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The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census

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Report Summary

The 2010 Census offers new information on changes in residential segregation in metropolitan regions across the country as they continue to become more diverse. We take a long view, assessing trends since 1980. There are two main findings: 1) the slow pace of lowering black-white segregation has continued, but there is now some change in the traditional Ghetto Belt cities of the Northeast and Midwest; and 2) the rapidly growing Hispanic and Asian populations are as segregated today as they were thirty years ago, and their growth is creating more intense ethnic enclaves in many parts of the country.

The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census

The racial and ethnic composition of the United States continues to become more diverse. The 2010 Census at the national level shows that the non-Hispanic white and black populations are growing slowly, and in fact there was a 10% decline in the non-Hispanic white population under age 18. Non-Hispanic whites (counting people who self-identify as only white) are now 67.0% of the adult population but barely over half (53.5%) of those under 18. At the current rate of change non-Hispanic whites will be a minority of the child population before 2020. Blacks were for many years the nation's largest minority group, but their number was matched by Hispanics in 2000, and greatly surpassed today. Reaching this point was predictable, but it is nevertheless a demographic watershed for race relations in America.

In this report we look for clues about how the growing diversity is being managed at the level of neighborhoods. How diverse is the average person's neighborhood becoming, and how are historic patterns of segregation changing? The Census Bureau has now released tract-level data from Census 2010 that allow us to identify these trends:

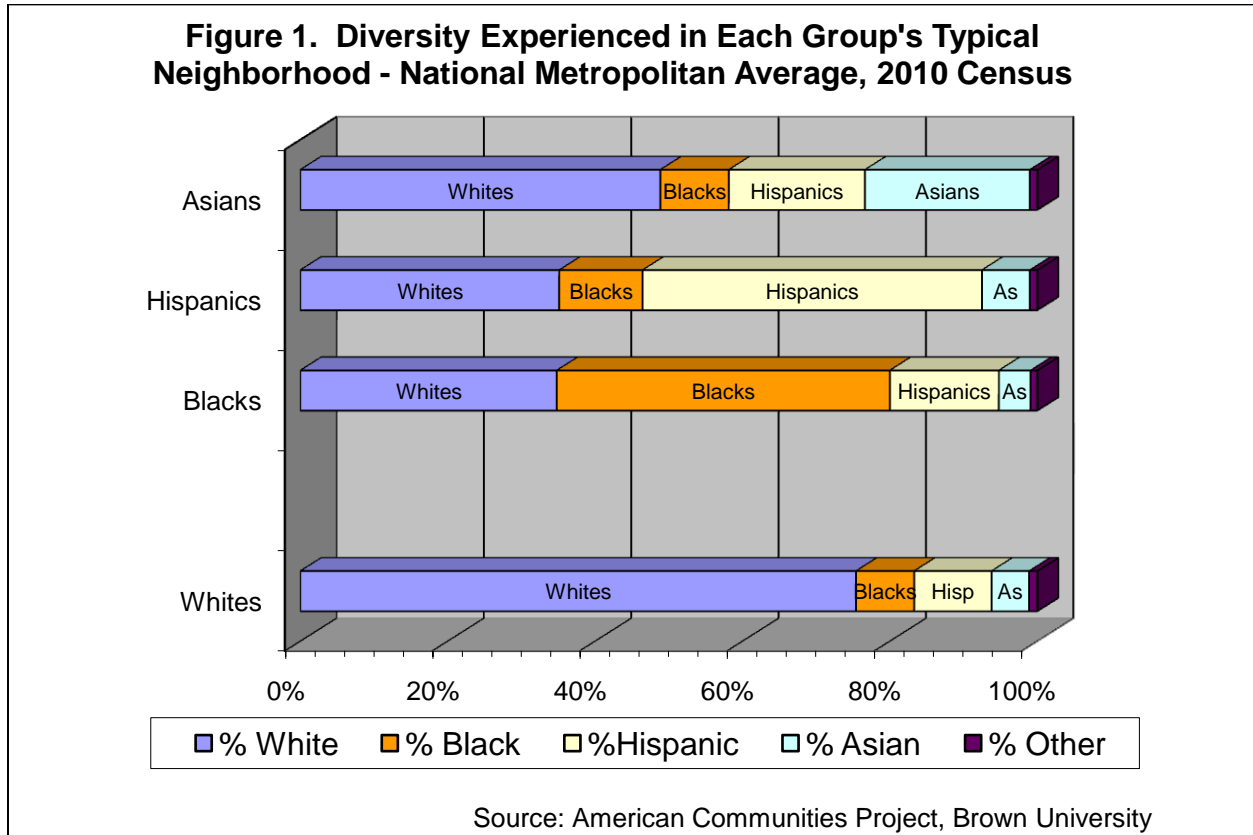
- Declines in residential segregation between blacks and whites since 2000 continued at about the same pace as in the 1990s. Segregation peaked around 1960 or 1970. Between 1980 and 2000 it declined at a very slow pace, but there were reasons to expect a potential breakthrough since then. The new data show another decade of steady but slow decline.
- Hispanics and Asians are considerably less segregated than African Americans, and their segregation levels have remained steady since 1980. In addition, since both these groups are growing, there is a tendency for their ethnic enclaves to become more homogeneous. As a result these groups live in more isolated settings now than they did in 2000, continuing a trend seen since 1980.
- The average non-Hispanic white person continued to live in a neighborhood that is very different racially from those neighborhoods where the average black, Hispanic, and Asian live. The average white person in metropolitan American lives in a neighborhood that is 75% white. Despite a substantial shift of minorities from cities to suburbs, these groups have often not gained access to largely white neighborhoods. For example a typical African American lives in a neighborhood that is only 35% white (not much different from 1940) and as much as 45% black. Diversity is experienced very differently in the daily lives of whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians.

The Typical Neighborhood: Continued Separation between Groups

Based on national metropolitan averages, the graph in Figure 1 illustrates typical neighborhood diversity as experienced by the different groups. Stark contrasts are readily apparent between the typical experiences of whites versus that of each minority group. In 367 metropolitan areas across the U.S., the typical white lives in a neighborhood that is 75% white, 8% black, 11% Hispanic, and 5% Asian. This represents a notable change since 1980, when the average

whites' neighborhood was 88% white, but it is very different from the makeup of the metropolis as a whole.

The experience of minorities is very different. For example, the typical black lives in a neighborhood that is 45% black, 35% white, 15% Hispanic, and 4% Asian. The typical Hispanic lives in a neighborhood that is 46% Hispanic, 35% white, 11% black and 7% Asian. The typical Asian lives in a neighborhood that is 22% Asian, 49% white, 9% black, and 19% Hispanic.



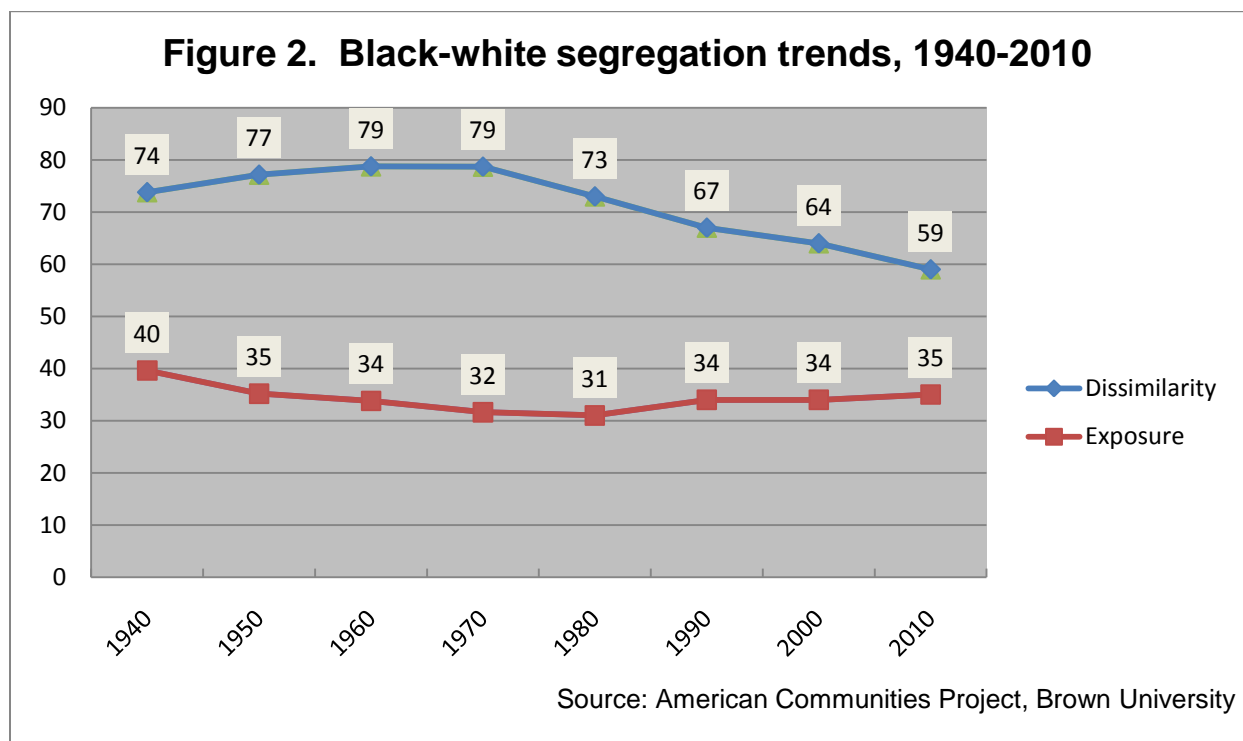
The basic message here is that whites live in neighborhoods with low minority representation. Blacks and Hispanics live in neighborhoods with high minority representation, and relatively few white neighbors. Asians, with a much smaller population in most metropolitan regions, nevertheless live in neighborhoods where they are disproportionately represented. However, unlike blacks and Hispanics, the largest share of Asians' neighbors is non-Hispanic white.

