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Minority Suburbanization, Stable Integration, and Economic Opportunity in Fifteen Metropolitan Regions

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to the Detroit Branch NAACP**

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Introduction and Summary of Findings

American metropolitan areas continue to decentralize. For over a half-century, there has been steady movement of people and economic opportunity into suburban areas. For several decades, this was largely a white phenomenon. But rapidly increasing black and Hispanic suburbanization characterizes recent decades. For black households, this often is due to migration from central cities into adjoining suburbs, while for many Hispanic households it may be the result of migration directly into suburban areas from origins beyond a particular metro region. Viewed as a whole, the result is increasing racial diversity in the suburbs.

But more suburban racial diversity overall does not necessarily mean more integration, either for entire metro areas or for their suburbs. Indeed, if suburban neighborhoods continue to follow the patterns of urban neighborhoods during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, then black and Hispanic suburbanization could lead to little or no decrease in segregation over the long term.

Just as residential integration does not necessarily result from suburban diversity, neither does economic opportunity. Although an important motivation for migration to the suburbs for households of any race or ethnicity is the pursuit of greater opportunities, current suburbanization patterns actually could decrease the opportunities available to some racial-ethnic groups. For instance, if economic opportunity in the form of jobs is suburbanizing in one direction while households of color primarily suburbanize in a different direction, the resulting geographic mismatch can significantly decrease economic opportunity for those groups.

This report uses the following U.S. Census-defined race and ethnicity categories, and the words that denote them: white, black, and Hispanic.

These categories and terms are not ideal, nor do they align entirely with current usage. Because most of the data in this report are from the U.S. Census of Population, use of Census terms permits accuracy in reporting results.¹

The research reported here examined the dynamics of suburbanization and racial change in fifteen large U.S. metro areas from 1980 to 2000, and the geography of jobs from 1990-2000. This report presents the fifteen-metro results, and provides in-depth examples for four metro areas—Detroit, Chicago, Atlanta, and Washington, D.C.² The results are consistent with other recent research showing that, despite considerable suburbanization of households of color, residential segregation has not declined “meaningfully,” and that segregated suburban patterns tend to reflect those of their metro regions overall.³

Metropolitan Growth and Suburbanization

- Racial and ethnic diversity increased in each of the fifteen metro regions, and as much as doubled in some.
- In many of the metro areas, a dramatic increase in Hispanic populations was the largest contributor to increasing diversity.

- Whites were a minority racial group in three of the fifteen metro regions as of 2000.
- By 2000, 49 percent of black residents and 63 percent of Hispanic residents lived in the suburbs of the fifteen metro regions.
- Black suburbanization rates were highest in inner-ring suburbs, which typically struggle with many of the same problems as their neighboring central cities.

Neighborhood Segregation and Integration

- Despite a 30-percent increase in the number of integrated neighborhoods over twenty years, 71 percent of all neighborhoods in the fifteen metro regions remained segregated as of 2000.
- By 2000, a much smaller share of blacks lived in predominantly black neighborhoods. Little of that is due to increased proximity to whites, however; most is accounted for because of increased proximity to Hispanics.
- As of 2000, in the fifteen metro regions overall –
 - 63 percent of whites lived in predominantly white neighborhoods.
 - 71 percent of blacks lived in predominantly black or black-Hispanic neighborhoods.
 - 61 percent of Hispanics lived in predominantly Hispanic or black-Hispanic neighborhoods.
- In the five metro regions with largest, fast-growing, Hispanic shares, Hispanic segregation increased considerably during the two decades.

Stable Integration and Neighborhood Transition

- Many neighborhoods that were integrated in the past were not *stably* integrated but, rather, in transition to predominantly single-race or black-Hispanic status.
- Overall, the larger the share of black or Hispanic residents in a neighborhood, the greater is the likelihood that it is in transition, rather than stably integrated.
- Integrated neighborhoods with 1980 nonwhite shares greater than 23-29 percent, depending on neighborhood type, were more likely to become segregated by 2000 than to remain integrated.

Neighborhood Stability, Integration, and Access to Opportunity

- Integrated neighborhoods were much more likely to be *stably integrated* in metro areas that had county- or region-wide school busing programs during the 1980s and 1990s than they were in metro areas without school integration programs at a scale matching the size of the metro region.
- Job growth during the 1990s generally was greatest in second- and third-ring suburbs. The largest surge in black suburbanization tended to be in first-ring suburbs.
- Economic opportunity in the form of jobs and job growth is, in some metro regions, occurring in areas other than where black and Hispanic suburbanization is trending.
- In three metropolitan areas—Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis—the overall pattern of job change during the 1990s was least favorable in neighborhoods with large minority population shares.
- In some other metropolitan areas—such as Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia—although the patterns were mixed, job growth was below regional averages, often by significant amounts, in areas with significant growth in black and Hispanic populations.

Implications and Recommendations

- Policies applied at the scale of the metro region can support the stability of integrated neighborhoods, as occurred for regions that had county- or metro-wide school integration programs.
- [Finish with proofing after Tom~Myron reviews.]

Metropolitan Growth and Suburbanization

The old “Central City vs. Suburbs” paradigm does not reflect contemporary reality. By 2000, roughly half of the residents of color in medium and large metropolitan areas lived in the suburbs, comprising 27 percent of suburban populations.⁴ As of 2002, nearly half of the poor residents in U.S. metro areas had suburban addresses.⁵

Other research shows that there is great diversity in the fiscal health of suburbs. In the late 1990s more than half of suburban residents in the 25 largest metropolitan areas lived in communities showing signs of fiscal stress.⁶ Fiscal stress affects the opportunities available to residents in many ways, including lower access to high-quality public services—especially schools—and lower property values and appreciation. Indeed, many suburban communities showed greater signs of stress than their neighboring central cities.

Moreover, the racial-ethnic mix of fiscally-stressed suburbs was highly skewed. Black and Hispanic suburban households were much more likely to reside in stressed places than whites. Overall, 82 percent of black and Hispanic suburban residents lived in fiscally stressed suburbs, compared with only 52 percent of white residents.⁷

The fifteen metropolitan areas included in this research represent a good cross-section of major metropolitan areas in the United States. They reflect a wide range of racial and ethnic compositions and vary in size. They also vary in size, ranging from 2.3 to 21.2 million (Table 1). Each is among the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the country, and together they represent about one-third of the nation’s population.

<u>Metropolitan Area</u>	<u>Population 2000</u>	<u>Percentage of Population</u>		
		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Atlanta	4,112,198	60%	29%	6%
Boston	5,819,101	83	5	6
Chicago	9,157,540	59	18	16
Cleveland	2,945,831	78	16	3
Detroit	5,456,428	72	21	3
Houston	4,669,571	48	17	29
Los Angeles	16,373,645	39	7	40
Miami	3,876,380	36	19	40
Minneapolis	2,968,806	85	5	3
New York	21,199,865	56	16	18
Philadelphia	6,188,463	70	19	6
Portland	2,265,223	81	2	9
St. Louis	2,603,607	77	18	2
San Diego	2,813,833	55	5	27
Washington D.C.	7,608,070	60	26	6
Total	98,058,561	59%	15%	18%

Eleven of the metros are among the nation's 20 metro areas with the largest black population shares as of 2000. Overall, the black population share varied from a low of two percent in Portland to a high of 29 percent in Atlanta. Hispanic population shares varied widely as well, from just two percent in St. Louis to more than 40 percent in Los Angeles and Miami. In contrast, three of the metro regions had white population shares above 80 percent. (Table 1.)

Metropolitan Growth and Demographic Change

Widely varying population growth among the fifteen metropolitan areas reflects enormous differences in the vitality of the regions. As a group, their populations increased 24 percent between 1980 and 2000, but growth rates varied from less than one percent in Cleveland to 84 percent in Atlanta (Table 2).

<u>Metropolitan Area</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Non-Hispanic White</u>	<u>Non-Hispanic Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Atlanta	84%	48%	121%	982%
Boston	14	1	51	212
Chicago	13	-5	8	136
Cleveland	0	-6	14	84
Detroit	3	-6	14	80
Houston	50	9	38	201
Los Angeles	42	-9	14	140
Miami	49	-12	115	153
Minneapolis	35	21	213	332
New York	12	-12	19	84
Philadelphia	10	-2	17	135
Portland	43	25	42	420
St. Louis	7	2	11	74
San Diego	53	13	54	176
Washington D.C.	31	12	35	309
Total	24	-1	28	137

There also was enormous variation in growth rates for different racial groups. Overall, the 24-point increase in population in the fifteen metros was due entirely to increases in black and Hispanic populations. The number of Hispanics in these metropolitan areas more than doubled during the two decades, while black population grew by only 28 percent. The *number* of white residents in the regions as a whole actually declined during the two decades. (Table 2.)

These variations reflect national trends. The nation's Hispanic population grew rapidly during the 1990s, and the Hispanic share now exceeds the black share of total population.⁸ This is in part related to another demographic trend that is reshaping many metro areas: the nation's largest-ever immigration wave occurred in the 1990s, accounting for over 40 percent of the population increase during the decade. By 2000, 11 percent of the nation's population was foreign-born, a 57.4 percent increase since 1990.⁹

Growth rates among the racial groups also varied a great deal across the fifteen metropolitan areas. White population growth rates varied from declines of 12 percent in New York and Miami to a 48-percent increase in Atlanta—white population actually declined in seven of the fifteen metros. In contrast, black and Hispanic populations grew in each of the regions. Black population more than tripled in Minneapolis, and more than doubled in Atlanta and Miami. Hispanic totals grew substantially, more than doubling in all but four of the fifteen regions, and increasing more than ten-fold in Atlanta. (Table 2.)

The substantial differences in growth rates for the three racial-ethnic groups mean that the composition of these metropolitan areas changed significantly during the two decades. Overall, the most dramatic changes were declines in the white share of the population and increases in the Hispanic share. Black shares, on the other hand were relatively stable.

The white share of the fifteen regions' populations decreased significantly to 59 percent in 2000, from 74 percent in 1980. There was considerable variation among the metro regions, however, with white shares decreasing anywhere from 3 to 26 percentage points. The regions with the largest shares of white residents in 1980, as well as those with the smallest shares, maintained those rankings throughout the two decades. Whites were a minority racial group in three of the metro regions as of 2000. (Table 3.)

Metropolitan Area	Percentage of Population White			Percentage of Population Black			Percentage of Population Hispanic		
	1980	2000	Change	1980	2000	Change	1980	2000	Change
Atlanta	74%	60%	-14%	24%	29%	5%	1%	6%	5%
Boston	93	83	-10	4	5	1	2	6	4
Chicago	71	59	-11	19	18	-1	8	16	9
Cleveland	83	78	-5	14	16	2	1	3	1
Detroit	78	72	-7	19	21	2	2	3	1
Houston	65	48	-18	18	17	-1	14	29	15
Los Angeles	61	39	-22	9	7	-2	24	40	16
Miami	62	36	-26	13	19	6	24	40	16
Minneapolis	95	85	-10	2	5	3	1	3	2
New York	71	56	-15	15	16	1	11	18	7
Philadelphia	78	70	-8	18	19	1	3	6	3
Portland	93	81	-12	2	2	0	2	9	6
St. Louis	81	77	-3	17	18	1	1	2	1
San Diego	74	55	-19	5	5	0	15	27	12
Washington D.C.	71	60	-11	25	26	1	2	6	4
Total	74	59	-15	15	15	1	9	18	9

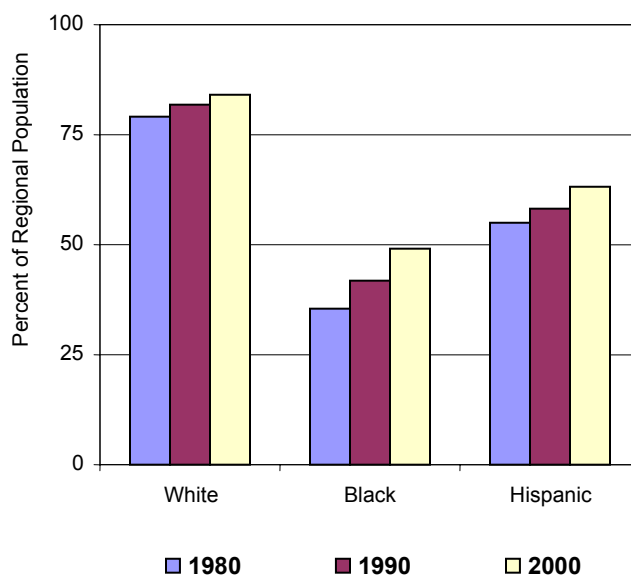
Reflecting the patterns in growth rates, Hispanic shares of the population showed the most dramatic increases, more than doubling in 11 of the fifteen metropolitan areas (Table 2). By 2000, Hispanic residents represented the largest population share in Los Angeles and Miami and more than one quarter of the population in two other metros—Houston and San Diego (Table 3).

Suburbanization

Decentralization has been a dominant trend in metropolitan development in the United States after WWII. Early in the period, most outward movement was by white households. This has changed in recent decades, as non-white households, especially black households, have joined the migration. In fact, suburbanization rates, measured as the change in the percentage of the population living in suburbs, were higher among black households during the 1980s and 1990s than for whites or Hispanics. Overall in the fifteen metropolitan areas the percentage of the black population living in suburbs increased by 14 points to 49 percent. Thus, by 2000, black residents were as likely to live in the suburbs as in the central cities of the fifteen regions (Figure 1 and Table 4).

Yet, despite suburbanizing at a rate far outpacing Hispanics and whites, total black suburbanization still significantly lagged that of the other groups, which started from higher percentages in 1980. Thus, by 2000, 63 percent of Hispanic residents and 84 percent of white residents in the fifteen metro regions lived in suburbs. (Figure 1 and Table 4.)

Figure 1. **Percentage of Regional Population in Suburbs in 15 Metros by Race, 1980-2000**



As with the other demographic measures, suburbanization varied significantly across the fifteen metro areas. For instance, the percentages of white residents living in the suburbs in 2000 ranged from 61 percent in San Diego, to 96 percent in Detroit. For black residents, the range was from 26 percent in Detroit, to 85 percent in Miami, and for Hispanics, the range was from 42 percent in New York to 93 percent in Atlanta. (Table 4.)

Changes in suburbanization varied across the fifteen regions as well. The increase in black suburbanization was as high as 31 percentage points in Atlanta, 22 in Washington, D.C., and 20 in Minneapolis. For Hispanics, increases in suburbanization between 1980 and 2000 were strongest in

Chicago and Atlanta, where suburban shares rose 16 percentage points. These are regions where many new Hispanic immigrants settled directly into suburban and exurban communities.

Table 4. Percentage of Metropolitan Area Populations Living in Suburbs by Race, 1980 - 2000

Metropolitan Area	Percentage of White Population in Suburbs			Percentage of Black Population in Suburbs			Percentage of Hispanic Population in Suburbs		
	1980	2000	Change	1980	2000	Change	1980	2000	Change
Atlanta	92%	95%	3%	48%	78%	31%	77%	93%	16%
Boston	92	94	2	33	49	16	68	76	8
Chicago	77	83	6	24	38	14	33	50	16
Cleveland	80	86	5	29	38	9	56	54	-2
Detroit	88	96	8	17	26	9	63	67	5
Houston	57	73	16	22	37	16	37	46	9
Los Angeles	80	83	3	52	66	14	70	74	3
Miami	94	91	-3	96	85	-11	99	84	-15
Minneapolis	73	83	10	16	35	20	46	48	1
New York	72	76	4	34	38	4	30	42	12
Philadelphia	77	85	7	33	42	8	54	61	7
Portland	71	78	7	17	33	16	76	82	6
St. Louis	88	93	5	52	62	11	76	83	7
San Diego	56	61	5	26	40	13	53	59	6
Washington D.C.	88	92	5	40	61	22	78	88	10
Total	79	84	5	36	49	14	55	63	8

Whites already were highly suburbanized in 1980. Although the average increase in white suburbanization across the two decades was just five percentage points, fully 84 percent of whites lived in suburbs in the fifteen metros by 2000. Houston and Minneapolis showed the greatest increases, at 16 and ten percentage points respectively. (Table 4.)

~ ~ ~

As the new millennium began, the white population share in the fifteen metros was 15 percentage-points less than in 1980. In several regions, whites had become a minority racial-ethnic group. Hispanics, at 18 percent, became the second-largest racial-ethnic group in the fifteen regions (and in the nation), just ahead of blacks' 15-percent share. Overall population growth during the two decades reflected the vastly different vitality of the regions, ranging from Atlanta's stunning near-doubling, at 84 percent, to the stagnation in Cleveland (0 percent) and Detroit (3 percent).

