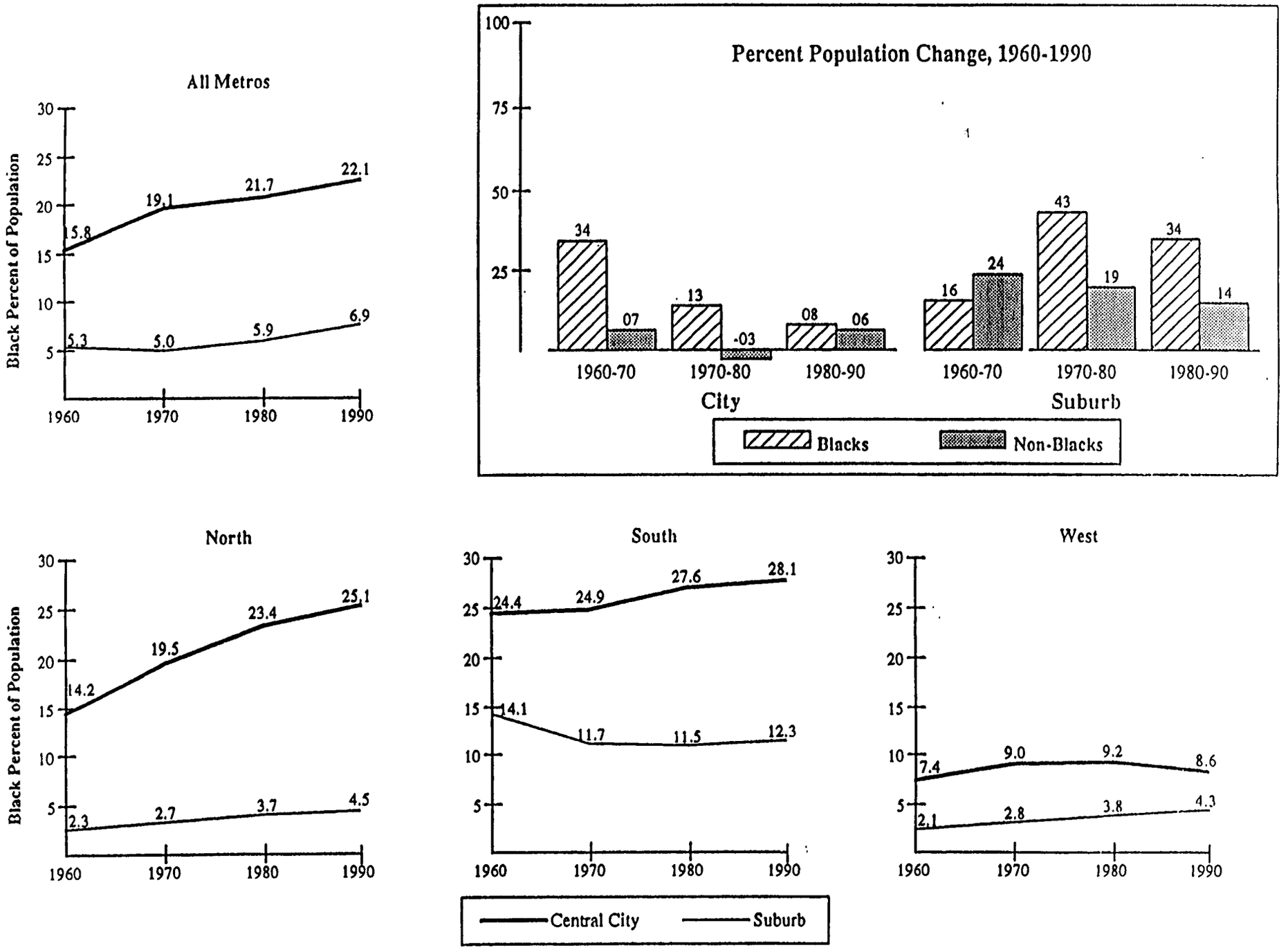
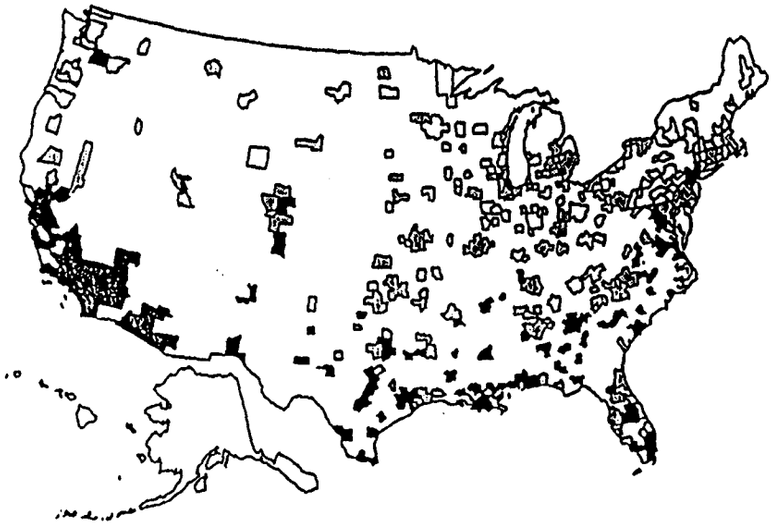
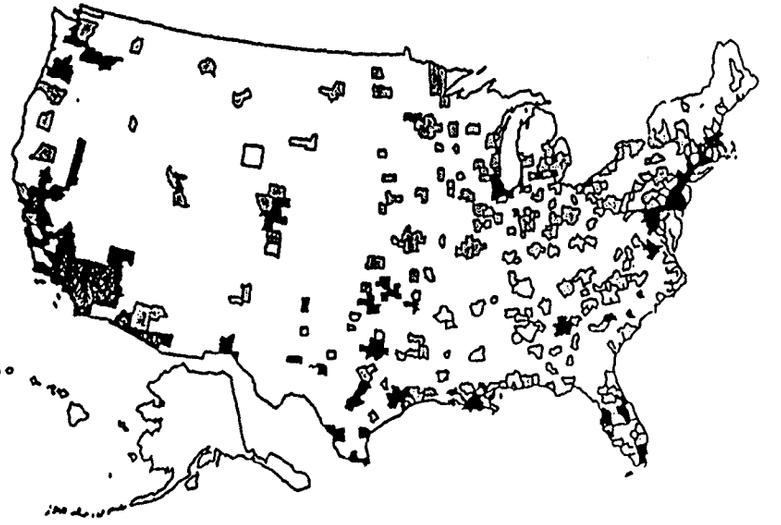