The trend is clearly toward increasing diversity for whites and blacks in their neighborhoods because of the growing share of Hispanics and Asians in the overall population. The average white person now lives in a neighborhood with considerably larger shares of Hispanics and Asians, but only small increases of African Americans since 1980 (when whites on average lived in neighborhoods that were 88% white). African Americans now have more Hispanic and Asian neighbors, as well as a small increase in co-residence with whites. On the other hand, reflecting the continued rapid growth of Hispanic and Asian populations through immigration and increasing numbers born in the U.S., these groups have become on average more isolated (see the Summary Table at the end of this report for the exact figures).

Black-White Segregation and Isolation

Black-white segregation remains very high. It reached its peak value in the 1960s and 1970s, and it has been slowly declining since that time. Figure 2 presents data for the 1940-2010 period (though the figures for 1940-1970 are based on counts of all whites and all blacks, regardless of Hispanic origin). (For full description of each segregation index, see the appendix.) There were changes in the geographic coverage of tract data in the early decades. We have found, however, that the average segregation levels are the same for a constant set of metropolitan regions 1940-1970 as for the average for all available metropolitan regions. We show results for all available regions. These averages represent the level of segregation in the metropolitan region where the average African American lived, weighting areas with larger black populations more heavily than areas with fewer black residents.

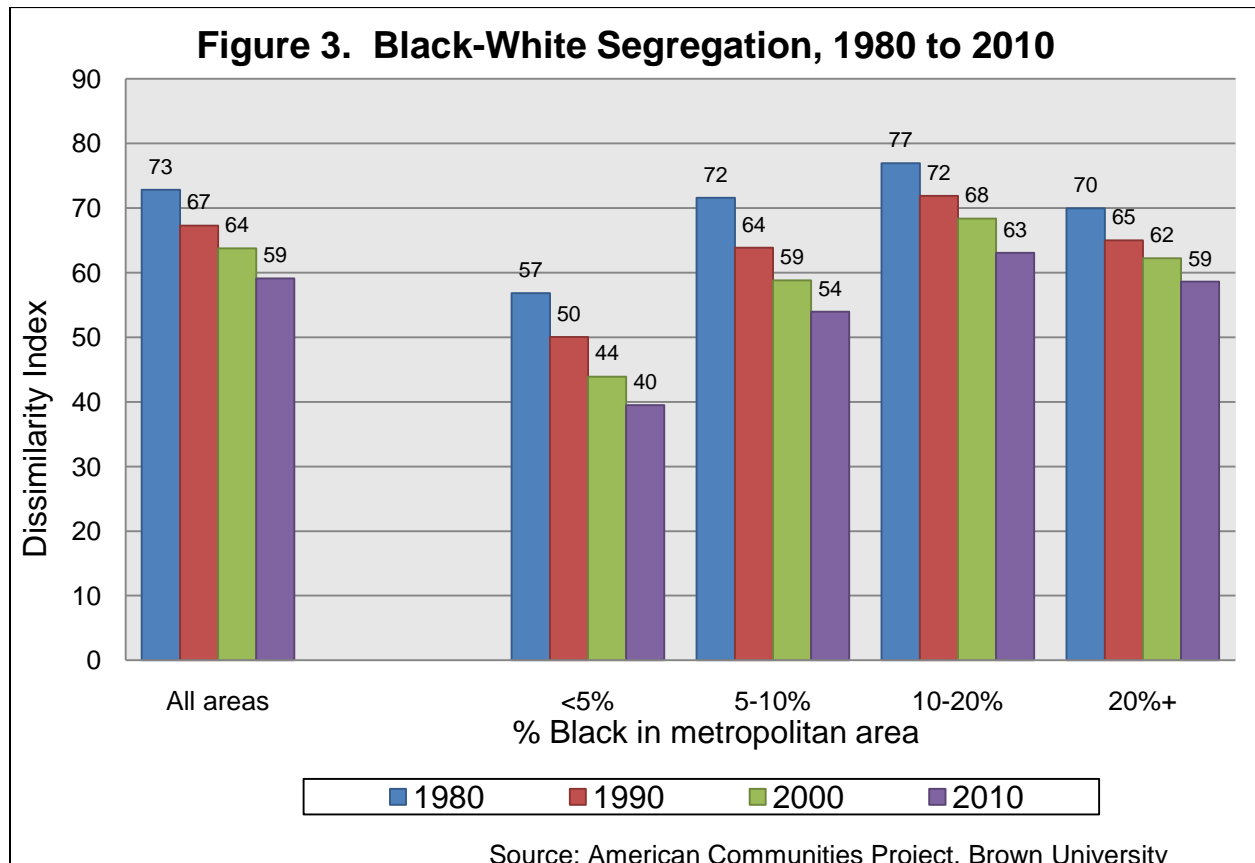
The figure shows that black-white segregation reached a high of 79 in 1960 and 1970, and has been on the decline since then. This decline in the national average reflects some shift of the black population toward less segregated parts of the country since 1970, as well as the impact of black suburbanization which began on a large scale around 1970. Segregation dropped 6 points in the 1970s, 6 points in the 1980s, 3 points in the 1990s, and 5 points since 2000.



By another measure, the average black exposure to whites, there has been less change. In 1940 the average black resident in the metropolitan regions for which tract data are available lived in a tract that was 40% white. That level has not been reached again for two reasons. During the 1940s and the immediate postwar period, segregation increased. And after 1970, when segregation had begun to decline, there was an influx of Hispanics and Asians into U.S.

metropolitan regions, and the overall white share of the metro population was dropping. (Note also that Hispanics were counted separately by 1980.)

We turn now to a more detailed analysis of trends in the last thirty years. Figure 3 shows that that progress during the 1980s and 1990s was greatest in the metropolitan areas with the smallest black populations. Black-white segregation has historically been lowest in metro areas with less than 5% black population, and it has declined the most since 1980 in these places (17points).



To assess regional variation in detail, Tables 1-2 list the 50 metropolitan regions in the country with the largest black populations in 2010. The Census Bureau has identified 9 areas that we could refer to as “super-metros.” These are subdivided into what the Bureau calls metropolitan divisions. Our list uses these smaller metro divisions in order to pinpoint where changes are occurring.

Table 1 lists values of the Index of Dissimilarity for each region. Of these, the 10 with the highest levels of segregation include: Detroit, MI; Milwaukee, WI; New York, NY; Newark, NJ; Chicago, IL; Philadelphia, PA; Miami, FL; Cleveland, OH; St. Louis, MO_IL; and Nassau-Suffolk, NY. These mainly Rustbelt metro areas represent the regions of the country where black-white segregation has been most resistant to change. There have been moderate declines in some of these areas, but 4 of the 10 declined by 5 points or less in nearly three decades.

Table 1. Black-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations in 2010

| 2010 Rank | Area Name | 2010 Segregation | 2000 Segregation | 1990 Segregation | 1980 Segregation |
|-----------|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1 | Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI | 79.6 | 85.9 | 85.6 | 83.0 |
| 2 | Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI | 79.6 | 82.2 | 82.8 | 83.9 |
| 3 | New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ | 79.1 | 81.3 | 82.0 | 81.7 |
| 4 | Newark-Union, NJ-PA | 78.0 | 80.4 | 82.7 | 82.8 |
| 5 | Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL | 75.9 | 80.8 | 84.6 | 88.6 |
| 6 | Philadelphia, PA | 73.7 | 76.5 | 81.4 | 82.6 |
| 7 | Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL | 73.0 | 72.4 | 71.8 | 79.3 |
| 8 | Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH | 72.6 | 77.2 | 82.8 | 85.8 |
| 9 | St. Louis, MO-IL | 70.6 | 73.4 | 77.2 | 81.6 |
| 10 | Nassau-Suffolk, NY | 69.2 | 73.6 | 76.4 | 76.9 |
| 11 | Boston-Quincy, MA | 67.8 | 71.5 | 73.7 | 79.8 |
| 12 | Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN | 66.9 | 72.6 | 75.9 | 78.2 |
| 13 | Birmingham-Hoover, AL | 65.2 | 68.9 | 70.3 | 72.2 |
| 14 | Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA | 65.0 | 67.4 | 73.1 | 81.1 |
| 15 | Indianapolis-Carmel, IN | 64.5 | 71.0 | 74.4 | 78.8 |
| 16 | Baltimore-Towson, MD | 64.3 | 67.6 | 71.4 | 74.4 |
| 17 | Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 64.1 | 65.9 | 68.4 | 71.4 |
| 18 | New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA | 63.3 | 69.0 | 68.3 | 70.0 |
| 19 | Pittsburgh, PA | 63.1 | 67.4 | 70.8 | 73.3 |
| 20 | Memphis, TN-MS-AR | 62.2 | 65.7 | 65.5 | 68.8 |
| 21 | Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX | 60.6 | 65.1 | 65.5 | 73.7 |
| 22 | Columbus, OH | 59.9 | 62.2 | 67.6 | 72.9 |
| 23 | Kansas City, MO-KS | 58.6 | 69.3 | 72.9 | 77.7 |
| 24 | Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA | 58.3 | 63.9 | 66.3 | 76.9 |
| 25 | Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI | 57.9 | 68.1 | 76.7 | 80.5 |

Two of the most highly segregated metropolitan areas, Detroit and New Orleans, had substantial declines in segregation for the first time since 1980. These changes coincided with very substantial declines in the central city black populations in both areas, New Orleans as a result of Hurricane Katrina and Detroit as part of the fallout from the recession and foreclosure crisis. Detroit experienced a 25 percent decline in population between 2000 and 2010.