In 1980, roughly one-third of blacks, one-half of Hispanics, and three-fourths of whites lived in the suburbs of the fifteen metro regions. Led by the rapid black suburbanization rate over the subsequent two decades, 49 percent of blacks, 63 percent of Hispanics, and 84 percent of whites lived in the suburbs by 2000. Yet, as Part 3 describes, while this suburbanization has increased the diversity of the metro regions overall, in many places it has resulted in very little integration.

Neighborhood Segregation and Integration

To investigate neighborhood change requires that neighborhoods be categorized and designated as racially-ethnically integrated or segregated. This research used a seven-category typology similar to that applied by other researchers¹⁰ (explained in Appendix A). The typology has seven neighborhood categories. Four of the neighborhood categories are defined as *not* integrated, and three as *integrated*:

Segregated, or Non-Integrated, Neighborhoods

1. **Predominantly White**
Less than 10% black *and* less than 10% Hispanic
2. **Predominantly Black**
Greater than 50% black *and* less than 10% Hispanic
3. **Predominantly Hispanic**
Less than 10% black *and* greater than 50% Hispanic
4. **Black and Hispanic**
Less than 40% white *and* greater than 10% black *and* greater than 10% Hispanic

Integrated Neighborhoods

5. **White-Black Integrated**
Greater than 10% white *and* less than 50% black *and* less than 10% Hispanic
6. **White-Hispanic Integrated**
Greater than 10% white *and* less than 10% black *and* less than 50% Hispanic
7. **Multi-Ethnic**
Less than 40% white *and* greater than 10% black *and* greater than 10% Hispanic

The analysis of neighborhood change spans a twenty-year period, beginning in 1980, that included three decennial Censuses. As is common in this kind of research, a *neighborhood* was defined as a Census tract. Every neighborhood (tract) in the fifteen metro areas was categorized as one of the seven types for each of 1980, 1990, and 2000. A neighborhood moved from one category to another if at least one of its defining population proportions changed beyond the range for the category from one decade to another.

The Distribution of Neighborhood Types

Seventy-eight percent of the neighborhoods¹¹ in the fifteen metro regions were segregated in 1980 (Table 5). Because all of the fifteen metro areas were majority white in 1980, the bulk of the segregated neighborhoods were predominantly white. The metro areas where significant shares of the population were black or Hispanic had more predominantly black and Hispanic neighborhoods. For instance, the four metros with highest percentages of black residents in 1980—Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Chicago, and Detroit—also had the highest shares of predominantly black

neighborhoods. Similarly, Los Angeles and Miami, the metros with the largest Hispanic shares in 1980, also had the largest shares of predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods.

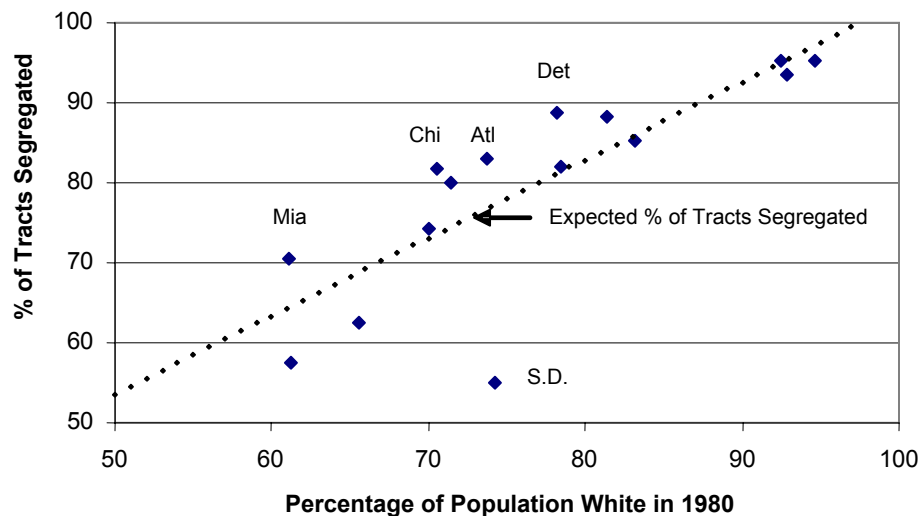
Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Census Tracts by Neighborhood Type, 1980 and 2000									
1980									
Metropolitan Area	Segregated				Integrated			Total	
	Pred. White	Pred. Black	Pred. Hispanic	Black and Hispanic	White/Hispanic	White/Black	White/Black/Hispanic	Segregated	Integrated
Atlanta	66%	17%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	83%	17%
Boston	90	2	0	1	3	2	1	93	7
Chicago	57	18	4	3	10	6	2	82	18
Cleveland	71	15	0	0	3	11	1	85	15
Detroit	73	15	0	0	1	10	1	89	11
Houston	46	8	2	6	21	6	11	62	38
Los Angeles	34	2	13	8	39	1	3	58	42
Miami	42	8	14	6	22	3	4	70	30
Minneapolis	94	1	0	0	0	4	0	95	5
New York	57	8	2	12	10	6	4	80	20
Philadelphia	69	11	0	2	1	16	1	82	18
Portland	94	1	0	0	2	3	0	95	5
San Diego	47	0	2	6	37	1	7	55	45
St. Louis	74	14	0	0	0	12	0	88	12
Washington D.C.	55	19	0	1	0	25	1	74	26
Total	59	9	4	5	12	8	3	78	22
2000									
Metropolitan Area	Segregated				Integrated			Total	
	Pred. White	Pred. Black	Pred. Hispanic	Black and Hispanic	White/Hispanic	White/Black	White/Black/Hispanic	Segregated	Integrated
Atlanta	32%	25%	0%	8%	2%	25%	7%	66%	34%
Boston	75	1	2	5	10	4	4	83	17
Chicago	37	20	8	7	17	6	4	73	27
Cleveland	57	21	0	1	3	14	5	79	21
Detroit	65	23	0	1	1	9	1	89	11
Houston	17	4	12	26	27	1	12	60	40
Los Angeles	15	1	26	15	40	0	3	57	43
Miami	7	8	27	23	23	2	11	65	35
Minneapolis	79	2	0	3	2	10	3	84	16
New York	42	8	4	21	16	3	6	75	25
Philadelphia	56	13	0	6	2	19	4	75	25
Portland	74	0	0	1	19	4	2	75	25
San Diego	26	0	12	9	45	0	7	48	52
St. Louis	59	21	0	0	0	20	0	80	20
Washington DC	37	23	0	6	4	23	7	66	34
Total	42	11	7	12	16	8	5	71	29

The remaining 22 percent of neighborhoods were spread across the three integrated categories in 1980: eight percent were white-black integrated, 12 percent were white-Hispanic integrated, and three percent were multi-ethnic. Integration rates tend to be highest in metros with significant numbers of the relevant racial groups. For instance, the two metros with the highest black population shares in 1980—Washington, D.C., and Atlanta—had the largest percentage of white-black integrated neighborhoods.

Overall, there was considerable variation across the metropolitan areas. San Diego had the lowest share of segregated neighborhoods, at 55 percent, and Boston was the highest, at 93 percent. Much of this variation was related to the overall racial mixes of the metro areas. In metro areas with high white population percentages, such as Boston, Minneapolis or Portland, most neighborhoods would necessarily be predominantly white, leading, in turn, to a high percentage of neighborhoods classified as segregated.

After controlling for the relationship between the metro-wide racial mix and residential segregation, Chicago, Detroit, Atlanta, and Miami emerge as the metro areas with the greatest segregation rates relative to their overall racial mixes (Figure 2). Put another way, the difference between the actual percentage of neighborhoods that were segregated and the share one would expect to be segregated given the overall population mix was greatest in those four metropolitan areas. San Diego, on the other hand, showed a much lower share of segregated neighborhoods than would be expected from its lower white population share.¹²

Figure 2. Actual and Expected % of Tracts Segregated, 1980

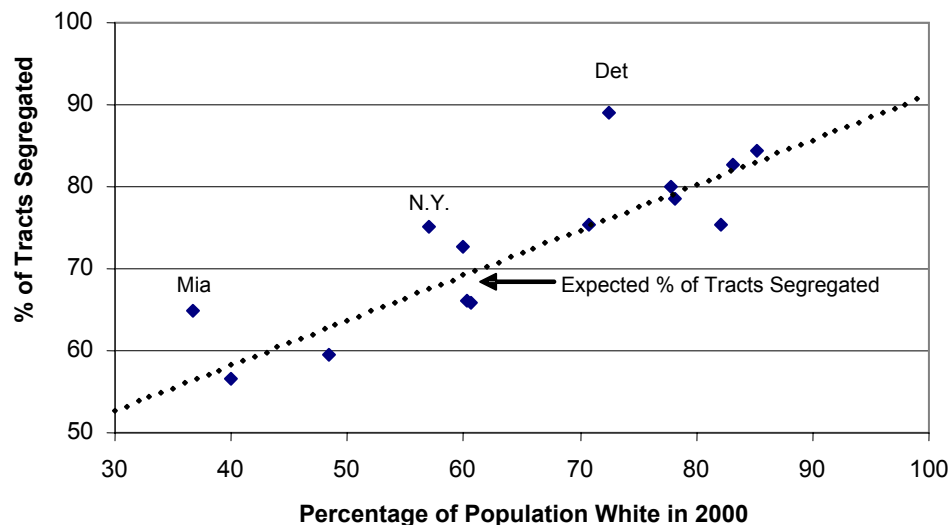


The picture changed in several ways during the years between 1980 and 2000. By 2000, the percentage of neighborhoods that were segregated had fallen by seven points to 71 percent. Similarly, the share for predominantly white neighborhoods fell by 17 points to 42 percent. But the numbers for the other segregated categories rose significantly. The share of neighborhoods that were predominantly black, predominantly black-Hispanic, or Hispanic was 18 percent in 1980. By

2000, it had risen to 30 percent. Reflecting the overall changes in racial mix described in Part 2, the largest increases were in the Hispanic categories. The proportion of predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods nearly doubled, and the share of black-Hispanic neighborhoods more than doubled. (Table 5.)

As in 1980, there was a great deal of variation across the metropolitan areas in 2000. When controlling for the overall racial mix by comparing overall segregation shares with the percentage of the metro population that was white, Detroit, Miami and New York stand out as metros where segregation rates were significantly greater than predicted by the region-wide racial mix. (They showed the greatest shortfalls between the expected segregation rate—the percentage of neighborhoods that one would expect to be segregated, given their overall racial mix—and the actual share of neighborhoods that were segregated.)

Figure 3. Actual and Expected % of Tracts Segregated, 2000



Among these most segregated metros, Detroit stands out. Not only was it the metro area with the highest percentage of segregated neighborhoods in 2000, but it was the only region among the fifteen that showed no improvement in this measure between 1980 and 2000. This was true even though the white share of the region's population declined by seven points during the period. Detroit's black population share, at 22 percent in 2000, was third-largest among the fifteen metro regions. Yet, in the regions with the largest black population shares, Atlanta (29 percent) and Washington, D.C. (27 percent), *three times as many neighborhoods*—34 percent—were integrated in 2000, in striking contrast to Detroit's 11 percent. (Table 5.)

In summary, the share of integrated neighborhoods in the fifteen metropolitan areas increased from 22 to 29 percent during the two decades, while the share of segregated neighborhoods declined from 78 to 71 percent. Nevertheless, residential segregation still affects blacks and Hispanics significantly: the percentage of neighborhoods that were predominantly black, Hispanic, or black and Hispanic increased from 18 percent to 30 percent during the twenty-year period.

Where People Lived and How that Changed, 1980-2000

The findings also show how racial-ethnic groups are distributed among the neighborhood types—where people lived. Additionally, they reveal the extent to which the three racial-ethnic groups, on average, were living in similar or different neighborhood types after two decades. The results varied across the three racial-ethnic groups.

In 2000, whites were much less likely, and Hispanics more likely, to live in segregated neighborhoods than they were in 1980:

Whites: The share of white residents living in integrated neighborhoods *increased* 55 percent between 1980 and 2000.

Blacks: The share of black residents living in integrated neighborhoods *increased* 24 percent. This increase was all in black-Hispanic or white-black-Hispanic neighborhoods, not in white-black neighborhoods.

Hispanics: The share Hispanic residents living in integrated neighborhoods *declined* 17 percent. The share living in segregated Hispanic neighborhoods increased from 27 percent in 1980 to 35 percent in 2000.

(Table 6. Individual tables for each metro region appear in Appendix D.) Each metro region had at least a tiny increase in the share of the total population living in integrated neighborhoods between 1980 and 2000. The increases ranged from less than one percentage point in Detroit and Los Angeles, to Portland's 21-point increase (Tables D5, D7, . D12).

Where white residents lived The overall share of the population that was white declined significantly in the fifteen metro areas as a group—from 74 percent to 59 percent (Table 3). Increased racial-ethnic diversity in the metro regions was reflected in the living situations of whites. Overall, the share of whites living in racially diverse neighborhoods increased significantly, from 20 percent in 1980, to 33 percent in 2000 (Table 6).

The percentage of the white population living in integrated neighborhoods increased in each of the metro regions, but the range was wide. While the average change across the fifteen metros was 11 percentage-points, Detroit was at the bottom of this range with no change (Table D5). In contrast, the largest increases in the share of whites living in integrated neighborhoods were in San Diego, Atlanta, and Miami, at 19, 23, and 26 percentage-points, respectively (Tables D14, D1, D8).

The results among white residents varied widely even among the places with similar overall population mixes. The metro regions with the largest white shares—Boston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Portland—each had 10 percentage-point decreases in their white population shares during the two decades to 82-85 percent by 2000. Yet the increases in the white share living in integrated neighborhoods ranged from a seven-point increase, to 10 percent, in Minneapolis-St. Paul, to more than twice that in Portland, an 18-point increase to 22 percent (D9, D12).

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Population by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000												
Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	74	67	59	15	15	15	9	13	18	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	76	70	63	6	7	7	15	11	8	59	51	42
Black	1	1	1	58	50	43	2	1	1	10	9	8
Hispanic	1	1	2	0	1	2	27	31	35	4	6	8
Black/Hispanic	1	2	3	18	22	28	20	23	26	5	8	12
Subtotal, Segregated	80	74	69	83	80	79	65	66	71	78	73	70
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	7	8	9	11	11	10	2	2	2	7	8	8
White/Hispanic	11	14	17	2	3	4	27	25	21	12	15	17
White/Black/Hispanic	2	3	5	4	5	6	6	6	6	3	4	5
Subtotal, Integrated	20	26	31	17	20	21	35	34	29	22	27	30
Source: U.S. Census.												

There are demographic and settlement pattern differences behind these differing results, however. In Minneapolis-St. Paul, the black population share grew three percentage-points, to 5 percent during the period—more than twice Portland’s black share in 2000—and many of those new residents settled in the central cities and first-ring suburbs (Table D9; Maps 9.4 to 9.6). Portland experienced, instead, a four-fold increase in Hispanic residents to nine percent in 2000, and most of that growth was dispersed throughout the metro region (Table D12; Maps 12.4 to 12.6).

The three metro regions with the smallest white population shares in 1980—Miami, Los Angeles, and Houston—experienced rapidly declining white population shares and large increases in whites living in integrated neighborhoods. The white proportion decreased 18-24 points in those cities, while the share of whites living in integrated neighborhoods increased by 12 percentage points in Los Angeles and Houston, and by over twice as much in Miami. In these highly multi-ethnic metro regions, over one-half of whites lived in integrated neighborhoods by 2000, in part an artifact of the overall population mix in these metro regions. (Tables D7, D6, D8.)

Where black residents lived The overall proportion of the population that was black essentially held steady across the fifteen metros during the two decades at 15 percent (Table 3). At the same time, the share of black residents living in predominantly black neighborhoods declined significantly, from 58 percent down to 43 percent (Table 6).

Much of this decline was offset by an increase in the share of blacks living in black-Hispanic neighborhoods. That percentage, on average, grew from 18 percent in 1980, to 28 percent in 2000. In contrast, there was only a three percentage-point increase in the share of blacks living in neighborhoods with significant white population shares—the predominantly white category and the three integrated categories. Thus, although a significantly smaller share of blacks lived in

predominantly black neighborhoods in 2000, virtually all of the increase in proximity to other racial-ethnic groups was with Hispanic populations. (Table 6.)