Figure 4. Black Percent of Central City and Suburb Populations, 1960-1990

Minority Percent of Suburb Population, 1990



Change in Suburb Minority Percent, 1980-90



City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index, 1990

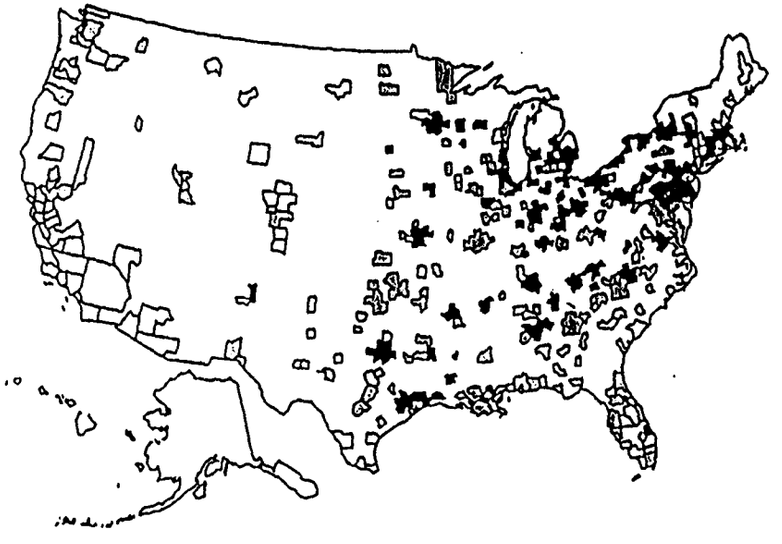


Figure 5. Maps of Metro Areas

Classed by Measures of Suburban Minority Composition, Change, and City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index