More positive stories are found in Kansas City, where segregation plummeted by nearly 11 points, and in Michigan's Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills metro area, where segregation declined 10 points. These cases demonstrate that large positive changes are possible within a decade.

In contrast, there are several places on this list where segregation now falls into what social scientists consider the moderate range (under 50). These include several mid-sized metropolitan regions in the South: Raleigh, Augusta, Orlando, Columbia, Virginia Beach, and

Charleston. Bethesda, Riverside, Phoenix, and Las Vegas also fall in this category. In several of these segregation declined by 5 or 10 points, or even more, between 1980 and 2000. But there has been little change since that time.

Large Southern cities provide examples of persistent segregation: Birmingham, Memphis, and Baton Rouge fit into this category. But others have seen improvements – and Atlanta is the outstanding example, having experienced more change though it still falls among the top 25 on this list.

Table 1. Black-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas (continued)

| 2010 Rank | Area name | 2010 Segregation | 2000 Segregation | 1990 Segregation | 1980 Segregation |
|------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 26 | Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL | 57.6 | 61.5 | 69.0 | 83.8 |
| 27 | West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL | 57.3 | 65.2 | 75.3 | 83.3 |
| 28 | Baton Rouge, LA | 57.1 | 60.1 | 59.6 | 68.2 |
| 29 | Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA | 56.6 | 62.2 | 68.0 | 74.0 |
| 30 | Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 56.3 | 59.5 | 62.2 | 78.1 |
| 31 | Jackson, MS | 55.8 | 57.4 | 62.4 | 68.6 |
| 32 | Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX | 55.1 | 59.0 | 62.7 | 77.9 |
| 33 | Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN | 55.0 | 57.6 | 60.7 | 65.2 |
| 34 | Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 54.3 | 63.5 | 69.7 | 78.2 |
| 35 | Greensboro-High Point, NC | 54.1 | 53.6 | 54.3 | 58.5 |
| 36 | Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC | 53.1 | 53.9 | 54.7 | 58.0 |
| 37 | Camden, NJ | 52.3 | 56.2 | 59.5 | 60.1 |
| 38 | Jacksonville, FL | 52.1 | 53.4 | 57.8 | 67.7 |
| 39 | Richmond, VA | 51.6 | 53.2 | 55.6 | 63.0 |
| 40 | Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 50.2 | 57.8 | 62.3 | 67.7 |
| 41 | Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 49.3 | 55.2 | 59.1 | 71.0 |
| 42 | Columbia, SC | 48.3 | 47.9 | 50.4 | 57.4 |
| 43 | Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD | 47.9 | 46.3 | 42.7 | 43.9 |
| 44 | Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC | 46.9 | 46.1 | 49.5 | 59.7 |
| 45 | Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC | 44.6 | 43.9 | 43.9 | 46.7 |
| 46 | Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 44.0 | 45.5 | 43.8 | 52.7 |
| 47 | Raleigh-Cary, NC | 41.4 | 40.5 | 41.9 | 46.2 |
| 48 | Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ | 41.3 | 43.3 | 50.1 | 61.4 |
| 49 | Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC | 40.8 | 43.9 | 47.8 | 53.4 |
| 50 | Las Vegas-Paradise, NV | 35.9 | 39.0 | 49.0 | 62.9 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Another way to assess segregation is by level of isolation (i.e., the % minority in the neighborhood where the average minority group member lives). The Detroit metropolis, highest in the Index of Dissimilarity, is also highest in the Isolation Index despite the region's overall loss

of black residents in the last decade. The average black person in the Detroit metro area lives in a tract that is 81% black – similar to the 1980 level. Some other Rustbelt metro areas are also among the top ten in isolation (Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Milwaukee). Southern metro areas tend to rank high in isolation despite their typically more moderate segregation because their black populations are often very large. Memphis, Jackson, New Orleans, and Birmingham also are in the top ten in isolation.

Table 2. Black-White Isolation in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations in 2010

| 2010 Rank | Area name | 2010 Isolation | 2000 Isolation | 1990 Isolation | 1980 Isolation |
|-----------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1 | Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI | 80.9 | 85.7 | 85.2 | 81.5 |
| 2 | Memphis, TN-MS-AR | 69.1 | 71.4 | 72.2 | 73.6 |
| 3 | Jackson, MS | 67.9 | 67.9 | 70.1 | 73.3 |
| 4 | Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL | 66.8 | 73.7 | 78.3 | 83.8 |
| 5 | Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI | 65.5 | 67.2 | 69.1 | 69.4 |
| 6 | Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH | 64.7 | 70.9 | 76.7 | 77.6 |
| 7 | Philadelphia, PA | 62.9 | 67.8 | 73.4 | 74.5 |
| 8 | New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA | 62.9 | 70.3 | 68.8 | 69.4 |
| 9 | Birmingham-Hoover, AL | 62.6 | 67.3 | 67.9 | 69.6 |
| 10 | Baltimore-Towson, MD | 62.4 | 65.8 | 69.4 | 72.5 |
| 11 | St. Louis, MO-IL | 62.0 | 64.3 | 68.4 | 73.1 |
| 12 | Baton Rouge, LA | 60.9 | 62.1 | 60.7 | 63.2 |
| 13 | Newark-Union, NJ-PA | 60.5 | 66.4 | 69.1 | 69.9 |
| 14 | Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 59.2 | 63.6 | 66.1 | 70.7 |
| 15 | Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA | 58.1 | 61.2 | 63.2 | 71.8 |
| 16 | Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL | 56.6 | 60.7 | 61.1 | 65.1 |
| 17 | New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ | 53.9 | 58.7 | 60.7 | 62.1 |
| 18 | Columbia, SC | 52.3 | 53.0 | 54.3 | 58.4 |
| 19 | Richmond, VA | 52.1 | 55.4 | 57.0 | 63.2 |
| 20 | Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC | 51.6 | 51.5 | 49.6 | 50.3 |
| 21 | Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL | 50.8 | 52.3 | 54.9 | 70.6 |
| 22 | Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC | 50.8 | 51.7 | 53.7 | 60.7 |
| 23 | Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN | 48.3 | 54.1 | 58.2 | 61.3 |
| 24 | Greensboro-High Point, NC | 48.2 | 49.3 | 51.7 | 55.0 |
| 25 | Jacksonville, FL | 47.2 | 50.7 | 55.0 | 64.2 |

What is most striking about these figures is that with very few exceptions, the Isolation Index is above 40 in the largest metro regions. African Americans live in neighborhoods where they are an absolute majority, or a near majority, in most of these places.

Table 2. Black-White Isolation in 50 Metro Areas (continued)

| 2010 Rank | Area name | 2010 Isolation | 2000 Isolation | 1990 Isolation | 1980 Isolation |
|-----------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 26 | Indianapolis-Carmel, IN | 45.6 | 53.3 | 59.8 | 65.8 |
| 27 | Columbus, OH | 44.1 | 46.9 | 51.2 | 56.4 |
| 28 | Kansas City, MO-KS | 43.3 | 53.1 | 59.6 | 67.5 |
| 29 | Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC | 43.1 | 45.8 | 50.8 | 53.8 |
| 30 | Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC | 42.3 | 47.4 | 50.4 | 55.0 |
| 31 | West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL | 41.3 | 48.4 | 57.7 | 67.5 |
| 32 | Pittsburgh, PA | 40.7 | 46.9 | 50.7 | 54.4 |
| 33 | Boston-Quincy, MA | 40.7 | 45.8 | 52.3 | 59.6 |
| 34 | Nashville-Davidson--Murfreeseboro--Franklin, TN | 39.7 | 45.0 | 51.1 | 55.6 |
| 35 | Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI | 38.0 | 41.8 | 42.2 | 45.6 |
| 36 | Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX | 37.2 | 45.0 | 51.8 | 63.3 |
| 37 | Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX | 37.1 | 41.9 | 50.1 | 67.4 |
| 38 | Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 35.7 | 38.9 | 44.8 | 56.8 |
| 39 | Camden, NJ | 35.4 | 37.7 | 38.5 | 38.3 |
| 40 | Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 34.3 | 41.3 | 47.4 | 57.2 |
| 41 | Raleigh-Cary, NC | 34.2 | 36.1 | 41.5 | 47.0 |
| 42 | Nassau-Suffolk, NY | 33.5 | 40.6 | 45.3 | 48.1 |
| 43 | Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 29.8 | 34.7 | 44.1 | 62.5 |
| 44 | Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA | 29.1 | 34.3 | 42.1 | 60.2 |
| 45 | Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD | 26.3 | 24.4 | 20.0 | 18.7 |
| 46 | Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA | 25.2 | 34.4 | 45.6 | 55.7 |
| 47 | Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 21.5 | 23.3 | 24.8 | 29.7 |
| 48 | Las Vegas-Paradise, NV | 16.9 | 19.2 | 33.6 | 50.3 |
| 49 | Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 12.6 | 14.1 | 13.2 | 17.4 |
| 50 | Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ | 8.8 | 8.6 | 13.1 | 22.6 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

The Ghetto Belt

The persistence of very high black-white segregation in a few major Northeastern and Midwestern metropolitan areas was a striking feature of the two decades between 1980 and 2000. These areas, home to about one in six African Americans, had extreme values of the Dissimilarity Index, dropping only slightly in that period. The 2010 data provide a window into this region that could well be described as America's Ghetto Belt.