The metro regions where blacks were most segregated in 1980 remained the most segregated in 2000. More than two-thirds of black residents lived in predominantly black neighborhoods in six metros in 1980: Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. Of the six, only three—Atlanta, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.—experienced declines in black segregation that approached the average for the fifteen metros as a whole, and had less than two-thirds of their black residents living in black-segregated neighborhoods as of 2000. (Tables D1, D3, D4, D5, D13, D15).

By 2000, in the six most black-segregated of the fifteen regions, well over half of the black population still resided in predominantly black neighborhoods. Two metros, Detroit and Cleveland, had the smallest reduction in black segregation among the fifteen regions, with decreases of merely three and five percentage-points. That left 80 percent of Detroit's black residents in black-segregated neighborhoods by 2000 (70 percent for Cleveland). (Tables D5, D4.)

In contrast, the six metros with the lowest proportions of their black residents living in predominantly black neighborhoods in 1980 tended to show greater than average declines in same-race segregation during the next 20 years. The six regions are Boston, Los Angeles, Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York, Portland, and San Diego. In three of the regions—Boston, Los Angeles, and Portland—the share of blacks in predominantly black neighborhoods declined by more than 20 points. In the fourth, Minneapolis-St. Paul, the decline was 15 points. In five (all but Los Angeles), less than 12 percent the black population lived in black-segregated neighborhoods as of 2000. (Tables D2, D7, D9, D10, D12, D14.)

In short, as of 2000, some of the metro regions remained so segregated that as many as eight of ten black residents lived in black-segregated neighborhoods. In contrast, in one-third of the regions just over one in ten black residents lived in black-segregated neighborhoods as of 2000. While the latter group includes places with small black population shares, even among regions with the largest shares, the extent of black segregation in same-race neighborhoods varies considerably. This suggests, as do many of the findings, the importance of examining the factors that account for these differences.

Where Hispanic residents lived Hispanics showed the largest overall increase in population share during the period, doubling to 18 percent of the population of the fifteen metros together (Table 3). In sharp contrast to the trends among whites and blacks, the percentage of Hispanics living in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods shot up eight percentage points between 1980 and 2000, to 35 percent (Table 6).

Much of the increase in Hispanic segregation correlates with increases in the Hispanic share of metro population, and the extent of segregation among the metros divides vividly into two groups. Metro regions with the largest increases in the Hispanic share of the population tended to experience much more segregation, while those with smaller increases experienced increased integration. (Table 6.)

In the four metros where the Hispanic share of the population increased by more than ten percentage points—Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, and San Diego—only one, Miami, experienced increased Hispanic segregation that was not greater than ten percentage-points. In San Diego, for example, the share of Hispanics in segregated neighborhoods increased 25 percentage points, leaping to 33 percent by 2000. (Tables D6, D7, D8, D14.)

In contrast were the nine regions where Hispanic population shares increased by fewer than six percentage points even though those regions experienced doubling or quadrupling of their Hispanic population shares. These were Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Philadelphia, Portland, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. In these regions, new Hispanic residents settled in a diverse set of places, and only two of those nine metros—Boston and Detroit—experienced an increase in Hispanic segregation that exceeded four percentage-points. (Tables D1, D2, D4, D5, D9, D11, D12, D13, D15.)

Changes in the share of Hispanics living in integrated neighborhoods showed precisely the opposite relationship.

The four metros with large increases in Hispanic shares showed an average *decrease* of 12 percentage points in the share of Hispanics living in integrated neighborhoods (Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, and San Diego). In contrast, the nine metros experiencing smaller increases in Hispanic population share showed an average *increase* of 13 points in the integration measure. Detroit is the only metro region among the fifteen that did not fall into either category. It had a significant decrease in Hispanic integration despite its small Hispanic population growing only one point, to three percent.

~ ~ ~

As of 2000, many more white residents lived in integrated neighborhoods than in 1980, largely due largely to their declining population share relative to other racial-ethnic groups. On balance, however, most of this increased integration was with Hispanics, not blacks. Similarly, although a smaller share of blacks lived in black-segregated neighborhoods at the close of the two decades, this was due almost entirely to increased proximity with Hispanic, not with white, residents. Hispanics, in striking contrast to both blacks and whites, were much *more* likely to live in Hispanic-segregated, or black-Hispanic-segregated neighborhoods in 2000 than in 1980.

Thus, as one would expect, while the share of integrated neighborhoods among the fifteen metros increased from 22 percent in 1980 to 29 percent in 2000, none of that change represents an increase in the share of white-black-integrated neighborhoods, which remained unchanged at eight percent during the two decades. Many neighborhoods did, however, change from one to another type during the period, and many resegregated. Findings about these neighborhood transitions and the extent of stable integration are the topic of Part 4.

Residential Segregation, Stable Integration, and Neighborhood Transition

This section examines the patterns of segregation and integration revealed in the maps for four of the metro regions, Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. These metro regions have black population shares ranging from 19 to 29 percent, and Hispanic shares ranging from three to 16 percent (Table 1). The maps showing neighborhood change across the two-decade period reveal that there was considerable racial-ethnic transition among many of the neighborhoods in these regions.

Following the descriptive overview of segregation and integration patterns in these four metro regions, this section reports the findings about the dynamic nature of neighborhood change for the fifteen metro regions as a group. As the maps suggest, many of the neighborhoods studied were in transition between 1980 and 2000. Indeed, the results of the statistical analysis suggest that, without region-wide policies designed to stabilize neighborhoods in a metro region, many integrated neighborhoods are at risk of resegregating.

Residential Segregation and Integration in Four Metro Regions

Detroit and Chicago display some of the most extreme patterns of residential segregation among the fifteen regions studied. On balance, black suburbanization in those two regions is an extension of the severely segregated patterns in the core that unfold from neighborhood to adjacent neighborhood in contiguous progression. Similar highly segregated black residential patterns also appear in portions of Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. Nevertheless, those two southeastern metro regions display a wider diversity of residential patterns, and contain larger proportions of integrated neighborhoods, than do either Chicago or Detroit.

Among these four metro regions, all but Detroit experienced considerable Hispanic settlement directly into suburban neighborhoods between 1980 and 2000. In Atlanta, six of seven Hispanic residents arrived after 1980, and most settled directly into the suburbs. Chicago illustrates both of the trends seen among the metro regions: Hispanic settlement directly into a range of suburbs in some metros, and increasing segregation in both the central cities and some suburbs of other regions.

As in Atlanta, Chicago experienced considerable Hispanic settlement directly into its suburban and exurban areas. This corresponded with the eight percentage-point increase—a doubling—of Chicago’s Hispanic population share during that during the twenty-year period. In addition, because Hispanic residents already represented a significant eight-percent of its population even before 1980, Chicago already had Hispanic-segregated neighborhoods at its core. Illustrating the second trend seen among the metro regions, particularly those with larger Hispanic population shares, Chicago’s Hispanic-segregated neighborhoods also increased during the two decades.

The maps of the metro regions provide a vivid visual sense of the extent and patterns of segregation and integration in the regions studied. There are, in addition, statistical measures of the extent of segregation that are used to compare places and to track change over time. The *dissimilarity index* is one common measure of overall segregation in a region. The index quantifies the proximity of two groups to each other by comparing the racial mix of small neighborhood-type areas, typically Census tracts, which compose a metro region. The values can be thought of as the percentage of one group that would need to relocate in order for both groups to be evenly distributed among the “neighborhoods.” While not without limitations,¹³ dissimilarity values permit numerical comparison of the relative amount of segregation in different metro regions.

During the 1990s, black-white dissimilarity index values declined overall in the United States, a trend largely mirrored by the fifteen metro regions. As for the nation generally, the wide range in the black-white segregation values among the fifteen metro regions shows the variation in the extent of residential segregation among the regions.

In Detroit, for example, nearly 85 percent of either whites or blacks would need to move for the two groups to be evenly distributed throughout that metro region. In strong contrast, only 48 percent of either group would need to relocate in Portland for there to be an even distribution. (Table 7.)¹⁴

The dissimilarity values also reflect, in part, patterns found by dissimilarity research studies. These tend to reveal greater segregation in metro areas with larger populations, as well as among places with larger black population shares.

Because the fifteen metro areas are among the 25 largest in the nation, one would expect their average value (69.0) to be higher than that for the 103 largest U.S. metro areas together (60.4), as is the case.

Similarly, because 11 of the fifteen metro regions are among the 20 in the nation with the largest black populations, one would expect, on average, to see higher dissimilarity values. Table 7 indeed does show that that is the case for these places. One noticeable outlier is Boston, which has a relatively small black population share (more like Portland and Minneapolis-St. Paul), yet has a high degree of black-white segregation. On average, metro regions in the northeastern part of the country are the most segregated in the nation, followed by those in the Midwest.

Table 7. Black-White Dissimilarity Index, and Percentage-Point Change, 1990-2000, Ranked by 2000 Values

	1990	2000	%-Pt. Chg.
Detroit	87.5	84.7	-2.8
New York	82.2	81.8	-0.4
Chicago	84.4	80.8	-3.6
Cleveland	82.7	77.3	-5.4
St. Louis	78.3	74.3	-3.9
Miami	73.2	73.6	0.4
Philadelphia	77.0	72.3	-4.7
15-Metro Average	72.9	69.0	-4.0
Los Angeles	73.2	67.5	-5.6
Houston	67.3	67.5	0.2
Boston	69.6	65.7	-3.9
Atlanta	68.6	65.6	-3.0
Washington, D.C.	65.7	63.1	-2.5
103-Metro Average	64.1	60.4	-3.7
Minneapolis-St. Paul	62.3	57.8	-4.5
San Diego	58.4	54.1	-4.3
Portland	63.7	48.1	-15.6

Source: Computed by the Mumford Center, State University of New York, Albany, from U.S. Census data.

The four metro regions highlighted next include two—Detroit and Chicago—with among the highest dissimilarity values not just among the fifteen metros, but in the nation overall. They also include two regions—Atlanta and Washington, D.C.—with large black population shares that nevertheless have dissimilarity values that are twenty points lower than the values for Detroit and Chicago. This is well below the average for the fifteen large metros in the present study, and near the average for the nation’s 103 largest metro regions. (Table 7.)

Atlanta As a new century began, Atlanta was experiencing both the legacy of extreme, historic white-black segregation, and the transformations accompanying exceptionally rapid growth and demographic change. During the two decades, the region emerged as a new immigrant gateway. Its nonwhite population share increased substantially. At the same time, its white population continued to grow, which distinguishes it from every region except Portland and Minneapolis-St. Paul (Table 4).

Where the region is segregated, it is intensely so. The southern half of the City of Atlanta is black-segregated, as are contiguous areas south and west, and much of DeKalb County to the east. The northern part of the City of Atlanta is intensely white-segregated, as is a contiguous corridor of places leading north. Large areas of black-segregated neighborhoods extended south and west from the City of Atlanta into Fulton and Clayton counties. A similar pattern appears to the east. Persistently segregated areas of east and southeast Atlanta contiguous into Dekalb County grew substantially to include most of the rest of the county to the east. (Map 1.8.)

But there also is increasing integration in the Atlanta metro region. The share of integrated neighborhoods in the region doubled during the two decades, a period when new Hispanic residents settled directly into the suburbs, particularly in the north metro. The stably integrated neighborhoods mostly were further out from the core, in Douglasville and southwest Fulton County, to the west; toward and around the airport to the southeast; and in parts of Rockdale, Newton, and Walton counties to the east (Map 1.5). A result is that although Atlanta’s dissimilarity value of 65.6 is in the extreme range, it is fifth lowest among the fifteen metro regions (Table 7).

Chicago The region has some of the most extreme black-white segregation among the fifteen metro regions, underscored the third-highest dissimilarity value at 80.8 (Table 7). Black-segregated areas in the City of Chicago continued to expand further southward, while much of the region’s growth was to the north and west. A doubling of the Hispanic population share to 16 percent made the patterns of residential settlement more varied in the region. These patterns suggest that new Hispanic residents are settling many places: in the urban core, throughout many suburbs, and in exurban communities. (Maps 3.5 to 3.8.)

Much of the City of Chicago, areas directly south, East Chicago, and Gary were over 70 percent nonwhite by 2000 (Map 3.3). Significant areas of persistently black-segregated neighborhoods in the core, in and near Cicero, and from downtown south, as well as in Gary, expand slightly into adjacent areas—or expand significantly, as was the case to the south of the core, along I-94 and I-57 (Maps 3.7, 3.8). In contrast to the concentrated and expanding areas of extreme black segregation, Hispanic residential patterns were much more varied.

While Hispanic-segregated neighborhoods did expand in and near Cicero, and along Lake Michigan near the Indiana border, there were also new areas of Hispanic segregation. These were around O'Hare Airport, as well as farther from the core (Map 3.8). Many of the latter were adjacent to places that were stably integrated or became integrated, and were in suburban and exurban locations (Maps 3.5, 3.6). By 2000, many new white-Hispanic integrated neighborhoods colored the region's map, including significant areas to the west and northwest (Map 3.6).

In contrast, the few neighborhoods that became black-white integrated during the period, tended to be almost entirely on the edges of segregated and resegregating areas (Maps 3.6 to 3.8). Significantly, there were few stably integrated black-white neighborhoods in the Chicago region between 1980 and 2000 (Map 3.5).

Detroit By most measures, Detroit is by far the most segregated of the fifteen metros in the study. Its black-white dissimilarity index value of 84.7 is the worst among the fifteen metro region (Table 7). In 1980, only 11 percent of its neighborhoods were integrated; twenty years later, the percentage was unchanged (Table 5).

Throughout the two decades, most of Detroit, part of Pontiac, and portions of Flint and contiguous areas were black-segregated (Map 5.7). Many areas adjacent to these persistently segregated places became black-segregated by 2000 (Map 5.8). Neighborhoods next to those newly black-segregated areas became white-black integrated during the two decades, suggesting that they are in transition to a resegregated status (Map 5.6).

Although the region's Hispanic population share was only three percent in 2000, Hispanic segregation increased rapidly during the two decades. Segregated Hispanic neighborhoods developed in south Detroit, bordering Dearborn (Map 5.8). Given the extremely segregated residential patterns for both Hispanic and black residents in the region, few neighborhoods were stably integrated between 1980 and 2000. Nevertheless, from Romulus to northeast Ann Arbor there is a small chain of diversity along which very little new segregation developed during the two decades (Maps 5.5, 5.7).

Washington, D.C. The spatial patterns of segregation are vivid. East of a north-south line through Washington, D.C., nonwhite population concentrations exceed 83 percent. These neighborhoods continue into several rings of suburbs directly east and, almost as intensely, to the south. In Baltimore, there are three concentrated areas: south, northeast, and, especially, west and into suburbs northwest. (Maps 15.13.1, 15.13.) Overall, the neighborhoods that are losing population share in the region are places with highly concentrated black population shares, or places that experienced large increases in nonwhite share during the 1990s, or both (Maps 15.1, 15.2, 15.3.1, 15.4.1).

Persistently black-segregated neighborhoods occupy nearly all of eastern Washington, D.C., and contiguous suburbs east and south (Map 15.7). Between 1980 and 2000, the areas of black-segregated neighborhoods more than doubled, extending into adjacent suburbs toward the northeast and southeast (Map 15.8). Similarly, black-segregated areas of Baltimore expanded, especially to the northwest (Maps 15.7, 15.8). Yet there were a number of stably integrated neighborhoods between Washington, D.C., and Baltimore (Map 15.5).

Near Washington, D.C., places to the east and southeast of the extending areas of black-integration remained integrated during the two decades. To the southwest and west, only some small areas were stably integrated. These neighborhoods, like those immediately north, and then northwest of the city along I-270, became mixed-race neighborhoods during the period; these were near other neighborhoods that integrated with significant Hispanic shares. (Maps 15.5, 15.6.)

The 2000 snapshot of the four regions in Table 8 echoes what the maps display: whites in Chicago and Detroit are more likely to reside in white-segregated neighborhoods than are whites in Atlanta or Washington, D.C. Similarly, even though blacks are a smaller share of the populations of Detroit and Chicago, they are more likely to live in black-segregated neighborhoods.

Table 8. Racial-Ethnic Population Shares, and Percentages of Each Group Living in Same-Race Segregated Neighborhoods, 2000

Percentage of Metro Region Population				Percentage of Racial-Ethnic Group Living in Same-Race Segregated Neighborhood*		
<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
60	29	7	Atlanta	53	57	26
60	19	16	Chicago	63	66	14
72	22	3	Detroit	87	80	11
61	27	6	Washington, DC	55	56	28
59	16	18	15 metros	63	43	21

Source: Tables 6, D1, D3, D5, and D15.