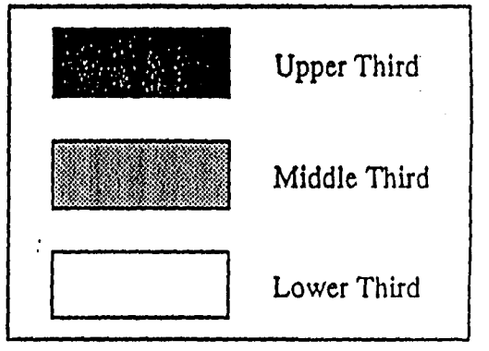


Chart 1. Metro Area Rankings on Suburban Minority Measures

Metro Areas With Highest 1990 Minority Percent of Suburb Population

1.	94.2	Laredo, TX MSA
2.	89.1	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA
3.	79.9	El Paso, TX MSA
4.	79.9	Brownsville-Harlingen, TX MSA
5.	66.8	Las Cruces, NM MSA
6.	66.8	Honolulu, HI MSA
7.	63.3	Miama-Hialeah, FL MSA
8.	58.3	Corpus Christi, TX MSA
9.	57.7	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA
10.	54.5	Albuquerque, NM MSA
11.	51.4	Visalia-Tilare-Porterville, CA MSA
12.	49.9	Yuma, AZ MSA
13.	47.7	Fresno, CA MSA
14.	45.8	Jersey City, NJ PMSA
15.	43.9	Santa Fe, NM MSA
16.	43.4	Merced, CA MSA
17.	43.4	Salinas-Seaside-Monterey, CA MSA
18.	40.5	Columbus, GA-AL MSA
19.	38.8	Bakersfield, CA MSA
20.	38.4	Fayetteville, NC MSA

Metro Areas with Greatest 1980-90 Increases in Minority Percent of Suburb Population

1.	19.8	Laredo, TX MSA
2.	19.1	Miama-Hialeah, FL MSA
3.	17.1	Odessa, TX MSA
4.	12.8	Jersey City, NJ PMSA
5.	12.7	El Paso, TX MSA
6.	12.5	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA
7.	12.3	Midland, TX MSA
8.	12.1	Visalia-Tilare-Porterville, CA MSA
9.	11.1	Merced, CA MSA
10.	11.0	Riverside-San Bernadino, CA PMSA
11.	10.8	Anaheim-Santa Ana, CA MSA
12.	10.4	Yuma, AZ MSA
13.	10.0	Modesto, CA MSA
14.	9.8	San Jose, CA PMSA
15.	9.6	Yakima, WA MSA
16.	9.3	San Francisco, CA PMSA
17.	9.0	Houston, TX PMSA
18.	9.0	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA
19.	8.8	Oakland, CA PMSA
20.	8.5	Fresno, CA MSA

Metro Areas with Highest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index*

1.	67.3	Detroit, MI PMSA
2.	65.9	Gary-Hammond, IN PMSA
3.	58.3	Reading, PA MSA
4.	58.2	Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA
5.	58.1	Birmingham, AL MSA
6.	57.6	Buffalo, NY PMSA
7.	57.3	Chattanooga, TN-GA MSA
8.	56.5	Lima, OH MSA
9.	54.4	Milwaukee, WI PMSA
10.	53.5	Rochester, NY MSA
11.	53.3	Flint, MI MSA
12.	53.0	Lancaster, PA MSA
13.	52.9	Syracuse, NY MSA
14.	52.4	York, PA MSA
15.	51.0	Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA
16.	50.8	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA
17.	50.5	Mansfield, OH MSA
18.	49.3	Gadsen, AL MSA
19.	49.0	Baltimore, MD MSA
20.	49.0	Peoria, IL MSA