As shown in Table 3, six metropolitan areas with segregation indices above 80 in 1980 still have values in the high 70s today (to which Cleveland and St. Louis might be added). They are particularly important to the black experience because such a large share of African Americans in metropolitan areas (15%) live in these places, especially New York, Chicago, and Detroit.

There are signs of a beginning of improvement in Chicago (with a decline of 5 points), Detroit (down 6 points), and Gary (down 8 points). On the other hand there has still been very little change over three decades in New York, Newark, and Milwaukee.

Table 3. Ghetto Belt: Large metropolitan regions with the highest persistent levels of segregation of African Americans

| Metropolitan Region | 1980 | | 1990 | | 2000 | | 2010 | |
|-------------------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|
| | D | N of blacks | D | N of blacks | D | N of blacks | D | N of blacks |
| New York, NY | 81.7 | 1,970,078 | 82.0 | 2,152,074 | 81.3 | 2,406,384 | 79.1 | 2,288,352 |
| Chicago, IL | 88.6 | 1,388,741 | 84.6 | 1,374,963 | 80.8 | 1,529,008 | 75.9 | 1,471,017 |
| Detroit, MI | 83.0 | 824,876 | 85.6 | 845,313 | 85.9 | 880,545 | 79.6 | 753,330 |
| Newark, NJ | 82.8 | 403,702 | 82.7 | 410,444 | 80.4 | 460,157 | 78.0 | 457,649 |
| Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI | 83.9 | 149,520 | 82.8 | 195,247 | 82.2 | 240,859 | 79.6 | 270,518 |
| Gary, IN | 90.8 | 125,340 | 90.2 | 115,901 | 84.6 | 125,254 | 76.8 | 135,097 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Blacks: these 6 regions | | 4,862,257 | | 5,093,942 | | 5,642,207 | | 5,375,963 |
| Blacks: national total | | 21,650,994 | | 25,486,077 | | 31,177,650 | | 35,680,653 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Hispanic-White Segregation and Isolation

For Hispanics, the period since 1980 brought no appreciable change in segregation. Figure 5 summarizes the trends in the Index of Dissimilarity. Overall Hispanic segregation has stayed right around 50 for nearly three decades. The Figure also shows that segregation levels are substantially greater in the metropolitan areas with the biggest Hispanic populations, a phenomenon that was also seen for African Americans. In areas with a smaller Hispanic presence, the “new destinations” that have become very visible around the country, segregation from whites is lower but slowly increasing.

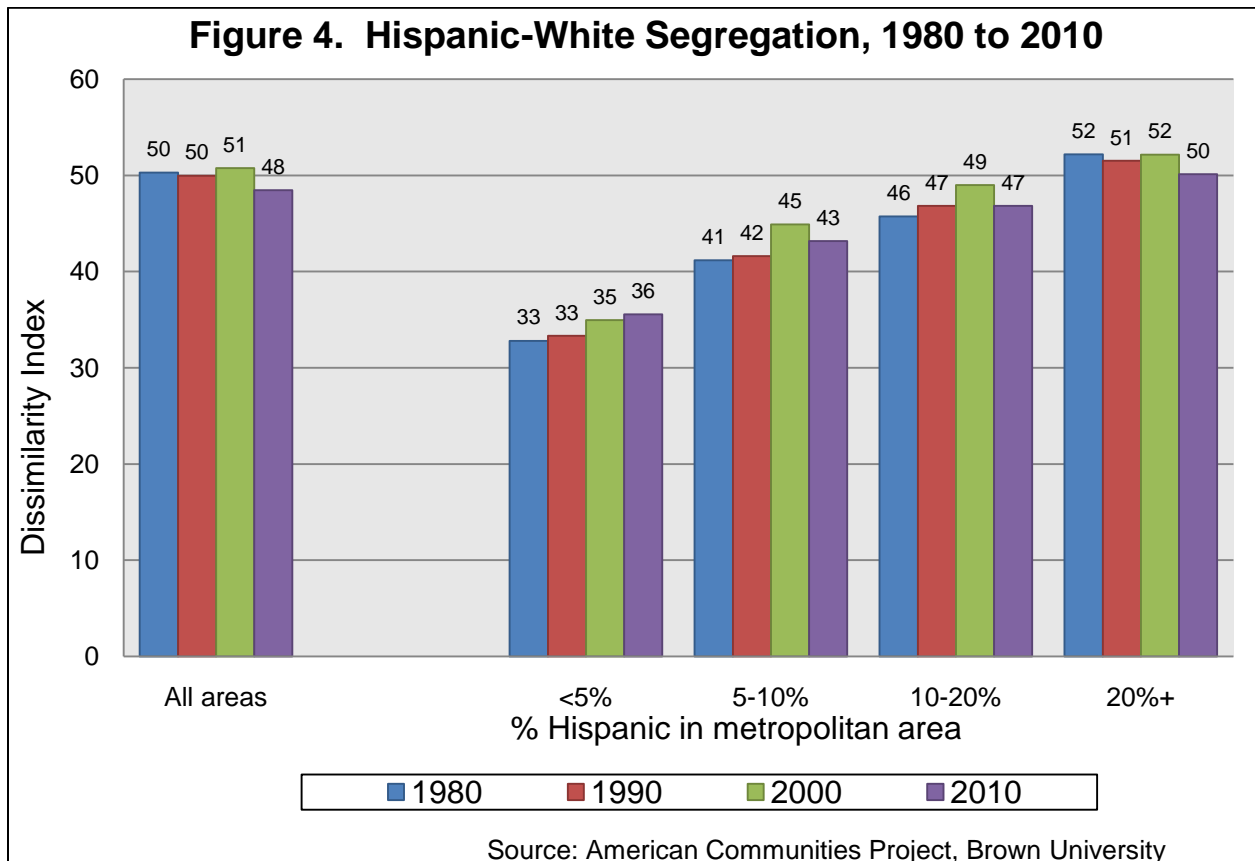


Table 4 lists segregation levels in the 50 metropolitan regions with the most Hispanic residents. Of these, the most segregated are Los Angeles, CA; New York, NY; Newark, NJ; Boston, MA; Salinas, CA; Philadelphia, PA; Chicago, IL; Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA; and Houston, TX. Hispanic segregation increased in 6 of these 10 since 1980, but stability rather than change is the more apt way to characterize Hispanic segregation.

Laredo, TX, has the lowest level of segregation among these areas, but it is an outlier in another way: its population is predominantly Hispanic (over 95%). At the low end of segregation are Sunbelt metros including Fort Lauderdale, Stockton, Modesto, and Albuquerque, and Northwestern metros including Seattle and Portland. However, since 1980, segregation has soared in both Seattle and Portland. Las Vegas, Orlando, and Washington DC – metro areas that initially had quite low values of segregation – also experienced sharply increasing segregation as their Hispanic populations have grown. The implication is that segregation is increasingly most where the Hispanic population has experienced large increase in population.

Table 4. Hispanic-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2010

| 2010 Rank | Area name | 2010 Segregation | 2000 Segregation | 1990 Segregation | 1980 Segregation |
|------------------|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA | 63.4 | 63.1 | 61.1 | 57.3 |
| 2 | New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ | 63.1 | 65.4 | 65.0 | 65.2 |
| 3 | Newark-Union, NJ-PA | 62.6 | 65.1 | 67.1 | 67.0 |
| 4 | Boston-Quincy, MA | 62.0 | 64.8 | 62.4 | 61.8 |
| 5 | Salinas, CA | 60.9 | 58.8 | 56.9 | 55.1 |
| 6 | Philadelphia, PA | 58.8 | 61.8 | 63.4 | 64.0 |
| 7 | Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL | 57.0 | 61.2 | 62.5 | 64.3 |
| 8 | Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA | 54.5 | 56.1 | 52.3 | 53.3 |
| 9 | Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA | 54.1 | 55.1 | 49.8 | 42.3 |
| 10 | Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX | 52.5 | 53.4 | 47.8 | 47.6 |
| 11 | Bakersfield-Delano, CA | 52.3 | 53.8 | 55.4 | 54.4 |
| 12 | Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX | 51.9 | 53.5 | 49.7 | 48.5 |
| 13 | San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA | 50.1 | 53.5 | 49.8 | 45.5 |
| 14 | San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA | 49.6 | 50.6 | 45.3 | 41.8 |
| 15 | Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA | 49.4 | 51.6 | 35.3 | 30.3 |
| 16 | Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ | 49.3 | 52.1 | 48.6 | 52.2 |
| 17 | Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD | 48.8 | 46.5 | 37.6 | 29.9 |
| 18 | Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO | 48.8 | 50.2 | 46.6 | 48.7 |
| 19 | Nassau-Suffolk, NY | 48.5 | 46.9 | 42.3 | 37.1 |
| 20 | Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA | 48.3 | 46.9 | 38.8 | 36.5 |
| 21 | Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 48.1 | 47.7 | 43.2 | 32.3 |
| 22 | San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA | 47.6 | 50.7 | 47.9 | 45.2 |
| 23 | Edison-New Brunswick, NJ | 46.9 | 49.1 | 45.1 | 47.1 |
| 24 | Fresno, CA | 46.5 | 46.9 | 47.8 | 46.5 |
| 25 | Tucson, AZ | 46.2 | 48.8 | 49.7 | 52.7 |

Table 4. Hispanic-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas (continued)

| 2010 Rank | Area name | 2010 Segregation | 2000 Segregation | 1990 Segregation | 1980 Segregation |
|------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 26 | San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX | 46.1 | 49.7 | 52.1 | 57.5 |
| 27 | Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL | 46.1 | 43.9 | 50.3 | 52.5 |
| 28 | Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 45.6 | 47.7 | 44.7 | 47.6 |
| 29 | Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Goleta, CA | 45.3 | 45.9 | 41.4 | 38.7 |
| 30 | El Paso, TX | 43.3 | 45.2 | 49.7 | 53.8 |
| 31 | Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX | 43.2 | 45.6 | 41.7 | 45.5 |
| 32 | Salt Lake City, UT | 42.9 | 41.2 | 31.4 | 31.3 |
| 33 | West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL | 42.6 | 42.5 | 41.9 | 43.1 |
| 34 | Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 42.5 | 46.5 | 35.5 | 36.4 |
| 35 | Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 42.4 | 42.5 | 35.8 | 38.1 |
| 36 | Corpus Christi, TX | 42.2 | 46.3 | 47.9 | 52.1 |
| 37 | Las Vegas-Paradise, NV | 42.0 | 42.4 | 28.8 | 22.5 |
| 38 | Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 40.7 | 44.4 | 45.3 | 49.8 |
| 39 | Brownsville-Harlingen, TX | 40.2 | 41.2 | 39.8 | 37.6 |
| 40 | Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 40.2 | 38.7 | 29.2 | 28.6 |
| 41 | McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX | 39.2 | 39.5 | 37.9 | 41.0 |
| 42 | Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA | 38.8 | 40.3 | 37.0 | 36.6 |
| 43 | Visalia-Porterville, CA | 37.5 | 40.2 | 38.9 | 36.6 |
| 44 | Albuquerque, NM | 36.4 | 39.8 | 40.5 | 45.0 |
| 45 | Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA | 34.3 | 34.2 | 25.6 | 20.3 |
| 46 | Modesto, CA | 34.2 | 35.2 | 33.4 | 35.9 |
| 47 | Stockton, CA | 34.1 | 36.4 | 36.1 | 37.7 |
| 48 | Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA | 33.3 | 30.2 | 20.3 | 18.9 |
| 49 | Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL | 33.2 | 31.0 | 25.9 | 26.2 |
| 50 | Laredo, TX | 30.7 | 28.1 | 33.8 | 41.6 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Table 5 provides comparable data on Hispanic isolation, which mostly reflects the size of the Hispanic population. For Hispanics, isolation from non-Hispanic whites is by far the highest (above 80) in four Texas border regions that are largely Mexican (Laredo, McAllen, Brownsville, and El Paso). But beyond these extreme cases, isolation increased in virtually all of the 50 regions on the list, often by 15-20 points, reflecting Hispanic population growth and immigration into mostly established enclaves.

Table 5. Hispanic-White Isolation in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2010

| 2010 Rank | Area name | 2010 Isolation | 2000 Isolation | 1990 Isolation | 1980 Isolation |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Laredo, TX | 95.9 | 94.5 | 94.2 | 92.3 |
| 2 | McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX | 91.4 | 89.5 | 87.0 | 84.4 |
| 3 | Brownsville-Harlingen, TX | 89.5 | 86.7 | 84.7 | 80.8 |
| 4 | El Paso, TX | 85.4 | 82.6 | 77.8 | 74.2 |
| 5 | Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL | 75.9 | 71.0 | 67.3 | 58.5 |
| 6 | Salinas, CA | 72.8 | 67.5 | 57.7 | 49.8 |
| 7 | Visalia-Porterville, CA | 66.9 | 60.0 | 49.6 | 40.4 |
| 8 | Corpus Christi, TX | 66.7 | 64.5 | 63.5 | 63.7 |
| 9 | Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA | 65.3 | 63.2 | 58.0 | 50.3 |
| 10 | San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX | 65.2 | 64.7 | 64.1 | 66.2 |
| 11 | Bakersfield-Delano, CA | 63.2 | 56.4 | 48.9 | 41.7 |
| 12 | Fresno, CA | 61.2 | 56.6 | 50.6 | 45.0 |
| 13 | Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA | 59.8 | 55.3 | 47.0 | 42.1 |
| 14 | Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 57.1 | 49.5 | 37.7 | 32.2 |
| 15 | Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Goleta, CA | 56.7 | 50.1 | 40.9 | 31.1 |
| 16 | Albuquerque, NM | 56.0 | 52.8 | 49.2 | 50.8 |
| 17 | Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA | 53.4 | 53.1 | 45.0 | 31.8 |
| 18 | Tucson, AZ | 51.2 | 48.5 | 44.9 | 44.2 |
| 19 | Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX | 50.4 | 47.0 | 38.6 | 33.5 |
| 20 | Modesto, CA | 49.4 | 40.6 | 29.9 | 23.9 |
| 21 | Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL | 48.9 | 48.2 | 43.2 | 38.7 |
| 22 | San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA | 47.9 | 43.6 | 35.1 | 27.6 |
| 23 | Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ | 47.5 | 45.5 | 35.5 | 34.0 |
| 24 | New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ | 47.3 | 46.5 | 44.0 | 40.3 |
| 25 | Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX | 46.6 | 44.7 | 32.4 | 24.0 |

Table 5. Hispanic-White Isolation in 50 Metro Areas (continued)

| 2010 Rank | Areaname | 2010 Isolation | 2000 Isolation | 1990 Isolation | 1980 Isolation |
|-----------|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 26 | Stockton, CA | 45.2 | 38.1 | 31.5 | 28.6 |
| 27 | Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX | 44.4 | 39.7 | 33.9 | 35.2 |
| 28 | San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA | 43.4 | 41.7 | 37.0 | 32.1 |
| 29 | Las Vegas-Paradise, NV | 41.5 | 34.8 | 16.8 | 10.1 |
| 30 | Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 39.7 | 36.8 | 29.2 | 25.5 |
| 31 | Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO | 39.4 | 37.2 | 30.1 | 28.6 |
| 32 | Newark-Union, NJ-PA | 39.1 | 35.5 | 32.5 | 26.7 |
| 33 | Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 36.7 | 26.5 | 12.7 | 5.6 |
| 34 | Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA | 35.9 | 29.7 | 20.7 | 17.5 |
| 35 | San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA | 34.8 | 33.9 | 28.5 | 22.1 |
| 36 | Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL | 32.2 | 22.7 | 11.3 | 5.4 |
| 37 | Edison-New Brunswick, NJ | 31.2 | 27.4 | 20.9 | 17.8 |
| 38 | West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL | 30.7 | 22.4 | 15.3 | 12.4 |
| 39 | Nassau-Suffolk, NY | 30.3 | 22.8 | 15.0 | 9.7 |
| 40 | Boston-Quincy, MA | 28.7 | 24.7 | 19.9 | 15.4 |
| 41 | Salt Lake City, UT | 27.8 | 21.0 | 10.3 | 8.6 |
| 42 | Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 27.8 | 22.4 | 18.1 | 18.2 |
| 43 | Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA | 27.7 | 23.1 | 18.1 | 16.1 |
| 44 | Philadelphia, PA | 27.7 | 27.8 | 29.3 | 23.1 |
| 45 | Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 25.9 | 20.7 | 13.8 | 5.0 |
| 46 | Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD | 25.7 | 18.6 | 11.3 | 5.5 |
| 47 | Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA | 24.3 | 18.4 | 5.0 | 1.9 |
| 48 | Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA | 17.9 | 13.9 | 5.9 | 2.6 |
| 49 | Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA | 13.4 | 7.8 | 3.4 | 2.3 |
| 50 | Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 12.0 | 10.0 | 4.4 | 4.2 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Regional shifts affect Hispanic segregation

Inter-regional population shifts play an important role for Hispanic segregation. Table 6 shows that well over one-half of the Hispanic population (55.2%) in 1980 lived in metro areas with Hispanic-white segregation of 50 and above. Only 40.4% of Hispanics live in these same areas in 2010, which is a drop of more than 15 points. At the same time, the share of Hispanics living in the least segregated metro areas in 1980 was 20.1%; these same metropolitan areas account for 31.7% of Hispanics in 2010. Clearly there was a substantial movement away from regions of high segregation. The Hispanic population grew more rapidly in the last three decades in metro areas with lower levels of segregation at the start than in areas with high levels of segregation. Because the Hispanic population more than tripled during these years, the shift does not

necessarily reflect migration. It also could be caused by some combination of selective immigration from abroad and differential fertility. Whatever the demographic source, however, geographic shifts tended to reduce Hispanic segregation.

Table 6. Distribution of Hispanics across metropolitan regions with varying levels of segregation in 1980

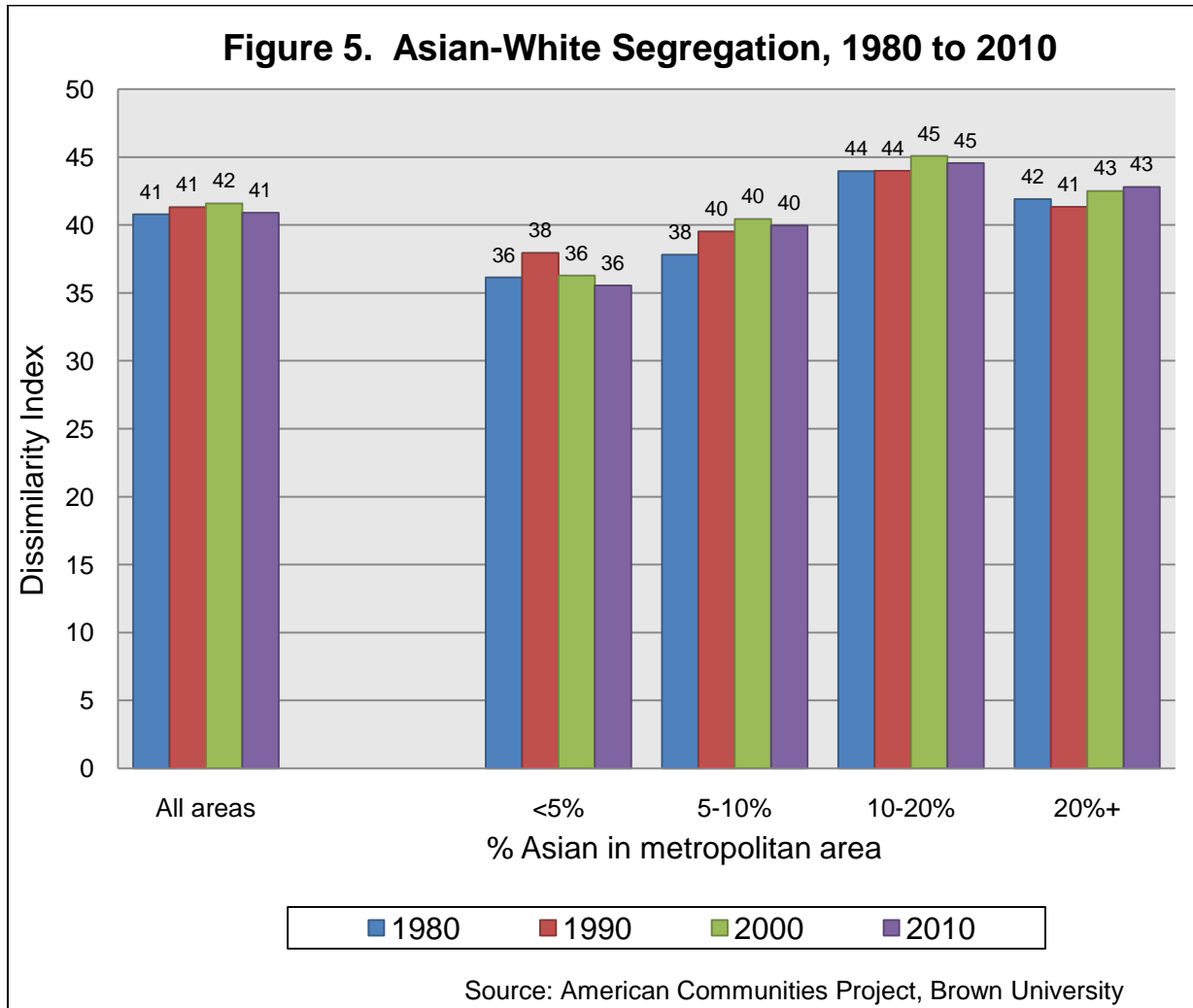
| 1980 Metro Segregation | Year | N of Hispanics | % of Total | Mean Segregation |
|------------------------|------|----------------|------------|------------------|
| <40 | 1980 | 2,643,337 | 20.1% | 32.5 |
| 40-44.9 | | 1,392,141 | 10.6% | 42.3 |
| 45-49.9 | | 1,845,813 | 14.1% | 47.1 |
| 50+ | | 7,247,183 | 55.2% | 59.1 |
| Total | | 13,128,474 | 100.0% | 50.3 |
| <40 | 1990 | 4,448,584 | 21.5% | 33.8 |
| 40-44.9 | | 2,310,920 | 11.2% | 43.5 |
| 45-49.9 | | 3,065,677 | 14.8% | 47.5 |
| 50+ | | 10,839,509 | 52.5% | 58.8 |
| Total | | 20,664,690 | 100.0% | 50.0 |
| <40 | 2000 | 8,588,396 | 26.4% | 39.5 |
| 40-44.9 | | 3,656,770 | 11.3% | 46.8 |
| 45-49.9 | | 5,250,442 | 16.2% | 50.8 |
| 50+ | | 14,976,995 | 46.1% | 58.4 |
| Total | | 32,472,603 | 100.0% | 50.9 |
| <40 | 2010 | 14,652,231 | 31.7% | 39.7 |
| 40-44.9 | | 5,060,867 | 10.9% | 45.3 |
| 45-49.9 | | 7,852,090 | 17.0% | 48.8 |
| 50+ | | 18,716,934 | 40.4% | 56.4 |
| Total | | 46,282,122 | 100.0% | 48.6 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

This tendency, however, was counterbalanced by increasing segregation within those regions that were gaining a larger share of Hispanics. The least segregated regions ($D < 40$) had a weighted average segregation of 32.5 in 1980; the same regions averaged 39.7 in 2005-09. At the same time, segregation declined slightly in the most segregated regions. Thus the apparent lack of change in Hispanic segregation that we report as a national average masks two opposing tendencies: a movement of the Hispanic population toward areas of low segregation, and increasing segregation in those areas.

Asian-White Segregation and Isolation

Asian-white segregation has historically been in the moderate range, averaging just above 40, and as illustrated in Figure 5 it remained unchanged between 1980 and 2010. These figures include all metropolitan regions, weighted by the number of Asians living in them. Segregation is somewhat higher in metropolitan regions with a larger share of Asian residents, as we saw also for other groups.



Tables 7 and 8 list the dissimilarity and isolation index values for the 40 metro regions with the most Asians. The 10 most highly segregated metro areas are Edison-New Brunswick, NJ; New York, NY; Houston, TX; Los Angeles, CA; Boston, MA; Sacramento, CA; San Francisco, CA; Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI; Atlanta, GA; and Stockton, CA. Much lower segregation is found in places like Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Denver.

Table 7. Asian-White Segregation (D) in 40 Metro Areas with Largest Asian Populations in 2010

| 2010 Rank | Area Name | 2010 Segregation | 2000 Segregation | 1990 Segregation | 1980 Segregation |
|------------------|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Edison-New Brunswick, NJ | 53.7 | 49.6 | 42.2 | 39.0 |
| 2 | New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ | 49.5 | 48.9 | 46.7 | 48.5 |
| 3 | Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX | 48.7 | 50.0 | 48.0 | 44.8 |
| 4 | Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA | 47.6 | 48.2 | 46.2 | 47.3 |
| 5 | Boston-Quincy, MA | 47.4 | 52.0 | 52.2 | 58.7 |
| 6 | Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA | 46.8 | 47.2 | 48.1 | 46.6 |
| 7 | San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA | 46.7 | 48.6 | 50.2 | 51.3 |
| 8 | Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI | 46.3 | 46.3 | 44.2 | 41.0 |
| 9 | Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA | 46.2 | 45.3 | 42.5 | 34.5 |
| 10 | Stockton, CA | 45.9 | 48.5 | 55.7 | 42.1 |
| 11 | Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX | 44.4 | 43.8 | 41.6 | 38.7 |
| 12 | San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA | 44.3 | 46.7 | 48.1 | 45.5 |
| 13 | San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA | 43.0 | 41.9 | 38.8 | 30.9 |
| 14 | Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA | 42.3 | 41.0 | 39.2 | 37.8 |
| 15 | Philadelphia, PA | 41.8 | 44.8 | 44.4 | 40.5 |
| 16 | Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL | 41.7 | 43.6 | 45.1 | 46.0 |
| 17 | Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA | 41.6 | 40.0 | 33.3 | 27.7 |
| 18 | Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 41.1 | 41.4 | 41.0 | 36.2 |
| 19 | Baltimore-Towson, MD | 40.9 | 39.1 | 38.3 | 37.8 |
| 20 | St. Louis, MO-IL | 40.8 | 42.0 | 40.0 | 37.8 |
| 21 | Honolulu, HI | 40.1 | 39.7 | 38.0 | 41.0 |
| 22 | Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 39.6 | 42.7 | 41.6 | 29.9 |
| 23 | Vallejo-Fairfield, CA | 38.4 | 41.2 | 40.4 | 36.2 |
| 24 | Nassau-Suffolk, NY | 38.4 | 35.4 | 32.5 | 30.7 |
| 25 | Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX | 38.3 | 40.0 | 39.4 | 35.1 |
| 26 | Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 38.2 | 37.2 | 33.3 | 28.9 |
| 27 | Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD | 37.5 | 37.9 | 33.9 | 29.9 |
| 28 | Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 36.5 | 36.7 | 34.2 | 31.0 |
| 29 | Newark-Union, NJ-PA | 35.6 | 35.7 | 31.4 | 30.9 |
| 30 | Fresno, CA | 35.3 | 36.1 | 43.5 | 25.7 |
| 31 | Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA | 33.2 | 34.3 | 36.6 | 39.1 |
| 32 | Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 33.1 | 33.4 | 33.8 | 31.6 |
| 33 | Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA | 32.4 | 35.0 | 34.8 | 33.7 |
| 34 | Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 32.3 | 34.0 | 29.4 | 30.0 |
| 35 | Tacoma, WA | 31.5 | 33.7 | 36.8 | 33.2 |
| 36 | Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA | 31.5 | 31.7 | 31.2 | 28.4 |
| 37 | Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC | 31.3 | 34.0 | 35.7 | 37.7 |
| 38 | Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO | 30.0 | 29.6 | 29.3 | 25.8 |
| 39 | Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ | 29.9 | 27.9 | 28.1 | 27.1 |
| 40 | Las Vegas-Paradise, NV | 26.8 | 23.5 | 23.3 | 21.9 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Table 8. Asian-White Isolation in 40 Metro Areas with Largest Asian Populations in 2010

| 2010 Rank | Area name | 2010 Isolation | 2000 Isolation | 1990 Isolation | 1980 Isolation |
|------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Honolulu, HI | 74.7 | 75.1 | 68.2 | 65.2 |
| 2 | San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA | 45.4 | 37.6 | 24.3 | 10.2 |
| 3 | San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA | 42.2 | 39.6 | 35.1 | 29.0 |
| 4 | Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA | 36.3 | 29.2 | 20.4 | 11.9 |
| 5 | Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA | 31.9 | 28.5 | 21.9 | 14.7 |
| 6 | Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA | 31.6 | 25.4 | 15.8 | 6.1 |
| 7 | New York-White Plains-Wayne, NY-NJ | 30.3 | 25.0 | 18.7 | 14.4 |
| 8 | Edison-New Brunswick, NJ | 29.3 | 20.2 | 9.9 | 2.9 |
| 9 | Vallejo-Fairfield, CA | 25.4 | 24.7 | 21.7 | 11.9 |
| 10 | Stockton, CA | 24.7 | 23.0 | 24.9 | 10.0 |
| 11 | Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA | 23.7 | 19.3 | 15.7 | 11.8 |
| 12 | San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA | 23.6 | 21.6 | 17.0 | 10.0 |
| 13 | Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA | 22.1 | 18.5 | 14.8 | 11.4 |
| 14 | Bethesda-Rockville-Frederick, MD | 19.2 | 15.3 | 10.2 | 5.0 |
| 15 | Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV | 18.1 | 12.8 | 8.2 | 4.6 |
| 16 | Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX | 17.7 | 13.9 | 9.1 | 4.7 |
| 17 | Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX | 17.5 | 10.7 | 6.1 | 2.0 |
| 18 | Boston-Quincy, MA | 17.1 | 15.0 | 13.7 | 17.2 |
| 19 | Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL | 17.1 | 14.8 | 11.5 | 8.4 |
| 20 | Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA | 16.2 | 12.8 | 8.5 | 2.6 |
| 21 | Las Vegas-Paradise, NV | 15.2 | 8.9 | 4.2 | 2.3 |
| 22 | Fresno, CA | 15.1 | 13.6 | 16.4 | 3.8 |
| 23 | Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA | 13.9 | 10.4 | 6.4 | 2.5 |
| 24 | Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA | 13.4 | 8.2 | 4.3 | 1.3 |
| 25 | Philadelphia, PA | 13.2 | 11.0 | 7.4 | 3.9 |
| 26 | Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI | 12.7 | 11.9 | 10.8 | 1.6 |
| 27 | Nassau-Suffolk, NY | 12.7 | 8.1 | 4.9 | 2.0 |
| 28 | Newark-Union, NJ-PA | 12.6 | 8.9 | 5.2 | 2.3 |
| 29 | Tacoma, WA | 12.6 | 11.7 | 10.1 | 4.5 |
| 30 | Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA | 12.0 | 9.2 | 5.3 | 2.9 |
| 31 | Baltimore-Towson, MD | 11.5 | 6.7 | 3.8 | 2.0 |
| 32 | Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI | 11.5 | 8.1 | 4.0 | 2.1 |
| 33 | Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX | 11.3 | 8.8 | 5.5 | 1.8 |
| 34 | Fort Worth-Arlington, TX | 8.7 | 7.5 | 5.8 | 1.9 |
| 35 | Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC | 7.5 | 6.3 | 5.0 | 3.7 |
| 36 | Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ | 6.9 | 4.3 | 3.0 | 1.2 |
| 37 | Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL | 6.8 | 5.0 | 2.6 | 1.1 |
| 38 | Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO | 6.6 | 5.0 | 3.3 | 1.8 |
| 39 | St. Louis, MO-IL | 6.1 | 4.2 | 2.2 | 1.3 |
| 40 | Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL | 5.7 | 3.8 | 2.0 | 0.8 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Asian isolation, like that of Hispanics, is closely related to the group's population size (Table 8). Honolulu is an unusual case because the Asian population is especially large. Only seven other metros have Asian populations that on average live in tracts that are 25% or more Asian. The five highest of these are in California: San Jose and San Francisco (over 40%), Oakland, Los Angeles, and Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine. Others are New York NY; Edison-New Brunswick NJ; Vallejo CA; and Stockton CA. The increases are often dramatic: from 10% in 1980 to 45% in 2010 for San Jose, from 12% to 36% for Oakland, from 6% to 32% for Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine. Despite being only moderately segregated (most often $D < 50$ in these metros), recent Asian population growth has apparently spurred the rapid growth of Asian residential enclaves in these regions.

Table 9. Distribution of Asians across metropolitan regions with varying levels of segregation in 1980

| 1980 Metro Segregation | Year | N of Asians | % of Total | Mean Segregation |
|------------------------|------|-------------|------------|------------------|
| <30 | 1980 | 344,837 | 11.3% | 27.1 |
| 30-34.9 | | 382,302 | 12.5% | 31.8 |
| 35-39.9 | | 462,419 | 15.1% | 37.8 |
| 40+ | | 1,867,481 | 61.1% | 45.9 |
| Total | | 3,057,039 | 100.0% | 40.8 |
| <30 | 1990 | 979,129 | 14.8% | 32.8 |
| 30-34.9 | | 980,288 | 14.8% | 36.6 |
| 35-39.9 | | 1,082,323 | 16.4% | 38.6 |
| 40+ | | 3,559,880 | 53.9% | 45.8 |
| Total | | 6,601,620 | 100.0% | 41.3 |
| <30 | 2000 | 1,887,094 | 16.7% | 34.0 |
| 30-34.9 | | 1,883,062 | 16.6% | 37.8 |
| 35-39.9 | | 2,057,713 | 18.2% | 39.3 |
| 40+ | | 5,484,421 | 48.5% | 46.5 |
| Total | | 11,312,290 | 100.0% | 41.6 |
| <30 | 2010 | 2,959,538 | 18.2% | 34.1 |
| 30-34.9 | | 2,892,210 | 17.7% | 37.6 |
| 35-39.9 | | 3,180,541 | 19.5% | 39.7 |
| 40+ | | 7,263,593 | 44.6% | 45.7 |
| Total | | 16,295,882 | 100.0% | 41.0 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Like the case among Hispanics, the Asian population has shifted away from areas that were highly segregated in 1980. Nearly two-thirds of Asians (61.1%) lived in areas with a value of D greater than 40 in 1980. For 2010, only 44.6% of Asians live in the same set of metro areas. But again as is true for Hispanics, segregation was more likely to rise in these areas that Asians were moving to.

Discussion

This report uses new census data to provide important information about trends in racial residential segregation over the 1980 to 2010 period, but does not explain the sources of those trends.

A longstanding question about black-white segregation has been how it can persist at such high levels despite other social changes that would seem to suggest optimism: the growth of a black middle class that has many affordable choices of where to live, the passage of fair housing legislation at the national level and in some states and cities, and evidence from surveys that suggest increasing white openness to live in more diverse neighborhoods. The nation even elected an African American President. Part of the answer is that systematic discrimination in the housing market has not ended, and for the most part it is not prosecuted. Fair housing laws by and large are enforced only when minority home seekers can document discrimination and pursue a civil court case without assistance from public officials. Americans do not want to believe that discrimination still exists. Yet studies that track the experience of minority persons in the rental or homeowner market continue to find that they are treated differently than comparable whites.

Another part of the answer is urban history. The U.S. reached extreme levels of black-white segregation in the 1940s and 1950s as African Americans moved in large numbers from the South to major industrial cities in the North. It was very clear where blacks were allowed to live, and the new population was shoehorned into existing ghettos that expanded as whites left adjacent areas. Segregation in this form has been on the decline since the 1960s and is lower now than at any time in the last seven decades. This is partly because the Great Migration and the process of creating new black ghettos ended years ago. Changes have been greater in metropolitan areas with historically fewer black residents, but very slow in the old Ghetto Belt – places like New York, Chicago, Newark and Detroit. The U.S. is far from becoming a post-racial society even if the old mechanisms of redlining and exclusion are disappearing. In most metropolitan regions the average levels of black-white segregation remain very high, examples of white flight from neighborhoods with growth in minority population are still common, and analyses through 2000 show that whites rarely move into minority neighborhoods. As a result, formerly all-white neighborhoods are becoming more diverse – and there are many of these – but this is countered by growing segregation between other neighborhoods.

Yet another factor is the difference in the quality of collective resources in neighborhoods with predominantly minority populations. It is especially true for African Americans and Hispanics that their neighborhoods are often served by the worst performing schools, suffer the highest crime rates, and have the least valuable housing stock in the metropolis. Few whites will choose to move back into these neighborhoods as long as they suffer such problems. At this time it appears that integration of neighborhoods rarely results from white in-migration, but in fact is mostly conditional upon the ability of minorities to move into previously all-white areas. This is happening, but all too often it results in white flight from those places.