Table 9 mirrors those segregation percentages with the percentages of each racial-ethnic group living in integrated neighborhoods. Among the four metro regions, residents of Atlanta and Washington, D.C., were much more likely to live in integrated neighborhoods in 2000, regardless of racial-ethnic group, than were residents of either Detroit or Chicago. Similarly, the change over the two decades in the share of each group living in integrated neighborhoods was much greater for

Table 9. Percentages of Each Racial-Ethnic Group Living in Integrated Neighborhoods, 2000, and Percentage-Point Changes, 1980-2000

2000 Percentage of Each Group Living in Integrated Neighborhood				1980-2000 Percentage-Point Change in Share Living in Integrated Neighborhood			Percentage Pop. Chg. 1980-2000
<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>		<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	
40	26	42	Atlanta	23	8	22	84
30	14	33	Chicago	15	4	1	13
10	11	21	Detroit	0	-2	-10	3
40	28	50	Washington, DC	14	6	16	31
31	43	29	15 metros	11	4	-6	24

Source: Tables 2, 6, D1, D3, D5, and D15.

each group in the two southeastern regions (except, barely, whites in Washington, D.C.) than it was for the two northern metro regions. Indeed, a smaller share of the population of Detroit lived in integrated neighborhoods in 2000 than in 1980. The differences among the four metro regions are consistent with the tendency for residential segregation to be more intractable in metro regions that are experiencing little or no growth. For two decades, Detroit's population barely changed (a three-percent increase), and Chicago grew slowly (13 percent). In striking contrast, Atlanta and Washington, D.C. experienced robust growth (84 and 31 percent, respectively).

To better understand neighborhood transition, the integration and segregation data for the fifteen metro regions were aggregated and analyzed. This yielded insights into the nature and dynamics of neighborhood composition, stability, and change. Overall, the findings of that analysis, discussed next, suggest that most integrated neighborhoods are not *stably* integrated.

Stable Integration and Neighborhood Transition

Many neighborhoods that are integrated at a given time actually are in transition to a less diverse status. Indeed, while the proportion of predominantly one-race neighborhoods in the fifteen metros fell from 72 to 60 percent between 1980 and 2000, many neighborhoods that were integrated in 1980 became segregated by 2000. White-black integrated neighborhoods showed slightly more stability than did white-Hispanic and multi-racial neighborhoods, but each was apt to resegregate.

Among the three types of integrated neighborhoods overall, if the associated nonwhite share in 1980 was 23-29 percent or above, the neighborhoods were more likely to become segregated than to remain integrated during the subsequent twenty years. Analysis of neighborhood change in the fifteen metros regions revealed these *turnover points* (similar to what the literature refers to as *tipping points*) for each of the three integrated neighborhood types.

The *turnover point* is the percentage of relevant nonwhite population share in 1980 at which at least half of the neighborhoods of that integrated type were as likely to become segregated by 2000 as to remain integrated. For the fifteen metro regions in this study, they were as follows:

White-Black Integrated

If the black population share was greater than **29 percent** in 1980, the neighborhood was more likely to resegregate than to remain integrated.

White-Hispanic Integrated

If the Hispanic population share was greater than **24 percent**, the neighborhood was more likely to resegregate.

Multi-Ethnic Integrated

If the black plus Hispanic population share was greater than **23 percent**, the neighborhood was more likely to resegregate.

These results demonstrate that, even when nonwhite population shares are relatively modest, racially diverse neighborhoods show a distressing tendency to become segregated.¹⁵

The increase in the proportion of three segregated neighborhood types during the period reflects this. With the exception of white-segregated neighborhoods, which declined as a share of neighborhood types, the share of other segregated neighborhood types increased from 18 percent in 1980 to 30 percent in 2000, as follows:

Percentage Share of all Neighborhood Types		
	1980	2000
Black Segregated	9	11
Hispanic Segregated	4	7
Black-Hispanic Segregated	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>
TOTAL	18%	30%

Most of the increase occurred in Hispanic, and black-Hispanic segregated neighborhoods, reflecting both the rapid increase in the Hispanic population share in most metro regions, as well as the steady increase in Hispanic residential segregation in many places.

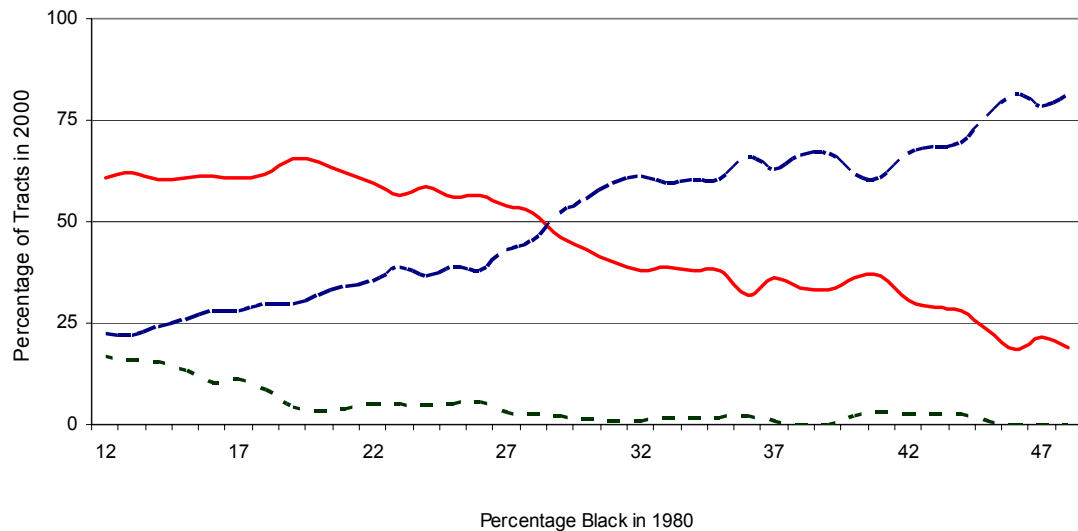
Integrated white-black neighborhoods There was a 29-percent turnover point for white-black integrated neighborhoods across the fifteen metro regions as a group. The following graph plots, on the vertical axis, the percentage of black-white integrated neighborhoods (Census tracts) that did one of the following between 1980 and 2000:

- remained integrated – red line;
- became one of the other non-white segregated types: majority black, majority Hispanic or black-Hispanic – blue dashed line; or
- changed to majority white – lower dotted line.

(continued on next page)

Those percentages are plotted against the black share of the population in 1980, which is on the horizontal axis.¹⁶ The “remained integrated” (red) line crosses the nonwhite “segregated” (blue dashed line) at 29 percent. Thus, more than half of the integrated neighborhoods would become segregated if they started the two-decade period with a 1980 black population share at or above 29 percent.

Figure 4. **2000 Distribution of 1,592 Tracts that were White-Black Integrated in 1980 in Fifteen Metros**

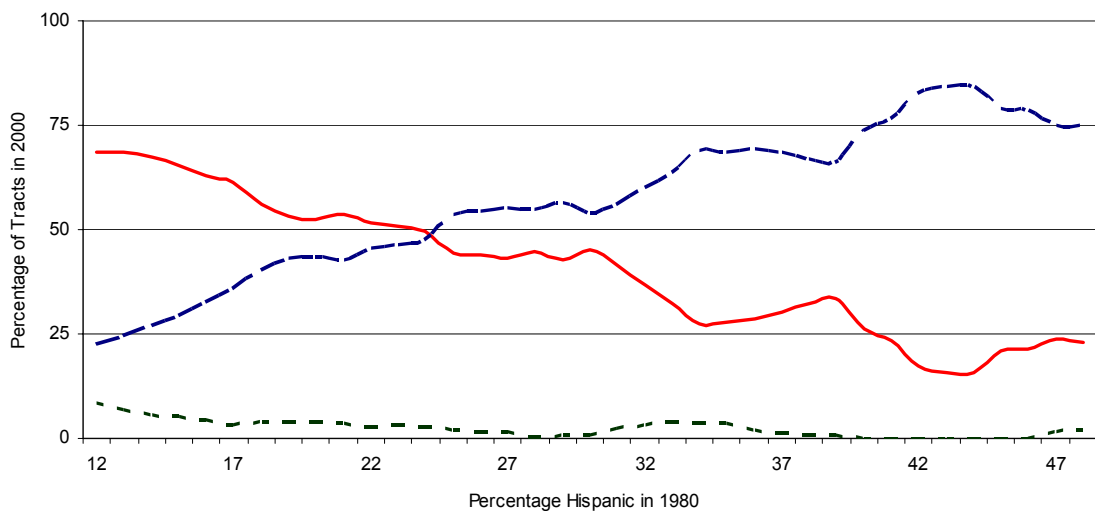


Conclusion: When the Black population share was 29% or greater in 1980, the tract was more likely to resegregate during the next 20 years than it was to remain integrated.

— Remained Integrated — Changed to Black, Black/Hispanic or Hispanic - - - Changed to Majority White

Integrated white-Hispanic neighborhoods White-Hispanic integrated neighborhoods experienced an even lower turnover point—24 percent—than did white-black integrated neighborhoods. The graph below shows the percentage of white-Hispanic integrated tracts between 1980-2000 that remained integrated; changed to predominantly Hispanic, black-Hispanic or black; or changed to predominantly white during the period from 1980 to 2000. For white-Hispanic integrated neighborhoods, the “remained integrated” (red) line crosses the nonwhite “segregated” (blue dashed line) at 24 percent. Thus, more than half of the white-Hispanic integrated neighborhoods become segregated if they started the two-decade period with a 1980 Hispanic population share at or above 24 percent.

Figure 5. **2000 Distribution of 2,535 Tracts that were White-Hispanic Integrated in 1980 in Fifteen Metros**

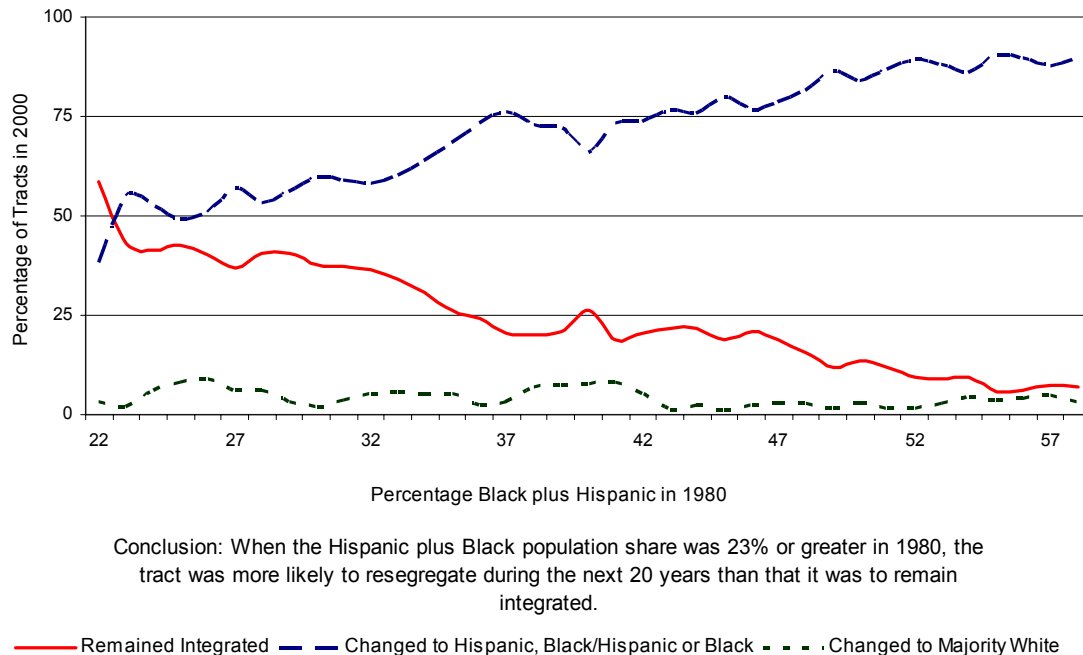


Conclusion: When the Hispanic population share was 24% or greater in 1980, the tract was more likely to resegregate during the next 20 years than it was to remain integrated.

— Remained Integrated — Changed to Hispanic, Black/Hispanic or Black - - - Changed to Majority White

Integrated white-black-Hispanic neighborhoods Most susceptible to resegregation were multi-racial integrated neighborhoods, which are those that had significant shares of black, Hispanic, and white residents in 1980. As the next graph reports, these neighborhoods were more likely to resegregate by 2000 than to remain integrated when their combined black and Hispanic population share in 1980 was as low as 23 percent.

Figure 6. **2000 Distribution of 560 Tracts that were White-Black-Hispanic Integrated in 1980 in Fifteen Metros**



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Is stable integration possible? Can the dynamics that this section reports be influenced in ways that promote stable integration? If policies address some of the drivers of segregation and neighborhood transition at a metro-region scale, can this make a difference? The findings discussed next in Part 5 suggest the answer is “Yes.”

These findings show positive effects from large-area school integration plans on neighborhood stability. This has many implications not only for the health of neighborhoods and their metro regions, but, significantly, for equal access to educational opportunity for all students—irrespective of race and ethnicity. Continuing the vital theme of equal access to opportunity, Part 5 also reports the study’s findings about the distribution of jobs and job growth in the metro regions.

Neighborhood Stability, Integration, and Access to Opportunity

Two of the most important life opportunities for people in the United States are a public education and employment. But equal access to these opportunities is affected by the patterns of segregation and integration in the nation's metro areas. Reported below are, first, encouraging findings about the potential for metro-wide school integration to stabilize neighborhoods while increasing equal access to educational opportunity. These findings about large-scale school integration and neighborhood stability are followed by the findings about economic opportunity. The distribution and growth of jobs in some of the most segregated metro regions is distancing many neighborhoods of color from employment opportunity.

School Integration, Neighborhood Stability, and Educational Opportunity

Large-scale busing (region-wide or county-wide in a region's primary county) has been an important means to effect school integration in some metro regions. Because considerable residential movement in metro areas results from families relocating to be in areas with "good" middle-class public schools, one might predict that ensuring that making those public schools available throughout a region would remove one incentive for families to relocate within metro regions.

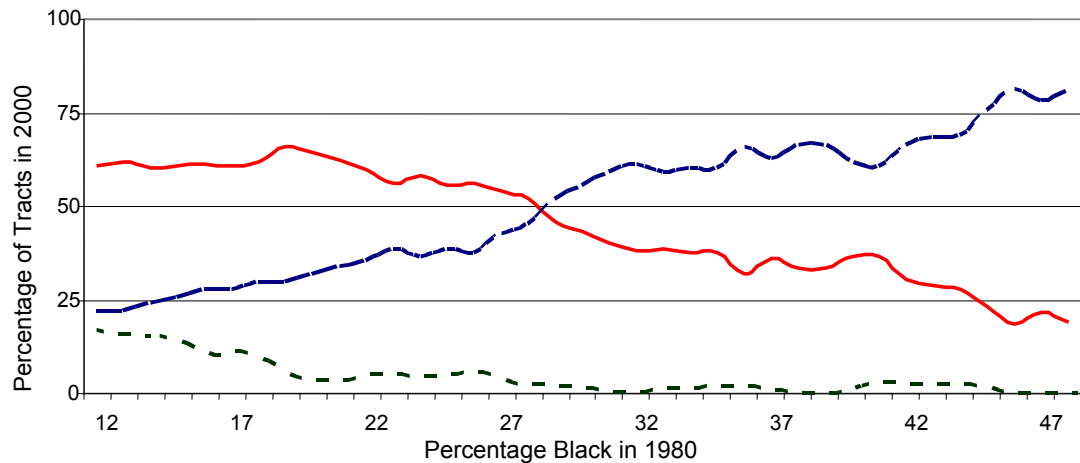
As a result, one might expect to see greater neighborhood stability when integrated, middle-class schools are available to all students without regard to the racial-ethnic makeup of their families or neighborhoods. To investigate this, the findings for the fifteen metro regions in the present study were contrasted with those for another group of fifteen metro regions that had large-scale busing for school integration for most of the period from 1980-2000.¹⁷ The results are encouraging.

Integrated neighborhoods showed more stability in the metropolitan areas with large-scale busing than in the fifteen metro regions that were the subject of this study. The white-black integrated neighborhoods in the main study were more likely to resegregate than to stay integrated between 1980 and 2000 if the black population share in 1980 was 29 percent or greater (Part 4; Figures 4-6). In contrast, this tendency did not appear at all for neighborhoods in the metro regions affected by large-scale busing. In those places, white-black integrated neighborhoods were more likely to remain integrated during the next twenty years than to resegregate *regardless of the initial racial mix*.

In other words, even neighborhoods that were very close to the 50 percent cut-off share for black population in 1980 were more likely to remain integrated than to make the transition to segregated. Apparently, white households are less likely to flee racially mixed environments if they are confident that their children will continue to attend integrated schools even if the racial mix of the neighborhood changes.¹⁸

Figure 7 shows the results for neighborhoods in the fifteen metros in the present study that were not affected by large-scale school integration busing programs during the two decades.

Figure 7. 2000 Distribution of 1,592 Tracts that were White-Black Integrated in 1980 in Fifteen Large Metropolitan Areas

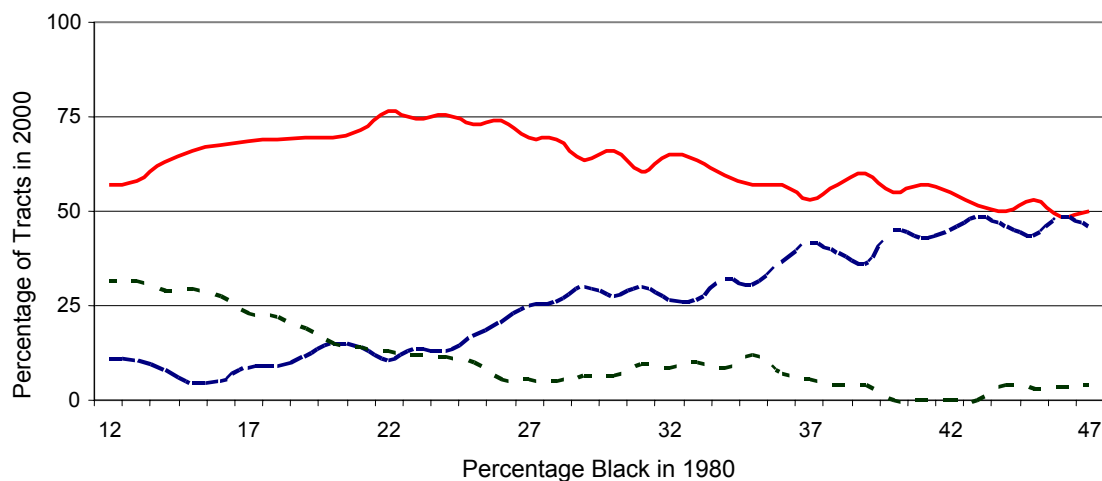


Conclusion: When the Black population share was 29% or greater in 1980, the tract was more likely to resegregate during the next 20 years than it was to remain integrated.

— Remained Integrated — Changed to Black, Black/Hispanic or Hispanic
 - - - Changed to Majority White

Source: Derived from US Census

Figure 8. 2000 Distribution of 634 Tracts that were White-Black Integrated in 1980 in Fifteen Metro Areas with County- or Metro-wide Busing in the 1980s and 1990s



Conclusion: Tracts were more likely to remain integrated than to resegregate during the next 20 years from all starting points.

— Remained Integrated — Changed to Black, Black/Hispanic or Hispanic
 - - - Changed to Majority White

Source: Derived from US Census

Figure 8 shows the contrasting—and encouraging—results for neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas served by large-scale busing. In short, large-scale school integration across a metro region can both make integrated, middle-class schools available to all students, and can provide the additional benefit of stabilizing a region’s integrated neighborhoods.

The Geography of Jobs and Economic Opportunity

Between 1990 and 2000, job growth among the fifteen metro regions ranged from negative one percent, in Los Angeles, to 34 percent, in Atlanta. Only three other regions besides Atlanta had job growth exceeding 15 percent—Portland, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Houston. Most had growth under nine percent. (Table 10.)

Across the fifteen regions, those metros with the best job growth and availability of jobs per household were, on balance, places that also experienced strong population growth during the 1990s (Tables 2, 10; Maps 9, 11, and 13 for each metro). In addition, they generally were the metros where job growth was not as geographically distant from neighborhoods of color (Maps 1, 2, and 11 for each region).

The spatial patterns of jobs and job growth vary considerably within and among the metro regions. Yet, in general, jobs, like population, continue to grow further out from the core of most regions. Generally, job growth was greatest in the second- and third-ring suburbs.

In most of the metro areas, the relationships among the distribution of jobs, job growth, and residential patterns were complex. Even so, there are older, inner-ring suburbs that bear watching across most of the metros, as a number of these suburbs experienced declining population and jobs while the share of residents of color increased.

	<u>% Change</u>
Atlanta	34.0
Portland	28.6
Minneapolis-St. Paul	19.6
Houston	17.6
Boston	13.0
Miami	10.3
Detroit	8.8
Cleveland	8.6
Chicago	7.9
Saint Louis	6.9
Washington DC	6.4
San Diego	6.4
New York	3.0
Philadelphia	1.4
Los Angeles	-1.0

Source: U.S. Census.

Although the patterns and visual correlations were complex and varied overall, maps from some metro regions show vivid relationships among the distribution of jobs and job growth, and the patterns of residential settlement. For comparison, they are grouped as follows:

1.
Strong Job Growth in
Neighborhoods of Color

Portland

2.
Mixed Patterns, but Jobs Lag in
Many Neighborhoods of Color

Noticeable:
Atlanta
Washington, D.C.
Most vivid:
New York
Philadelphia

3.
Jobs Moving Away from
Neighborhoods of Color

Chicago
Detroit
St. Louis

The maps of these regions show patterns (or a mix of patterns) and trends that are consistent with statistical research that has investigated metropolitan job “sprawl”; the extent of spatial mismatch within metro regions between black neighborhoods and the areas where jobs are abundant; and the tendency for spatial mismatches between jobs and blacks to be greatest in metro regions that have the most residential segregation. (Part 6 says more about this.)

Examining the findings from the present research against even just the values from a single measure of the extent of residential segregation—the black-white dissimilarity index (Table 7)—reveals rough correlations between the three groupings, above, and the extent of residential segregation in the metro regions listed. Maps for Portland (Group 1) show considerable positive relationship between neighborhoods of color and jobs. Portland also has by far the least black-white segregation of the fifteen metros, with a 48.1 dissimilarity value. In contrast, the three metros with the most vivid visual divergences in the alignment of jobs to neighborhoods of color—Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis—have three of the five highest dissimilarity values of the fifteen regions.

Jobs proximity to neighborhoods of color (from most to least proximate)		Dissimilarity Rank, 2000	Black-White Dissimilarity Value, 2000	Percentage White, 2000
1.	Portland	15	48.1	81
2.	Atlanta	10	65.6	60
	Wash., DC	11	63.1	60
	New York	2	81.8	56
	Philadelphia	7	72.3	70
3.	Chicago	3	80.8	59
	Detroit	1	87.5	72
	St. Louis	5	78.3	77

As even this simple comparison among the three groups suggests, there is a tendency in the metro regions having the greatest residential segregation for job growth to occur distant from segregated neighborhoods of color. Even places with somewhat similar white population shares can end up with quite different economic opportunity outcomes that correlate with quite different amounts of residential segregation, as with the significantly different outcomes for Portland (Group 1) and St. Louis (Group 3), above.

In the discussion that follows, the four metro regions highlighted in Part 4—Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C.—are each briefly revisited. Maps for each revealed correlations vivid enough to warrant inclusion in either Group 2 or 3 because some or significant parts of the regions have .

1. Job growth in neighborhoods of color Portland is the only region among the fifteen with vivid patterns of job increases in neighborhoods of color during the 1990s. The locations of households and of jobs align fairly well. That is, the jobs per 100 households map and the jobs per square mile map are much more similar than they are for most metro regions (Maps 12.9 and 12.10). This suggests a relatively sensible spatial alignment of jobs and people.

In addition, this alignment included all the racial-ethnic groups in the study, and reflected the vitality of the region. Job growth in the region was second-highest among the metros at 29 percent, exceeding even its rapid population growth (Tables 10, 2). The locations of new jobs reflected general patterns of population change: some fast-growing suburbs had the largest job growth (Map 12.11). In Portland, these included suburbs with significant nonwhite population shares and with the largest increases in nonwhite population shares (Maps 12.1, 12.2).

Thus, most of the areas with the largest jobs growth also were places with the largest nonwhite population shares. In the Portland metro region, this primarily means Hispanic residents. Between 1980 and 2000, the region's Hispanic population share jumped from two to nine percent, and many of the new residents settled in a range of suburban and exurban areas. In contrast, the black population share barely changed, from two to three percent. (Table 3; Maps 12.4, 12.5 to 12.8.)

2. Mixed patterns, but jobs lag in many neighborhoods of color Although patterns were quite mixed in most regions, in Atlanta and Washington, D.C., and, especially, in New York and Philadelphia, there were significant areas of black and Hispanic neighborhoods where the density and growth of jobs lagged the region, and often considerably. In the Philadelphia region, for example, jobs were densely located in, and contiguous to, the core (Map 11.10.1). But, on a per-household basis, job availability in the core is below the regional average (Map 11.9.1)—and the region's core is characterized by severe, and spreading, nonwhite segregation, and these neighborhoods are depopulating, too (Maps 11.1.1, 11.1.2, 11.13).

In addition, most areas in Philadelphia's core are losing jobs; the region had essentially no job growth (1.4 percent, Table 10). Instead, overall there is a migration outward of jobs into whiter areas of the region, while the extremely segregated neighborhoods of color at the core expand but lose population (Maps 11.1, 11.2, 11.10, 11.11).

Atlanta, on the other hand, had robust job growth of 34 percent, 20 to 35 points greater than what it was in every other region except Portland and Minneapolis-St. Paul (Table 10). Yet, it had some areas with troubling patterns. Job growth was strongest to the south in Fayette and Henry counties; to the east and northeast in Forsyth, Gwinnett, and Walton counties; and to the west in Paulding County. A few places northeast and east of Atlanta lost jobs, as did a few places directly south and southeast. In the core, there was minimal to slow growth. Although below the metro average, job growth rates were still as high as 33 percent. (Map 1.11.)

Clayton County and several of its municipalities were doing the worst overall (Map 1.11). This area experienced large minority share increases but minimal population growth during the 1990s (Maps 1.4, 1.13).

In **Washington, D.C.**, jobs grew only 6.4 percent during the 1990s, placing the region in the bottom third among the metro areas (Table 10). The correlations among the spatial distribution of jobs and of neighborhoods of color were mixed. Near Baltimore, for example, jobs grew where nonwhite population shares also were increasing, in areas to the northwest and northeast. Near Washington, there were mixed results. Yet, many inner-ring suburbs to the east lost jobs, while just beyond, jobs grew (Maps 15.11, 15.12).

Job density is high within the District itself, and in a few adjacent suburbs directly northwest and southwest, and, somewhat, to the west (Map 15.10). With the exception of the eastern half of the District, these are places with relatively small minority population shares.¹⁹ Indeed, jobs are not as plentiful in many of the inner-ring black suburbs to the east. Similarly, in the Baltimore area, the above-average job availability to the north corresponds with the direction of lowest nonwhite population share. (Maps 15.9, 15.10, 15.3.)

3. Jobs moving away from neighborhoods of color The metro regions with vivid visual patterns of jobs moving in different directions from black neighborhoods during the 1990s include Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis. Each region's job growth was very low compared with the other regions (Table 10), and there was little population growth in these metros (Table 2). Moreover, and significantly, each has among the most severe black segregation among the fifteen regions.

Measured by black-white dissimilarity values, Detroit is the most segregated, at 84.7; Chicago is third, at 80.8; and St. Louis is fifth, at 74.3 (Table 7). Measured by percentage of black residents living in black-segregated or black-Hispanic-segregated neighborhoods, Chicago, at 80 percent, and Detroit, at 81 percent were the two most segregated metro regions among the fifteen. St. Louis, at 67 percent, is among the most segregated. (Tables D3, D5, D13.) Even when the share of residents living in segregated neighborhoods is regressed against their racial-ethnic mix, Detroit and Chicago are among the regions that show more segregation than one would expect from their overall racial-ethnic mix (Figures 2, 3).

The severe residential segregation in these three metro regions corresponds vividly with the distribution and change in jobs in these regions—in ways not favorable to neighborhoods of color. In short, the maps show the following:

Chicago Overall, the strongest job growth was to the north and west, while significant areas of black-segregated neighborhoods and population loss continue to extend southward.

Detroit Job loss in Detroit, Flint, and their first-ring suburbs corresponded, overall, with large, and growing, black population shares, and with population decline.

St. Louis The wedge of suburbs directly northwest of the central city is mostly nonwhite, has job densities that, overall, are below the regional average, and is not the area where jobs are growing. The same is true of East St. Louis and contiguous suburbs to the east.

Indeed, in the St. Louis region overall, jobs mostly declined in nonwhite neighborhoods. In general, there is a strong inverse correlation between the location of jobs and suburban neighborhoods of color. (Maps 13.1, 13.10, 13.11.)

Jobs grew at the relatively slow rate of 6.9 percent in the St. Louis region during the 1990s, and mostly declined in nonwhite areas (Table 10, Map 13.2). Especially noticeable is the race link in the suburbs along I-170 and I-270: to the north and northwest of St. Louis, there was a loss of jobs in many of those places with large nonwhite population shares; in most of the white suburbs to the south, there were job gains, even though population losses occurred somewhat evenly among all of the areas during the 1990s (Maps 13.11.1, 13.1.1, 13.12.1).

Similarly, the **Chicago** region shows severely segregated areas of black suburbanization that were not, overall, in the areas where jobs were growing. The region's job density is, in many places including the central city, dissimilar from the distribution of jobs per household (Maps 3.10, 3.9), suggesting mismatches. Broadly speaking, the availability of jobs per household was likely to be above the regional average in some second and third-ring suburbs, and more so to the north, than in the core or exurbs (Map 3.9). These are, overall, areas with the least amount of black suburbanization (Map 3.1, 3.2).

The Chicago region had a slow 7.9 percent rate of job growth during the 1990s (Table 10). Overall, job growth roughly mirrored population increases. Both occurred well beyond the City of Chicago to the north and northwest—geographically opposite of the main direction of black suburbanization. (Maps 3.11, 3.12.) Many inner-ring places lost jobs, and these include places to the west and south of Chicago where nonwhite shares are increasing substantially (Maps 3.11, 3.4).

The **Detroit** region shows discouraging patterns both for the distribution of jobs and for job growth. While job density is high in the City of Detroit, the number of jobs per households is below the regional average (Maps 5.9, 5.10), and nearly all of those households are black (Maps 5.1, 5.7, 5.8).

After a decade of decline in Detroit, jobs increased 8.8 percent between 1990 and 2000 (Table 10). The number of jobs declined significantly in Detroit and several of its first-ring suburbs, as well as in Flint (Map 5.11). These are depopulating places that had large, and growing, black population shares (Maps 5.2, 5.12). In contrast, many areas with larger white population shares, including some third-ring suburbs and exurban areas, had above-average job growth (Maps 5.1, 5.12).

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Residential segregation can create barriers to equal access to economic opportunity by reducing proximity to jobs for households of color. This can mean that residents of color live geographically distant from where jobs are located relative to white residents. Also, in a number of places this means that employment opportunities continue to move farther away from these segregated neighborhoods.

This barrier to equal opportunity within metro regions, and the extent to which it is compounded by inadequate public transportation, deserves more detailed study. And at the scale of the nation, it is important to investigate further the extent to which economic opportunity continues to move not just to the suburbs within individual metropolitan areas, but departs, entirely, the most severely segregated metro regions.

In short, how badly do metro regions injure their quality of life and regional economic health by maintaining policies that perpetuate severe residential segregation? What are the impacts on families and their communities when access to educational and economic opportunity is different for families living in highly segregated neighborhoods of color?

Implications and Recommendations

Residential segregation can be a barrier to opportunity. It can, for example, result in children of color not having the same educational opportunity that white children enjoy. This occurs even though equal educational opportunity means that black and Hispanic children should have the same access to effective public schools that white children enjoy. Similarly, residential segregation can separate communities of color from jobs, and from other economic and life opportunities.

Unequal access to opportunity is explored further in the implications below, which highlight several barriers that residential segregation poses to economic opportunity. This is followed by recommendations that research and public policy address segregation and related dynamics at a metropolitan-wide scale to pursue regional solutions.

Implications for Access to Opportunity

Although this study found that many integrated neighborhoods in the fifteen metro areas were in transition to a segregated neighborhood type, there was good news, too. A different set of metro areas did *not* show a tendency to resegregate during the same twenty-year period. These were the metro regions with large-scale county- or metro-wide school integration programs that included busing.

This yields a win-win result: educational opportunity and neighborhood stability. Providing black and Hispanic children with the same access to public school educational opportunity that is enjoyed by white children yielded an additional benefit. Integrated neighborhoods in those communities were much less likely to resegregate over a twenty-year period.

Residential segregation by race-ethnicity is the main contributor to school segregation. Abetted by discrimination in real estate markets, the siting of affordable housing in already segregated communities of color, and by exclusionary zoning practices, segregation also contributes to concentrations of poverty. A result is that many public schools available to communities of color have such extreme high-poverty enrollments that students are denied access to the integrated, middle-class education milieu and networks that decades of research shows are important to children's academic and life success.²⁰

Where residential segregation prevails, households of color tend to be separated not only from the most effective public schools, but to economic opportunity, including jobs. An uneven distribution of opportunity in many places significantly favors those already most advantaged, while disparately burdening those already facing hurdles to effective participation in their communities' economic, social, and civic life.

As the findings of this study revealed, many of the fifteen metro regions, or areas within the regions, have severe residential segregation. Three among the implications for access to economic

opportunity are highlighted here. First is the example of unequal distribution of opportunity in Chicago. There, other IRP research has found that communities of color are disproportionately located in Chicago's lowest-opportunity neighborhoods.

Among the many consequences residential segregation is that households of color are more likely to live where real estate appreciation rates are the lowest or declining, which IRP's research showed for Chicago. This has serious impacts on a household's ability to accumulate wealth. In addition, as the second example shows, other research has found not only that this is the case, but that it so even for the best-off black households. In Detroit, as in other places, this is an outcome of race-based barriers in residential real estate markets.

The last looks further at how residential segregation can reduce access to employment opportunity by increasing the distance between jobs and households of color.

Unequal opportunity: the Chicago example In other research, IRP has investigated the unequal distribution of opportunity in the Chicago metro region. This was done by calculating an opportunity index for each municipality within the region, and then examining the demographics of those communities.²¹

The opportunity index included a range of variables for public school quality, quality of life, transportation and jobs, and municipal fiscal health and capacity. Based on the opportunity index values, the communities were divided into five categories (equally into quintiles), from lowest opportunity (1) to highest (5). The results revealed that access to opportunity is extremely segregated by race and income in Chicago.²²

Ninety-four percent of black households, and 83 percent of Hispanic households, are located in Chicago's two *lowest* opportunity community groups.

Fewer than five percent of black households and ten percent of Hispanic households are located in Chicago's two *highest* opportunity community groups.

One consequence of this extreme racial-ethnic disparity is that black and Hispanic households live almost largely in places where the schools provide educational outcomes that are far below those of schools in higher-opportunity neighborhoods. Graduation rates, for example, are nearly 14 percentage-points higher in the highest opportunity communities.²³

In *low* opportunity communities, graduation rates were 80.7 percent, and average ACT college entrance exam scores were 18.3.

In *high* opportunity communities, graduation rates were 94.3 percent, and average ACT college entrance exam scores were 23.6.

Yet, even if residents of low opportunity neighborhoods wished to move to a higher opportunity neighborhood so their children could have an educational opportunity like that which most white children enjoy, many would be unlikely to find any housing that they could afford.²⁴

Sixty-two percent of the housing affordable to households earning \$25,525 per year is located in Chicago's two *lowest* opportunity community groups.

Only 13 percent of the housing is affordable for these households in Chicago's two *highest* opportunity community groups (\$25,525 is 50 percent of the 2000 median income for the region).

Other examples of opportunity disparities include differing possibilities for wealth accumulation. As to the latter, the housing appreciation rate, which is “for most people . . . a primary vehicle for wealth creation,” in was 2.2 times higher in Chicago’s *high* opportunity communities during the 1990s than it was in the *low* opportunity communities.²⁵

In *low* opportunity communities, the housing appreciation change was 37.2 percent.

In *high* opportunity communities, the housing appreciation change was 81.3 percent.

The next example draws from some among the nationwide research showing that, at *every* socio-economic level, blacks, on average, tend to live in lower housing-value neighborhoods. Thus, black households at all income levels face significant disadvantage for wealth accumulation relative to comparable white households. The example also discusses the case of Detroit.

Unequal opportunity: housing wealth, and the Detroit example The findings of the present study have shown the extent and patterns of residential segregation in the suburbs and central cities of the fifteen metro regions, and a tendency for job growth to be greatest in other than in the older, inner-ring suburbs where black suburbanization has been the strongest. These findings are congruent with other studies specifically finding that, on average, the neighborhoods where black residents live are often 20-percent less affluent than the neighborhoods where other racial-ethnic groups of comparable socio-economic status reside.²⁶

Indeed, the difference often is even worse. Among the fifteen metro regions studied in the present research, other demographic research shows that even black households earning over \$60,000 per year as of 2000 lived in neighborhoods with median household incomes 33 to 41 percentage points lower than neighborhoods where comparable white households lived.²⁷ While the costs of racial segregation are mostly borne most by blacks, the same research showed disparities for Hispanic households earning over \$60,000 per year ranging between nine and 38 percentage-points, as contrasted with comparable white households.²⁸

For example, in the four metro regions highlighted in this report, the percentage-point differences between the average neighborhood incomes of places where better-off households of color lived, and those where better-off white households lived were as follows in 2000 for households earning over \$60,000 per year:

Percentage-Point Spread between Average Incomes of
Neighborhoods where White Households Lived,
Contrasted with Comparable Households of Color

<u>Metro Region</u>	<u>Black:White</u>	<u>Hispanic:White</u>
Atlanta	24	17
Chicago	35	29
Detroit	35	19
Washington, D.C.	23	15

In the case of Detroit, blacks’ socioeconomic status clearly does not translate into the same residential opportunities in Detroit’s suburbs as it does for whites—at every socioeconomic level.

Another study showed that blacks in Detroit's suburbs were more segregated and isolated than whites *at every level of education, occupation, and income*.²⁹ In short, the study found that black's residential proximity to whites in the Detroit region and, notably, in its suburbs, is not significantly affected by individual socioeconomic characteristics, but by race, and attributed this outcome to discrimination in residential real estate markets. (Indeed, residential segregation for blacks of all socioeconomic levels was worse in Detroit's suburbs than in the central city.)

Among the significant consequences is that blacks are not converting their socioeconomic gains into residential gains comparable to those of whites with similar socioeconomic characteristics, which has serious implications for wealth accumulation. Unequal economic opportunity affects not only wealth accumulation, but employment opportunity. The next example returns to how the unequal access to opportunity associated with residential segregation affects economic opportunity in the form of access to jobs.

Segregation's effects on access to jobs The patterns displayed on the maps from this research are in accord with other research that finds a mismatch between the locations of jobs and black residential areas, especially in highly segregated metro areas. The studies calculated the spatial proximity of jobs to black residents using dissimilarity values.³⁰ These "spatial mismatch" values show the extent to which jobs are located in census tracts other than those where residents of a particular racial-ethnic group live. The studies find that the mismatch for blacks is much greater, overall, than for Hispanics or whites.³¹

On average, there was a 20-point difference in the spatial mismatch values for whites and blacks across the 102 largest U.S. cities in 2000. The values can range from 0 (perfect proximity) to 100 (no proximity; that is, residents and jobs are not in the same census tracts), and essentially represent the percentage of either jobs or residents that would need to relocate for there to be perfect proximity. The mismatch between jobs and residents was 33.3 for whites, 44.0 for Hispanics, and 53.3 for blacks. This value for blacks overall even reflects a 13-point decrease in spatial mismatch during the 1990s.³²

One factor that has an independent impact on the extent of spatial mismatch is "job sprawl." On average, if job sprawl increases 10 percent, the spatial mismatch between blacks and jobs increases 3.1 percent (1.7 percent for Hispanics). In contrast, for whites *no* statistically significant relationship between job sprawl and spatial mismatch was found.

Job sprawl also tends to be the worst in metro regions that have the most black-white residential segregation.³³ Residential segregation appears to have a larger independent impact on spatial mismatch than even job sprawl or metro population size. Significantly, and consistent with many findings of the present study, the extent of spatial mismatch between black residents and jobs within a metro area is most strongly related to the degree of residential segregation within that region. Overall, blacks' spatial proximity to jobs is worst in metro areas that have the most residential segregation. The independent effect of residential segregation on mismatch values for blacks is so strong that it accounts for nearly 50 percent of the variation seen across the nation's 102 largest metropolitan areas.³⁴

Table 11 sets side by side both the values for residential segregation, measured by the black-white dissimilarity index, and the values for spatial mismatch with jobs for black residents. Both are ranked among the fifteen metros, from greatest segregation or mismatch (1) to least (15). With only one exception—San Diego—the spatial mismatch rank is within a few points, or even matches, the residential segregation (dissimilarity) rank for each region.

In short, among the fifteen metro regions in the present study, black's proximity to jobs indeed roughly correlates with the extent of residential segregation in these metros. The spatial mismatch values for the Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis

regions reflect the severe residential segregation revealed by the maps from the present research. As described in Part 5, the maps of these three metro regions showed vivid correlations between race-ethnicity and the locations of jobs, which were much less likely to be in, or growing in, neighborhoods of color. The spatial mismatch values are in accord, as follows:

- Detroit – the worst mismatch between jobs and black residents at 71.4
- Chicago – the third-worst mismatch between jobs and black residents at 69.5
- St. Louis – the sixth-worst mismatch between jobs and black residents at 62.6

(Table 11.) Detroit and Chicago are among the four regions that have been highlighted previously in this report, and each of those four is revisited briefly here.

In **Atlanta**, jobs sprawled considerably during the 1990s, yet, on average this did not result in greater spatial disparities between jobs and blacks across the metro as a whole. Atlanta's job sprawl is very high,³⁵ but its spatial mismatch for blacks is third lowest among the fifteen metros, at 53.9 (Table 11). Nevertheless, the maps from the present study permit visual analysis within the region, and reveal that some parts of the region indeed appear to be experiencing a spatial mismatch between jobs and neighborhoods of color, as was described in Part 5.

In contrast to Atlanta, **Chicago** has the third-highest spatial mismatch value among the fifteen metros, at 69.5. This severe segregation between jobs and black neighborhoods is entirely consistent with the vivid mismatches revealed on the maps from the present study (see Part 5),

Table 11. **2000 Jobs Spatial Mismatch for Blacks, and Black-White Residential Dissimilarity Values, with Ranks**

	Jobs-Black Spatial Mismatch		Black-White Dissimilarity		% Black
	Value	Rank	Value	Rank	
Detroit	71.4	1	84.7	1	21
New York	70.3	2	81.8	2	16
Chicago	69.5	3	80.8	3	18
San Diego	69.5	3	54.1	14	5
Miami	64.7	5	73.6	6	19
Philadelphia	64.2	6	72.3	7	19
St. Louis	62.6	7	74.3	5	18
Cleveland	62.0	8	77.3	4	16
Los Angeles	61.6	9	67.5	8	7
Boston	60.2	10	65.7	10	5
Houston	56.6	11	67.5	8	17
Washington, D.C	55.5	12	63.1	12	26
Minneapolis	55.0	14	57.8	13	5
Atlanta	53.9	13	65.6	11	29
Portland	48.8	15	48.1	15	2
Average/Total	61.7		69.0		15

Sources: adapted from Tables 1 and 7, and Stoll (2005), Appendix A.

with Chicago having the third-worst black-white residential segregation value (Table 11), and with the results of IRP's Chicago study, mentioned above.

Like Chicago, **Detroit** has a severe spatial mismatch between jobs and black residents, at 71.4. This is the worst among the fifteen metros, and second worst among 102 of the nation's largest cities.³⁶ One would expect this result, given Detroit's extreme residential segregation, the worst among the 15 metros at 84.7 (Table 11). Detroit also has an abysmal job sprawl value (92.4), the worst among the fifteen metros, and second-worst among the nation's 102 largest metro regions. Its job sprawl is twenty points higher than that of the **Washington, D.C.** region.³⁷

The nation's capital, in addition to having a relatively modest job sprawl for its size, also had the fourth-lowest black-white residential dissimilarity value. The relatively low job sprawl and relatively low dissimilarity values yield the fourth-lowest spatial mismatch value among the fifteen regions (Table 11). Yet, as Part 5 described, there are some areas within the Washington, D.C., region that the maps from the present research suggest are experiencing a mismatch between the locations of jobs and neighborhoods of color.

Recommendations

This study highlights the need to investigate further the ways that residential segregation creates barriers to opportunity, and to design policies that lower those barriers.

- New affordable housing should not be located in areas of, or adjacent to, concentrated poverty and existing residential segregation.
- Laws prohibiting discrimination in residential real estate and lending must be vigorously enforced.
- Exclusionary zoning policies should be modified with fair-share affordable housing requirements.
- Housing and school integration policies should be regional in scope or white flight will undermine them.
- Region-wide public school choice programs designed to aid integration should be adopted to support the stability of integrated neighborhoods while enhancing educational opportunities for children of all races-ethnicities.

A regional approach to providing access to opportunity is essential to the health and stability not just of our central cities but of our suburbs. A regional approach is needed to ensure that children's educational opportunities are not restricted because of where their families happen to live within a metro area. And it is needed to ensure that families have access to safe and affordable housing, and to jobs, based not on their skin color or residential address, but on their aspirations and effort.

¹ For more information about data, classifications, and methods, see Appendix A.

² All 249 maps for the fifteen metro areas are available on IRP's web site at www.irpumn.org. See Appendix B for more information about the maps, and Appendix C for a list of all 249 maps.

³ Camille Zubrinsky Charles, The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation, *Annual Review of Sociology* 29:167, 173 (2003).

⁴ William H. Frey, Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity, p. 155. In Bruce Katz and Robert E. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000* (Vol. 1), pp. 155-79. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute (2003). Also available at www.frey-demographer.org/reports/billf.pdf (visited Feb. 2006).

⁵ Bernadette D. Proctor and Joseph Dalaker, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-222, *Poverty in the United States: 2002*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office (Sept. 2003). Available at www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p60-222.pdf (visited Feb. 2006).

⁶ Myron Orfield, *American Metropolitics: The New Suburban Reality*, p. 34. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution (2002).

⁷ Orfield, p. ____.

⁸ Roberto Suro & Audrey Singer, "Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations," p. 181. In Bruce Katz and Robert E. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000* (Vol. 1), pp. 181-210. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute (2003). Also available at www.brookings.edu/es/urban/publications/surosinger.pdf (visited Feb. 2006).

⁹ The rate of change in foreign-born populations varied from a 127.2 percent increase in Minneapolis-St. Paul to less than two percent in Cleveland and Miami. Immigrant populations more than doubled in Atlanta and Portland, and increased roughly one-third in Philadelphia, Detroit, Boston, Chicago, and New York.

¹⁰ Fasenfest et al., 2004. The typology used in this work modifies the Fasenfest et al. method by treating Hispanics as a separate group. Fasenfest et al. use three racial categories – white, black and other. This work uses three different categories – non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black and Hispanic.

¹¹ *Neighborhoods* are defined as Census tracts. The results do not change substantively, particularly when making comparisons across metropolitan areas or over time if census block groups are used instead.

¹² These comparisons are based on a simple regression equation with percentage of tracts that were segregated as the dependent variable and the percentage of the metro area population that was white as the independent variable. For this sample of fifteen metros, the 1980 intercept was 4.86 and the coefficient on percentage of population white was .975 (significant at 99 percent confidence). The adjusted R² was .62. The same regression using 2000 data yields an intercept of 36.2 and a slope coefficient of .55 (significant at 99 percent confidence) with an adjusted R² of .54. Expanding the analysis to control for the fact that black and Hispanic populations show different rates of integration with whites changes the results, but not substantially. The same sets of metropolitan areas tend to show the greatest differences between actual and expected segregation rates in the two years.

¹³ For example, the spatial unit used may not match how people live “on the ground.” Often, a Census tract is much larger than the “neighborhood” space within which many base their residential choices and have their daily exposure to others nearby. Also, tract boundaries may separate groups that, “on the ground,” actually live in proximity—or, include groups that actually are quite spatially distant. Another issue is that tracts are based on population size, not area, so dissimilarity comparisons where population is dense can be quite different from those where population is spread out.

¹⁴ The dissimilarity indexes in Table 5-1 were calculated from Census block-group data.

¹⁵ IRP has repeated the analysis for the 100 largest U.S. metro regions with similar results.

¹⁶ The lines on this, and the other turning-point graphs, were smoothed by taking five percentage-point moving averages for the variable on the x axis—percentage black in 1980.

¹⁷ The included metropolitan areas were Charlotte NC, Daytona Beach FL, Greensboro NC, Indianapolis IN, Lakeland FL, Las Vegas NV, Louisville KY, Nashville TN, Orlando FL, Pensacola FL, Wilmington DE, Raleigh-Durham NC, Sarasota FL, Tampa-St. Petersburg FL, and West Palm Beach FL.

¹⁸ The analysis also was carried out for the 100 largest metropolitan areas. This group, as a whole, showed patterns like those found in the fifteen large metropolitan areas included in the current study. The differences between the results for the fifteen large metropolitan areas and the busing sample are not, therefore, due to idiosyncrasies of the fifteen large metropolitan areas.

¹⁹ Job data for Washington, D.C., are reported for the entire district, which prevents analysis of the distribution of jobs *within* that racially divided district.

²⁰ Institute on Race and Poverty, Access to Educational Opportunity for All Twin Cities Public School Children: The Promise of “Choice is Yours” for Quality Integrated Schools (forthcoming, 2006).

²¹ Lukehart, John, Tom Luce, and Jason Reece, The Segregation of Opportunities: The Structure of Advantage and Disadvantage in the Chicago Region, p. 11. Report of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities (May 2005).

²² Lukehart, Luce, and Reece, p. 8.

²³ Lukehart, Luce, and Reece, p. 12.

²⁴ Lukehart, Luce, and Reece, p. 7.

²⁵ Lukehart, Luce, and Reece, p. 12.

²⁶ Charles, pp. 176-79, summarizes these studies.

²⁷ Derived from John Logan, Separate and Unequal: The Neighborhood Gap for Blacks and Hispanics in Metropolitan America, Table 6. Albany, NY: Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research (Oct. 2002).

²⁸ Derived from Logan, Table 9.

²⁹ Joe Darden and Sameh Kamel, Black Residential Segregation in the City and Suburbs of Detroit: Does Socioeconomic Status Matter? *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22 (1):1-13 (2000). In the case of Detroit and its suburbs just prior to 2000, they interpret their findings to contradict the *ecological* (or *spatial assimilation*) theory, and to support a *place stratification* explanation of residential segregation. In other words, race, not income, education, or occupation, explained the residential segregation observed.

³⁰ Michael Stoll, *Job Sprawl and the Spatial Mismatch between Blacks and Jobs*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution (2005); Steven Raphael and Michael Stoll, *Modest Progress: The Narrowing Spatial Mismatch Between Blacks and Jobs in the 1990s*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution (2002). The job sprawl and spatial mismatch data discussed in this section are taken from the findings of these two related studies.

APPENDIX A

Classifying Neighborhoods and Defining *Stable Integration*

This Appendix first describes the Census-defined racial-ethnic categories that are used in the research. This is followed by an overview of the seven-neighborhood typology that is used to categorize and analyze the distribution of neighborhoods and their changes over time. The final topic is an explanation of how neighborhood change was studied, and *stable integration* defined

Racial-Ethnic Categories

This report adopts the Census-defined race and ethnic categories and the terminology used to describe them. Three major racial and ethnic groups dominate the analysis: white, black, and Hispanic. These categories and terms are not ideal, nor do they correspond exactly with more common current usage, such as African American and Latino.

For the purposes of this report, *black* is defined as non-Hispanic black, as reported by the Census, a definition most closely approximating African American as it is usually used. The report defines *white* as non-Hispanic white, as reported by the Census. Finally, the Census category *Hispanic* is used. Hispanic is an ethnic category that includes Latinos, Chicanos, and others. For many purposes, this definition is over-inclusive, yet it is the best available. Hispanics may be counted as white, black, or other racial categories.

To investigate neighborhood stability and change, researchers must define *integration* and designate what qualifies as *stable integration*. For its empirical research, IRP used a typology that groups neighborhoods into seven types, described next. The extent of neighborhood stability was examined across a twenty-year period. Data are from the U.S. Census of Population.

The Seven Neighborhood Types

The seven-category neighborhood typology used in this research is a variation on the one applied by Fasenfest, Booza, and Metzger (2004), which is derived from Ellen (1998). Unlike Fasenfest et al., the typology used in the present research treats *Hispanic* as its own ethnic category, rather than grouping it with other races-ethnicities:

Comparison of Racial-Ethnic Groupings

<u>This Research</u>	<u>Fasenfest, et al.</u>
Non-Hispanic White	White
Non-Hispanic Black	Black
Hispanic	Other

Based on the three racial-ethnic groupings, seven neighborhood types are denominated. Four are defined as *not integrated*. This includes one with a mix of black and Hispanic residents, each

representing greater than ten percent of the population, but having a white population share of less than 40 percent:

Segregated (Non-Integrated) Neighborhoods

1. **Predominantly White**
Less than 10% black *and* less than 10% Hispanic
2. **Predominantly Black**
Greater than 50% black *and* less than 10% Hispanic
3. **Predominantly Hispanic**
Less than 10% black *and* greater than 50% Hispanic
4. **Black and Hispanic**
Less than 40% white *and* greater than 10% black *and* greater than 10% Hispanic

The other three neighborhood types are defined as *integrated*:

Integrated Neighborhoods

5. **White-Black Integrated**
Greater than 10% white *and* less than 50% black *and* less than 10% Hispanic
6. **White-Hispanic Integrated**
Greater than 10% white *and* less than 10% black *and* less than 50% Hispanic
7. **Multi-Ethnic**
Less than 40% white *and* greater than 10% black *and* greater than 10% Hispanic

Neighborhood Change and *Stable Integration*

To examine the dynamics of neighborhood change, a twenty-year period was used that spans the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial Censuses. For each metro region, every neighborhood—defined as a Census tract¹—was assigned a neighborhood type for each of 1980, 1990, and 2000.

A neighborhood moves from one type to another if at least one of its defining racial-ethnic proportions changes beyond the range for that neighborhood type. Thus, a neighborhood that has one of its population groups near the percentage for another category at the beginning of the study period could more easily change designations because it would take only a slight shift in population proportions to nudge it into another category.

Stably integrated neighborhoods are defined as those that were one of the three integrated types in 1980 and remained among one of the three integrated types in 1990 and 2000, even if they transitioned into another integrated neighborhood type. Integrated neighborhoods that changed into another type of integrated neighborhood are classified as *integrated with changes in the racial mix*. Similarly, *segregated neighborhoods* are defined as neighborhoods that were predominantly white, black or Hispanic in each of 1980, 1990, and 2000.

¹ See the Appendix B discussion of “Spatial Data and Census Geography” for more information about *Census tracts* and other units of Census geography.

Neighborhoods that integrated between 1980 and 2000 are defined as those that were integrated in 2000 but not in at least one of the prior years. These neighborhoods are subdivided based on their 2000 neighborhood type:

- became white-black integrated,
- became white-Hispanic integrated, or
- became white-black-Hispanic integrated.

Similarly, *neighborhoods that segregated between 1980 and 2000* are those that were in one of the segregated categories in 2000 but were in at least one of the integrated categories in one of the early years. These neighborhoods also are subdivided according to their 2000 neighborhood type:

- became predominantly white,
- became predominantly black, and
- became predominantly Hispanic.

More information about the maps displaying these data is provided in Appendix B, and a complete list of maps appears in Appendix C.

Additional analyses of integrated neighborhoods included calculation of the *turnover points* for each of the three integrated neighborhood types. This revealed the racial-ethnic mix in 1980 at which neighborhoods were more likely to resegregate than to remain stably integrated during the subsequent twenty years. These results are displayed in graphs (Figures 2-6) for which the lines were smoothed by taking five percentage-point moving averages for the variable on the x axis (e.g., Percentage Black in 1980).

APPENDIX B

Mapping the Spatial Distribution of Minority Suburbanization, Residential Integration, and Jobs

This project produced 249 maps. They display the results of the following four categories of analyses for each of the fifteen metro regions studied:

- Residential racial composition and change
- Neighborhood integration and segregation
- Jobs distribution and change
- Population change

There are 13 maps for each metro region at the scale of the entire metro region. In addition, for each of six metro regions, there are nine additional maps that zoom-in to give a more detailed view of the *central area*, a smaller portion of the region that includes the central city or cities. All 249 maps are available at www.irpumn.org (click on the “Projects” link, and then follow the links for “Minority Suburbanization and Racial Change”¹).

What follows are two topics that explain the data and the geographic areas displayed on the maps. First is an overview of the spatial data and the Census geography relevant to the cartographic results. Second is a summary of the 13 map topics for the fifteen metro regions.

Spatial Data and Census Geography

Census geography concerns the areal units that the United States Census Bureau designates for collecting and displaying data. These areas lie within boundaries that the Census Bureau draws, as well as within boundaries that the states draw. The data the Census collects are linked to these various areal units and are, therefore, *spatial data* that can be analyzed according to their geographic location.

The Census geography of the metro regions, the nature of the data, and how the data are mapped are all relevant to understanding the results displayed in the maps. The following discussion first explains how the area of each metro region is defined, and then describes the spatial units from which the source data originate and within which they are displayed cartographically.

Metropolitan Statistical Areas The fifteen metropolitan regions in the study are either “MSAs”—Metropolitan Statistical Areas—or “CMSAs.” These Census-defined regions generally contain at least a dozen counties, and are defined as follows:

¹ Or go directly to this project’s home page at the following URL:
www.irpumn.org/website/projects/index.php?strWebAction=project_detail&intProjectID=15

MSAs (Metropolitan Statistical Areas). These are *MA*s (metropolitan areas) that are not closely associated with other MAs. MSAs typically are surrounded by non-metropolitan counties.

MAs (Metropolitan Areas) contains at least 50,000 people. MAs have a large population nucleus, together with adjacent communities that have a high degree of economic and social integration with that nucleus.

CMSAs (Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas). These consist of an entire MA within which there are two or more large places, called *PMSAs*.

An MA with over 1 million people may be designated to have two or more **PMSAs** (Primary MSAs) if each has considerable internal economic and social links, as well as close ties with its surrounding area.

The fifteen MSAs and CMSAs that were the subject of this research are defined by the Census Bureau as follows:

Atlanta, GA MSA

Boston--Worcester--Lawrence, MA--NH--ME--CT CMSA

Chicago--Gary--Kenosha, IL--IN--WI CMSA

Cleveland--Akron, OH CMSA

Detroit--Ann Arbor--Flint, MI CMSA

Houston--Galveston--Brazoria, TX CMSA

Los Angeles--Riverside--Orange County, CA CMSA

Miami--Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA

Minneapolis - St. Paul, MN--WI MSA

New York City--Northern New Jersey--Long Island, NY--NJ--CT--PA CMSA

Philadelphia--Wilmington--Atlantic City, PA--NJ--DE--MD CMSA

Portland--Salem, OR--WA CMSA

St. Louis, MO--IL MSA

San Diego, CA MSA

Washington - Baltimore, DC--MD--VA--WV CMSA

Within the large area contained in each region, the maps show the distribution (or change in distribution) of people, jobs, residential integration, and residential segregation. These results are displayed, for each metro area, in small areal units that are described next.

The Data and Mapping: Census *Block-Groups* and *Places*, and *Minor Civil Divisions* The maps display the findings in two different categories of areal units. One is the *block group*. A **block group** is a Census-designated unit that contains between 600 and 3,000 people, and averages roughly 1,500 people. It provides a finer scale for analysis and communication of data than does the familiar, and larger, Census *tract*. Tracts average 4,000 people, and range between as few as 1,500 and as many as

8,000 people. This project, in accord with most demographic research, uses Census tracts as proxies for *neighborhoods*.

An important fact about both block groups and tracts is that their spatial dimensions—the land area that they represent—can vary widely. Because their boundaries are determined by number of people, the area represented within a block group or tract depends on its population density. Two block groups of 1,000 people each will cover significantly different areas on a map if one block group has ten people per square mile (100 square miles!) versus 1,000 people per square mile (only one square mile).

The varying land area represented by block groups (or tracts) affects both data analysis² and the cartographic display of data, and can tend to bias an unwary map-reader's eye. In metropolitan regions, for example, the difference in population densities between the central cities and inner-ring suburbs, versus the densities in new, outer-ring suburbs and exurban areas can be enormous. Yet, on a regional-scale map, the less-populated areas will cover disproportionately large portions of the map relative to their density and appear to be very important relative to the other block groups that are tiny. Yet each block group averages roughly the same population, irrespective of its geographic size.

The second category of areal units in which data are displayed in some of the maps consists of areas that are political jurisdictions or are akin to such areas. These are either *minor civil divisions* or Census-designated *places*. **Minor civil divisions** (“MCDs”) are governmental or administrative units of states, such as towns and villages. Census-designated **places** are areal units somewhat equivalent to incorporated areas, but without any legal designation from their states. The land area within either an MCD or a place can, as with block groups, vary widely and thus tend to bias a map-reader's eye in the same way that the variation in geographic area among block-groups might.

Thirteen Map Topics for Each of the Fifteen Metro Regions

Each of the 249 maps is numbered to designate, first, the metro region displayed, and second, the map topic. The first number, 1-15, corresponds to the metro region, as follows:

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Atlanta | 6. Houston | 11. Philadelphia* |
| 2. Boston | 7. Los Angeles* | 12. Portland |
| 3. Chicago* | 8. Miami | 13. Saint Louis* |
| 4. Cleveland | 9. Minneapolis-St. Paul | 14. San Diego |
| 5. Detroit | 10. New York* | 15. Washington, D.C.- Baltimore* |

*Denotes metro regions with nine additional maps showing more detail of the region's central area.

Thus, every map number that begins with “5” is a Detroit map. The 13 map topics for each metro region are numbered 1-13. Grouped here (and on IRP's web site) under four headings, the 13 map topics include the following:

Four *racial composition and change* maps

1. Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by [place/jurisdiction/both], 2000

² For example, the results of some measures of segregation, such as the dissimilarity index, are affected by varying population densities in a metro region.

2. Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by [place/jurisdiction/both], 1990-2000
3. Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
4. Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

Maps 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, and 4.1 are the central-area zoom views of topics 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Four *neighborhood integration and segregation* maps (block-group level results)

5. Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
6. Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000
7. Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
8. Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000

Three *job distribution and change* maps

9. Jobs per 100 Households by [place/jurisdiction/both], 2000
10. Jobs per Square Mile by [place/jurisdiction/both], 2000
11. Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by [place/jurisdiction/both], 1990-2000

Maps 9.1, 10.1, and 11.1 are the central-area zoom views of topics 9, 10, and 11.

Two *population change* maps

12. Percentage Change in Population by [Census-designated place or State-designated jurisdiction or both], 1990-2000
13. Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

Maps 12.1 and 13.1 are the central-area scale views of topics 12 and 13.

The maps of neighborhood integration and segregation—Maps 5-8 for each region, as well as three of the population and racial distribution and change maps—Maps 13, 3, and 4 for each region, display results at the fine-grained Census block-group level (averaging 1,500 residents per block group). The other maps display data at the less-detailed level of Census-denominated places or minor civil divisions (MCDs), or a combination. The number of people within MCDs and Census-denominated places can vary considerably.

APPENDIX C

List of the 249 Maps for the Fifteen Metro Regions

A list of all maps produced for this research follows. All 249 maps are available at www.irpumn.org (click on the “Projects” link, and then follow the links for “Minority Suburbanization and Racial Change”). The map numbering, topics, and spatial units are explained in Appendix B.

1 Atlanta

METRO REGION

- 1.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 1.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 1.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 1.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 1.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 1.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000
- 1.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 1.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000
- 1.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 1.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 1.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 1.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 1.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

2 Boston

METRO REGION

- 2.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by County Subdivision, 2000
- 2.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by County Subdivision, 1990-2000
- 2.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000

2.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

2.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

2.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000

2.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

2.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000

2.9 Jobs per 100 Households by County Subdivision, 2000

2.10 Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, 2000

2.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, 1990-2000

2.12 Percentage Change in Population by County Subdivision, 1990-2000

2.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

3 Chicago

METRO REGION

3.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

3.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

3.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000

3.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

3.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

3.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000

3.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

3.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000

3.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

CENTRAL AREA

3.1.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

3.2.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

3.3.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000

3.4.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

3.9.1 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

3.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000	3.10.1 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
3.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000	3.11.1 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
3.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000	3.12.1 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
3.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000	3.13.1 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

4 Cleveland

METRO REGION

- 4.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 4.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 4.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 4.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 4.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 4.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000
- 4.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 4.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000
- 4.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 4.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 4.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 4.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 4.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

5 Detroit

METRO REGION

- 5.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000

- 5.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000
- 5.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 5.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 5.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 5.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000
- 5.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 5.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000
- 5.9 Jobs per 100 Households by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 5.10 Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 5.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000
- 5.12 Percentage Change in Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000
- 5.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

6 Houston

METRO REGION

- 6.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 6.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 6.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 6.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 6.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 6.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000
- 6.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 6.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000
- 6.9 Jobs per 100 Households Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 6.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

6.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

6.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

6.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

7 Los Angeles

METRO REGION

7.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

7.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

7.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000

7.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

7.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

7.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000

7.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

7.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000

7.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

7.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

7.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

7.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

7.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

7.1.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

7.2.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

7.3.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000

7.4.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

7.9.1 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

7.10.1 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

7.11.1 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

7.12.1 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

7.13.1 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

8 Miami

METRO REGION

- 8.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 8.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 8.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 8.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 8.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
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- 8.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
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- 8.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 8.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 8.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

9 Minneapolis - St. Paul

METRO REGION

- 9.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by County Subdivision, 2000
- 9.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by County Subdivision, 1990-2000
- 9.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 9.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 9.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
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- 9.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
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- 9.9 Jobs per 100 Households by County Subdivision, 2000

- 9.10 Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, 2000
- 9.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, 1990-2000
- 9.12 Percentage Change in Population by County Subdivision, 1990-2000
- 9.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

10 New York City

METRO REGION

- 10.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 10.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000
- 10.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 10.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 10.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
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- 10.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 10.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000
- 10.9 Jobs per 100 Households by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 10.10 Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 10.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000
- 10.12 Percentage Change in Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

- 10.1.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 10.2.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000
- 10.3.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 10.4.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

- 10.9.1 Jobs per 100 Households by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 10.10.1 Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 2000
- 10.11.1 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000
- 10.12.1 Percentage Change in Population by County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-2000

10.13 Percentage Change in Population by
Census Block Group, 1990-2000

10.13.1 Percentage Change in Population by
Census Block Group, 1990-2000

11 Philadelphia

METRO REGION

- 11.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority
Population by County Subdivision, Place
and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 11.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian
Minority Share of Population by County
Subdivision, Place and Undefined County
Area, 1990-2000
- 11.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority
Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 11.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian
Minority Share of Population by Census
Block Group, 1990-2000
- 11.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through
2000
- 11.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between
1980 and 2000
- 11.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through
2000
- 11.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated
between 1980 and 2000
- 11.9 Jobs per 100 Households by County
Subdivision, Place and Undefined County
Area, 2000
- 11.10 Jobs per Square Mile by County
Subdivision, Place and Undefined County
Area, 2000
- 11.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square
Mile by County Subdivision, Place and
Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 11.12 Percentage Change in Population by
County Subdivision, Place and Undefined
County Area, 1990-2000
- 11.13 Percentage Change in Population by
Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

- 11.1.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority
Population by County Subdivision, City,
and Village, 2000
- 11.2.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-
Asian Minority Share of Population by
County Subdivision, City, and Village, 1990-
2000
- 11.3.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority
Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 11.4.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-
Asian Minority Share of Population by
Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

- 11.9.1 Jobs per 100 Households by County
Subdivision, Place and Undefined
County Area, 2000
- 11.10.1 Jobs per Square Mile by County
Subdivision, Place and Undefined County
Area, 2000
- 11.11.1 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square
Mile by County Subdivision, Place and
Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 11.12.1 Percentage Change in Population by
County Subdivision, Place and
Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 11.13.1 Percentage Change in Population by
Census Block Group, 1990-2000

12 Portland

METRO REGION

- 12.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 12.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 12.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 12.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 12.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 12.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000
- 12.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 12.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000
- 12.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 12.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 12.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 12.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 12.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

13 St. Louis

METRO REGION

- 13.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 13.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 13.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 13.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 13.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 13.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000

CENTRAL AREA

- 13.1.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 13.2.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 13.3.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 13.4.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

13.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

13.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000

13.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

13.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

13.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

13.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

13.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

13.9.1 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

13.10.1 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

13.11.1 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

13.12.1 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

13.13.1 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

14 San Diego

METRO REGION

14.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

14.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

14.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000

14.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

14.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

14.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000

14.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000

14.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000

14.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

14.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

14.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000

14.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000

14.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

15 Washington, DC - Baltimore

METRO REGION

- 15.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 15.2 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 15.3 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 15.4 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000
- 15.5 Integrated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 15.6 Neighborhoods that Integrated between 1980 and 2000
- 15.7 Segregated Neighborhoods: 1980 through 2000
- 15.8 Neighborhoods that became Segregated between 1980 and 2000
- 15.9 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 15.10 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 15.11 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 15.12 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 15.13 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

- 15.1.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 15.2.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 15.3.1 Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Population by Census Block Group, 2000
- 15.4.1 Percentage-Point Change in the Non-Asian Minority Share of Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

CENTRAL AREA

- 15.9.1 Jobs per 100 Households by Place and Undefined County Area, 2000
- 15.10.1 Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 15.11.1 Percentage Change in Jobs per Square Mile by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 15.12.1 Percentage Change in Population by Place and Undefined County Area, 1990-2000
- 15.13.1 Percentage Change in Population by Census Block Group, 1990-2000

APPENDIX D

Where People Lived: Population Distribution Tables for Each Metro Region, by Race-Ethnicity and Neighborhood

Table D1. **Atlanta**
Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	74	71	60	24	25	29	1	2	6	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	80	64	53	7	7	6	61	41	17	62	49	36
Black	4	4	4	74	67	57	18	11	7	21	20	20
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Black/Hispanic	0	0	4	0	1	11	0	6	33	0	0	8
Subtotal, Segregated	83	68	60	82	75	74	80	58	60	83	70	64
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	16	31	30	18	24	20	18	38	17	17	30	26
White/Hispanic	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	6	0	0	2
White/Black/Hispanic	0	0	6	0	0	5	0	4	18	0	0	7
Subtotal, Integrated	17	32	40	18	25	26	20	42	40	17	30	36

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D2. **Boston**
Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	93	88	83	4	4	5	2	4	6	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	96	91	87	27	28	27	54	39	29	92	86	79
Black	0	0	0	37	20	8	4	2	1	2	1	1
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	10	15	0	1	1
Black/Hispanic	0	0	1	14	25	32	11	11	15	1	2	4
Subtotal, Segregated	96	92	88	79	75	68	71	61	59	95	89	85
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	2	2	3	13	10	14	4	3	4	2	3	4
White/Hispanic	2	4	7	2	5	9	18	26	29	2	5	9
White/Black/Hispanic	1	2	2	6	11	9	7	10	9	1	2	3
Subtotal, Integrated	4	8	12	21	25	32	29	39	41	5	11	15

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D3. **Chicago****Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity 1980, 1990, 2000**

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total Population Share	71	67	59	19	19	18	8	11	16	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	82	74	63	4	4	5	22	17	12	61	54	43
Black	1	1	1	80	73	66	3	2	2	17	15	14
Hispanic	1	1	3	0	1	1	28	28	37	3	4	8
Black/Hispanic	1	1	2	7	10	14	15	19	16	3	5	7
Subtotal, Segregated	85	78	70	90	88	86	68	66	67	84	78	72
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	6	6	6	7	8	6	3	3	2	6	6	5
White/Hispanic	8	13	20	1	1	3	24	27	26	8	13	18
White/Black/Hispanic	1	2	4	2	3	5	5	4	6	2	3	5
Subtotal, Integrated	15	22	30	10	12	14	32	34	33	16	22	28

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D4. **Cleveland****Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000**

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total Population Share	83	81	78	14	15	16	1	2	3	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	88	86	80	7	8	8	45	43	32	76	73	66
Black	2	2	3	75	73	70	8	4	6	12	13	14
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Black/Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	5	8	0	0	1
Subtotal, Segregated	90	87	83	82	81	79	59	53	46	88	86	81
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	8	10	12	16	17	16	7	8	10	9	11	13
White/Hispanic	2	2	2	0	1	1	25	30	17	2	3	2
White/Black/Hispanic	1	1	3	2	2	3	9	9	26	1	1	3
Subtotal, Integrated	10	13	17	18	19	21	41	47	54	12	14	19

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D5. **Detroit****Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000**

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total Population Share	78	76	72	19	20	21	2	2	3	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	87	87	87	4	4	7	54	55	49	70	70	68
Black	3	3	3	83	84	80	12	9	8	19	19	20
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	13	0	0	1
Black/Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	9	0	0	1
Subtotal, Segregated	90	90	90	87	88	89	69	72	79	89	89	89
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	8	8	9	12	11	10	11	11	10	9	9	9
White/Hispanic	1	1	1	0	0	0	15	13	5	1	1	1
White/Black/Hispanic	0	0	1	1	1	1	5	5	6	1	1	1
Subtotal, Integrated	10	10	10	13	12	11	31	28	21	11	11	11

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D6. Houston

Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	65	58	48	18	18	17	14	20	29	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	54	38	31	6	4	3	15	8	4	39	26	18
Black	1	1	0	52	32	16	3	1	1	11	7	3
Hispanic	1	3	5	0	1	2	19	23	31	4	7	12
Black/Hispanic	2	5	10	20	34	57	15	23	34	7	14	26
Subtotal, Segregated	58	47	46	78	71	78	52	55	70	61	53	59
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	7	4	2	7	5	1	3	1	0	6	4	1
White/Hispanic	26	32	39	4	7	8	32	27	20	23	26	28
White/Black/Hispanic	9	16	13	11	17	13	14	17	9	10	17	12
Subtotal, Integrated	42	53	54	22	29	22	48	45	30	39	47	41

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D7. Los Angeles

Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	61	50	39	9	8	7	24	32	40	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	46	32	25	4	3	3	8	4	2	32	19	13
Black	0	0	0	28	8	5	1	0	0	3	1	0
Hispanic	5	6	10	2	5	10	40	44	50	14	19	27
Black/Hispanic	2	3	6	47	55	57	12	17	20	9	12	16
Subtotal, Segregated	53	41	41	82	73	75	61	65	73	57	51	57
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
White/Hispanic	44	53	54	11	18	17	36	32	24	39	43	39
White/Black/Hispanic	3	5	5	5	9	8	2	4	3	3	5	4
Subtotal, Integrated	47	59	59	18	27	25	39	35	27	43	49	43

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D8. Miami

Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	62	48	36	13	18	19	24	33	40	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	56	41	14	3	3	1	7	4	1	36	22	6
Black	2	2	1	56	39	28	1	1	1	10	8	6
Hispanic	6	9	14	1	2	3	54	59	59	17	24	30
Black/Hispanic	2	6	11	26	38	51	11	15	20	8	15	23
Subtotal, Segregated	66	58	40	86	82	83	73	79	81	71	69	66
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	4	2	2	5	3	2	1	0	0	3	2	1
White/Hispanic	25	29	40	3	5	5	21	16	12	21	20	21
White/Black/Hispanic	5	11	18	7	10	10	5	5	7	5	9	12
Subtotal, Integrated	34	42	60	14	18	17	27	21	19	29	31	34

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D9. Minneapolis-St. Paul

Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	95	92	85	2	3	5	1	1	3	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	97	94	89	40	37	35	80	74	49	95	91	83
Black	0	0	0	26	14	11	2	1	1	1	1	1
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black/Hispanic	0	0	1	0	0	11	0	0	15	0	0	2
Subtotal, Segregated	97	94	90	66	51	57	82	75	65	96	91	86
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	3	6	6	33	49	34	7	16	14	4	8	9
White/Hispanic	0	0	1	0	1	1	11	10	9	1	1	2
White/Black/Hispanic	0	0	2	0	0	8	0	0	12	0	0	3
Subtotal, Integrated	3	6	10	34	49	43	18	25	35	4	9	14

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D10. New York

Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	71	65	56	15	16	16	11	14	18	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	78	76	69	6	6	6	15	14	12	59	54	45
Black	1	1	1	40	34	29	3	2	2	7	6	6
Hispanic	1	1	1	0	1	1	12	14	16	2	3	4
Black/Hispanic	2	3	5	37	44	51	40	43	45	12	16	21
Subtotal, Segregated	82	80	75	83	85	87	70	73	75	80	79	76
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	6	5	4	8	6	4	3	2	1	6	5	3
White/Hispanic	9	11	16	2	3	4	19	18	18	9	11	15
White/Black/Hispanic	4	4	6	6	7	6	8	7	6	5	5	6
Subtotal, Integrated	18	20	25	17	15	13	30	27	25	20	21	24

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D11. Philadelphia

Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Total Population Share	78	76	70	18	18	19	3	4	6	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	82	79	73	8	9	10	27	24	21	67	64	57
Black	2	2	2	65	61	52	8	6	5	13	13	12
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	0	0	0
Black/Hispanic	1	1	1	7	8	13	33	33	38	3	3	6
Subtotal, Segregated	84	82	76	80	79	75	68	71	66	83	81	75
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	14	16	18	18	19	20	13	13	14	15	16	19
White/Hispanic	1	2	2	0	1	1	11	7	7	1	2	2
White/Black/Hispanic	1	1	3	2	2	4	8	8	13	1	2	4
Subtotal, Integrated	16	18	24	20	21	25	32	29	34	17	19	25

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D12. **Portland****Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000**

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total Population Share	93	90	81	2	2	2	2	4	9	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	96	92	77	36	40	44	84	69	41	94	90	73
Black	0	0	0	27	24	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1
Black/Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	1	0	0	1
Subtotal, Segregated	96	92	78	63	64	55	85	70	46	95	91	74
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	2	2	2	36	34	20	4	3	2	3	3	3
White/Hispanic	2	5	19	0	2	15	11	26	49	2	6	22
White/Black/Hispanic	0	0	1	0	0	11	0	0	3	0	0	2
Subtotal, Integrated	4	8	22	37	36	45	15	30	54	5	9	26

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D13. **St. Louis****Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000**

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total Population Share	81	81	77	17	17	18	1	1	2	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	87	85	79	6	9	8	69	70	59	73	72	65
Black	2	3	3	75	72	67	13	8	10	15	14	15
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Black/Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal, Segregated	89	87	82	82	81	75	82	78	72	88	86	80
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	11	13	18	18	19	25	16	20	28	12	14	20
White/Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
White/Black/Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal, Integrated	11	13	18	18	19	25	18	22	28	12	14	20

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D14. **San Diego****Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000**

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total Population Share	74	66	55	5	6	5	15	20	27	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	58	45	34	15	10	8	22	13	7	49	35	24
Black	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hispanic	0	2	4	1	4	10	8	16	33	2	5	13
Black/Hispanic	2	3	3	43	42	36	15	18	16	7	10	10
Subtotal, Segregated	61	50	42	61	55	53	45	47	55	58	50	47
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	1	1	0	2	4	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
White/Hispanic	32	43	51	14	24	28	45	46	38	33	42	45
White/Black/Hispanic	6	6	7	23	17	18	10	6	7	8	7	8
Subtotal, Integrated	39	50	58	39	45	47	55	53	45	42	50	53

Source: U.S. Census.

Table D15. Washington, D.C.

Percentage Population Distribution by Neighborhood Type and Race-Ethnicity, 1980, 1990, 2000

Neighborhood Type	White			Black			Hispanic			Total Population		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Total Population Share	71	67	60	25	25	26	2	4	6	100	100	100
SEGREGATED												
White	70	63	55	7	7	6	50	31	17	53	47	38
Black	3	3	3	69	62	56	11	6	6	20	18	18
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Black/Hispanic	0	1	2	1	5	9	4	16	27	1	2	6
Subtotal, Segregated	74	67	60	78	75	72	66	53	50	74	68	62
INTEGRATED												
White/Black	25	27	28	22	22	21	28	22	17	25	26	25
White/Hispanic	0	2	5	0	1	1	3	10	14	1	2	5
White/Black/Hispanic	0	3	7	0	3	6	3	15	19	0	4	8
Subtotal, Integrated	26	33	40	22	25	28	34	47	50	26	32	38

Source: U.S. Census.

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