Metro Areas with Lowest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index*

1.	0.1	Salem, OR MSA
2.	0.2	Tallahassee, FL MSA
3.	0.2	Greeley, CO MSA
4.	0.4	Laredo, TX MSA
5.	0.4	Great Falls, MT MSA
6.	0.6	Olympia, WA MSA
7.	1.1	Colorado Springs, CO MSA
8.	1.3	Pascagoula, MS MSA
9.	1.4	Phoenix, AZ MSA
10.	1.6	Columbus, GA-AL MSA
11.	1.7	Corpus Christi, TX MSA
12.	1.7	Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA MSA
13.	1.8	Hagerstown, MD MSA
14.	2.1	Yuba City, CA MSA
15.	2.4	Lubbock, TX MSA
16.	2.8	Lawton, OK MSA
17.	2.9	Fresno, CA MSA
18.	2.9	Lafayette-West Lafayette, IN MSA
19.	3.1	Bellingham, WA MSA
20.	3.2	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA

* City Suburb Dissimilarity Index calculated between Minorities and Non-Hispanic Whites.

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.

Chart 3. Metro Area Rankings on City-Suburb Dissimilarity Indexes for Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians

BLACKS

Highest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index (Black vs. N.H. Whites)

1.	76.1	Gary-Hammond, IN PMSA
2.	74.9	Detroit, MI PMSA
3.	67.8	York, PA MSA
4.	66.4	Buffalo, NY PMSA
5.	65.1	Syracuse, NY MSA
6.	64.4	Lima, OH MSA
7.	64.1	Youngstoen-Warren, OH MSA
8.	62.2	Rochester, NY MSA
9.	61.5	Chattanooga, TN-GA MSA
10.	61.2	Lake County, IL PMSA

Lowest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index (Black vs. N.H. Whites)

1.	0.1	Las Cruces, NM MSA
2.	0.4	Laredo, TX MSA
3.	1.1	Naples, FL MSA
4.	1.3	Yuba City, CA MSA
5.	1.4	Pascagoula, MS MSA
6.	1.6	Colorado Springs, CO MSA
7.	1.7	Columbus, GA-AL MSA
8.	1.7	Tallahassee, FL MSA
9.	1.7	Hagerstown, MD MSA
10.	2.1	Santa Fe, NM MSA

HISPANICS

Highest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index (Hispanic vs. N.H. Whites)

1.	66.1	Reading, PA MSA
2.	63.6	Lancaster, PA MSA
3.	57.1	Hartford-New Britain
4.	53.4	Newark, NJ PMSA
5.	52.4	Allentown-Bethlehem, PA-NJ MSA
6.	51.4	Cleveland, OH PMSA
7.	49.6	Trenton, NJ PMSA
8.	48.7	Springfield, MA NECMA
9.	48.5	Rochester, NY MSA
10.	47.4	Gary-Hammond, IN PMSA

Lowest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index (Hispanic vs. N.H. Whites)

1.	0.0	Phoenix, AZ MSA
2.	0.1	Anderson, IN MSA
3.	0.2	Hamilton-Middletown,
4.	0.4	Laredo, TX MSA
5.	0.4	Merced, CA MSA
6.	0.5	Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA MSA
7.	0.7	Boise City, ID MSA
8.	0.7	Odessa, TX MSA
9.	0.7	Lubbock, TX MSA
10.	0.8	Vallejo-Fairfield-

ASIANS

Highest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index (Asian vs. N.H. Whites)

1.	58.0	Wausau, WI MSA
2.	49.3	Eau Claire, WI MSA
3.	49.2	Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX MSA
4.	47.0	Sheboygan, WI MSA
5.	44.5	State College, PA MSA
6.	42.1	La Crosse, WI MSA
7.	41.6	Dacatur, AL MSA
8.	40.6	Athens, GA MSA
9.	40.4	Providence-Pawtucket, RI-MA MSA
10.	39.9	Green Bay, WI MSA

Lowest 1990 City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index (Asian vs. N.H. Whites)

1.	0.0	Springfield, MA NECMA
2.	0.1	Orlando, FL MSA
3.	0.2	Joliet, IL PMSA
4.	0.2	Middlesex-Somerset
5.	0.3	Benton Harbor, MI MSA
6.	0.4	Erie, PA MSA
7.	0.5	Bergen-Passaic, NJ
8.	0.7	Poughkeepsie, NY MSA
9.	0.7	Kankakee, IL MSA
10.	0.7	Atlanta, GA MSA

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.