The situation for Hispanics and Asians is quite distinct in several ways. Except in a few cities with a long history of Puerto Rican and Mexican settlement, these groups have experienced less discrimination and have been less segregated than blacks in recent decades. There is also strong evidence that individual success (gaining more education, learning English, living longer in the U.S.) results in considerable mobility out of their ethnic neighborhoods, which is much less the case for African Americans. Yet because their numbers are growing rapidly and because there has been very little change in their residential pattern, Hispanics and Asians are increasingly isolated from other groups. The rate of mobility out of ethnic neighborhoods is not sufficient to overcome the inflow into them.

Hispanics and Asians have been moving toward new destinations since the 1980s, and we found that this represents movement toward areas where they are less segregated. Yet in the process, their arrival has been met with increasing segregation. As a result their dispersion around the country has not had much net impact on the extent to which they are separated from whites.

The political implications of these trends are great. Majority black electoral districts tend to be maintained over time, but more majority Hispanic (and in some parts of the country, Asian) districts will emerge, especially for state and local positions. At the Congressional level the actual impact is limited by several factors. Hispanics and Asians include a very large share of non-citizen immigrants; they are less likely to register and vote than are whites and blacks; and Hispanic population growth is concentrated in areas that already have large Hispanic constituencies. The widely documented movement of Hispanics and Asians to new areas is very visible, but their share of the electorate in these places is still too small to be felt. Hispanics and Asians will be a slowly growing political presence in American politics in the coming years.

SUMMARY TABLE: Segregation and Isolation Averages Show Persistence. National averages indicate slow but continuing declines of black-white segregation, but no declines for Hispanics and Asians. The average values for each group are weighted by the number of group members in a metropolitan region. They can be interpreted as the situation in the metropolitan region where the average member of that group lives. This is why, for example, the black-white D is a different value in the white section of the table than in the black section. National averages indicate slow but continuing declines of black-white segregation, but no change for Hispanics and Asians. Although segregation and isolation remain higher in the central cities, segregation and isolation patterns persist in the suburbs as well.

Segregation and Isolation Weighted Averages, 1980 to 2010

| | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 | | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 |
|--|------|------|------|------|---|------|------|------|------|
| Whites | | | | | Hispanics | | | | |
| Dissimilarity with Blacks | 68.4 | 62.5 | 58.0 | 53.5 | Dissimilarity with Whites | 50.3 | 50.0 | 50.8 | 48.5 |
| Dissimilarity with Hispanics | 40.5 | 40.1 | 43.7 | 42.8 | Dissimilarity with Blacks | 59.7 | 53.0 | 48.3 | 43.2 |
| Dissimilarity with Asians | 37.3 | 39.1 | 38.1 | 37.2 | Dissimilarity with Asians | 51.0 | 49.2 | 48.8 | 47.7 |
| The average white lives in a neighborhood with: | | | | | The average Hispanic lives in a neighborhood with: | | | | |
| a % white of | 88.3 | 85.2 | 80.3 | 75.4 | a % white of | 47.5 | 42.2 | 37.0 | 35.1 |
| a % black of | 5.0 | 5.8 | 6.8 | 7.9 | a % black of | 10.1 | 10.2 | 10.7 | 11.3 |
| a % Hispanic of | 4.6 | 5.8 | 7.8 | 10.5 | a % Hispanic of | 38.2 | 42.1 | 45.0 | 46.0 |
| a % Asian of | 1.4 | 2.6 | 3.8 | 5.1 | a % Asian of | 2.8 | 4.8 | 5.8 | 6.5 |
| Blacks | | | | | Asians | | | | |
| Dissimilarity with Whites | 72.8 | 67.3 | 63.8 | 59.1 | Dissimilarity with Whites | 40.8 | 41.3 | 41.6 | 40.9 |
| Dissimilarity with Hispanics | 60.4 | 57.5 | 51.8 | 45.9 | Dissimilarity with Blacks | 64.8 | 58.2 | 53.4 | 50.6 |
| Dissimilarity with Asians | 72.3 | 66.9 | 61.1 | 56.9 | Dissimilarity with Hispanics | 43.9 | 44.2 | 45.5 | 45.8 |
| The average black lives in a neighborhood with: | | | | | The average Asian lives in a neighborhood with: | | | | |
| a % white of | 31.2 | 34.3 | 34.0 | 34.8 | a % white of | 61.7 | 58.2 | 52.3 | 48.9 |
| a % black of | 61.0 | 54.8 | 50.6 | 45.2 | a % black of | 7.1 | 7.9 | 8.8 | 9.3 |
| a % Hispanic of | 6.1 | 8.3 | 11.3 | 14.8 | a % Hispanic of | 11.9 | 15.1 | 16.7 | 18.5 |
| a % Asian of | 1.0 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 4.3 | a % Asian of | 17.4 | 18.2 | 20.7 | 22.4 |

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Appendix on methodology

How Do We Measure Segregation?

The decennial census provides information on segregation at the level of census tracts, areas that typically have 3000-5000 residents. We report segregation for metropolitan regions beginning in 1980, using exactly the same geographic boundaries in each year. Metropolitan areas in every year are standardized to their Census 2010 boundaries.

For aggregated population data and for segregation measures that we have calculated for individual metropolitan regions, or for individual cities over 10,000 population, see: <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Data.htm>. This report is based on the metropolitan region results and presents indices for 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010. **The Supplementary Table at the end of the report provides a convenient summary of the trends described here.**

Measuring race and Hispanic origin

The measurement of race is complicated by changes over time in the questions used by the Census Bureau to ask about race and the categories used in tabulations provided by the Census Bureau. Since 1980 two questions have been used: 1) is the person of Hispanic origin or not, and 2) what race does the person belong to? Beginning with the 2000 Census people have been allowed to list up to four different racial categories to describe themselves. Our goal is to create consistent categories similar to the way the federal government classifies minority groups for reporting purposes: Hispanic, non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander, and non-Hispanic Native Americans and other races. (For convenience, generally in the remainder of this report we will use shorthand terms for the non-Hispanic groups: white, black, Asian, and other race.)

In every year the Hispanic category simply includes all persons who self-identify as Hispanic regardless of their answer to the race question. It is more complicated to calculate the number of non-Hispanics in each race category.

1. Our approach for handling multiple race responses in 2000 and 2010 is to treat a person as black if they described themselves as black plus any other race; as Asian if they listed Asian plus any other race except black; and as Native American/other race for any other combination.
2. It would be preferable to be able to calculate the number of non-Hispanic persons in each race category by subtracting the Hispanics from the total in each category. This is easy for our non-Hispanic white category because it includes no multiple-race persons and the necessary tables are available for every year in our study. It is also possible for blacks, Asians, and Native American/other race in 1990, 2000, and 2010 because tables are available for detailed multi-race categories by Hispanic origin.
3. For 1980 some of the necessary tables are not available, so we use estimation procedures for non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians, and non-Hispanic other race. We can calculate non-Hispanic blacks by subtracting the number of Hispanic blacks from the black total. But in 1980 there is no table separating out Asians from other races in the non-Hispanic population. Our solution is to make an estimate of non-Hispanic Asians and non-Hispanic other race using tract-level data, assuming that the ratio of Asians to other races among non-Hispanics is the same as the ratio of Asians to other races in the total tract population (which is given).

Index of Dissimilarity

The standard measure of segregation is the Index of Dissimilarity (D), which captures the degree to which two groups are evenly spread among census tracts in a given city. Evenness is defined with respect to the racial composition of the city as a whole. With values ranging from 0 to 100, D gives the percentage of one group who would have to move to achieve an even residential pattern - one where every tract replicates the group composition of the city. A value of 60 or above is considered very high. For example, a D score of 60 for black-white segregation means that 60% of either group must move to a different tract for the two groups to become equally distributed. Values of 30 to 60 are usually considered moderate levels of segregation, while values of 30 or less are considered low.

Demographers typically interpret change either up or down in the following way:

- Change of 10 points and above in one decade - Very significant change
- Change of 5-10 points in one decade - Moderate change
- Below 5 points in one decade - Small change or no real change at all

Change can be cumulative, and small changes in a single decade – if they are repeated over several decades – can constitute a significant trend. Therefore we pay attention not only to what has happened since 2000 but also to the longer term trajectory for each group.

For smaller cities or metropolitan regions, or for segregation measures for groups with small populations, readers should interpret results with caution.

Exposure and Isolation Indices

Another widely used measure of segregation is a class of Exposure Indices (P^*) that refers to the racial/ethnic composition of a tract where the average member of a given group lives. Exposure of a group to itself is called the Index of Isolation, while exposure of one group to other groups is called the Index of Exposure. Both range from 0 to 100. For example, an Isolation score of 80.2 for whites means that the average white lives in a neighborhood that is 80.2% white. An Exposure score of 6.7 for white-black exposure indicates that the average white lives in a neighborhood that is 6.7% black.

Even if segregation (measured by the Index of Dissimilarity) remains the same over time, growth in a minority population will tend to leave it more isolated - that is, leaving group members in neighborhoods where they are a larger share of the population. But at the same time the minority group's growth also tends to increase the exposure of non-Hispanic whites to that minority population. These are common phenomena in recent years when the white share of the typical metropolis is declining. Even if there were no change in the distribution of whites and minorities across census tracts (which is what we measure with D), there could be change in each one's exposure to the other (measured by P^*).