Chart 2. Metro Area Rankings for Black, Hispanic, and Asian Percentages of Suburb Population.

BLACKS

Highest 1990 Suburb Black Percent

1.	36.2	Columbus, GA-AL MSA
2.	35.8	Florence, SC MSA
3.	31.2	Tallahassee, FL MSA
4.	29.4	Fayetteville, NC MSA
5.	29.3	Jackson, MS MSA
6.	28.1	Charleston, SC MSA
7.	28.0	Augusta, GA-SC MSA
8.	26.8	Danville, VA MSA
9.	26.8	Columbia, SC MSA
10.	24.9	Albany, GA MSA

Greatest 1980-90 Increases in Suburb Black Percent

1.	5.2	Atlanta, GA MSA
2.	4.1	Miama-Hialeah, FL MSA
3.	3.5	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA
4.	3.4	Lafayette, LA MSA
5.	3.3	Washington, DC-MD-VA MSA
6.	3.0	Newark, NJ PMSA
7.	2.6	Houston, TX PMSA
8.	2.4	Dallas, TX PMSA
9.	2.4	Chicago, IL PMSA
10.	2.3	Riverside-San Bernadino, CA PMSA

HISPANICS

Highest 1990 Suburb Hispanic Percent

1.	93.9	Laredo, TX MSA
2.	88.7	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA
3.	79.3	Brownsville-Harlingen, TX MSA
4.	73.4	El Paso, TX MSA
5.	64.5	Las Cruces, NM MSA
6.	56.4	Corpus Christi, TX MSA
7.	47.6	Albuquerque, NM MSA
8.	46.3	Visalia-Tilare-Porterville, CA MSA
9.	45.8	Yuma, AZ MSA
10.	41.8	Fresno, CA MSA

Greatest 1980-90 Increases in Suburb Hispanic Percent

1.	20.1	Laredo, TX MSA
2.	16.6	Odessa, TX MSA
3.	16.3	El Paso, TX MSA
4.	15.3	Miama-Hialeah, FL MSA
5.	14.2	Yuma, AZ MSA
6.	12.4	Midland, TX MSA
7.	12.1	Visalia-Tilare-Porterville, CA MSA
8.	10.8	Jersey City, NJ PMSA
9.	9.6	Merced, CA MSA
10.	9.1	Yakima, WA MSA

ASIANS

Highest 1990 Suburb Asian Percent

1.	57.1	Honolulu, HI MSA
2.	15.6	San Jose, CA PMSA
3.	13.5	San Francisco, CA PMSA
4.	12.7	Oakland, CA PMSA
5.	11.5	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA
6.	10.6	Anaheim-Santa Ana, CA MSA
7.	9.3	Yuba City, CA MSA
8.	6.5	Salinas-Seaside-Monterey, CA MSA
9.	6.1	Vallejo-Fairfield-
10.	5.8	Middlesex-Somerset

Greatest 1980-90 Increases in Suburb Asian Percent

1.	8.3	San Jose, CA PMSA
2.	6.5	Oakland, CA PMSA
3.	6.1	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA
4.	6.1	Anaheim-Santa Ana, CA MSA
5.	5.9	San Francisco, CA PMSA
6.	4.4	Yuba City, CA MSA
7.	4.0	Middlesex-Somerset
8.	3.6	Bergen-Passaic, NJ MSA
9.	3.0	Merced, CA MSA
10.	3.0	Vallejo-Fairfield-

Source: Compiled at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses.