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## **Ethnic Diversity Grows, Neighborhood Integration Lags Behind**

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Neighborhood integration has remained a goal of public policy and popular opinion because it is seen as proof of the American ideal of equal opportunity. Unfortunately the 2000 Census shows that growing ethnic diversity in the nation is accompanied by a high degree of residential separation. The average non-Hispanic white person continues to live in a neighborhood that looks very different from those neighborhoods where the average black, Hispanic, and Asian live. The average white person in metropolitan American lives in a neighborhood that is 80% white and only 7% black. Despite a substantial shift of minorities from cities to suburbs, these groups have not gained access to largely white neighborhoods. A typical black individual lives in a neighborhood that is only 33% white and as much as 51% black. Diversity is experienced very differently in the daily lives of whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians.

Residential segregation among blacks and whites remains high in cities and in suburbs around the country. There were some signs of progress in the 1980s, with a five-point drop in the segregation index (from 73.8 to 68.8). The change continued at a slower rate in the 1990s (a decline of just under 4 points). The good news is that these small changes are cumulating over time. The source of concern is that at this pace it may take forty more years for black-white segregation to come down even to the current level of Hispanic-white segregation.

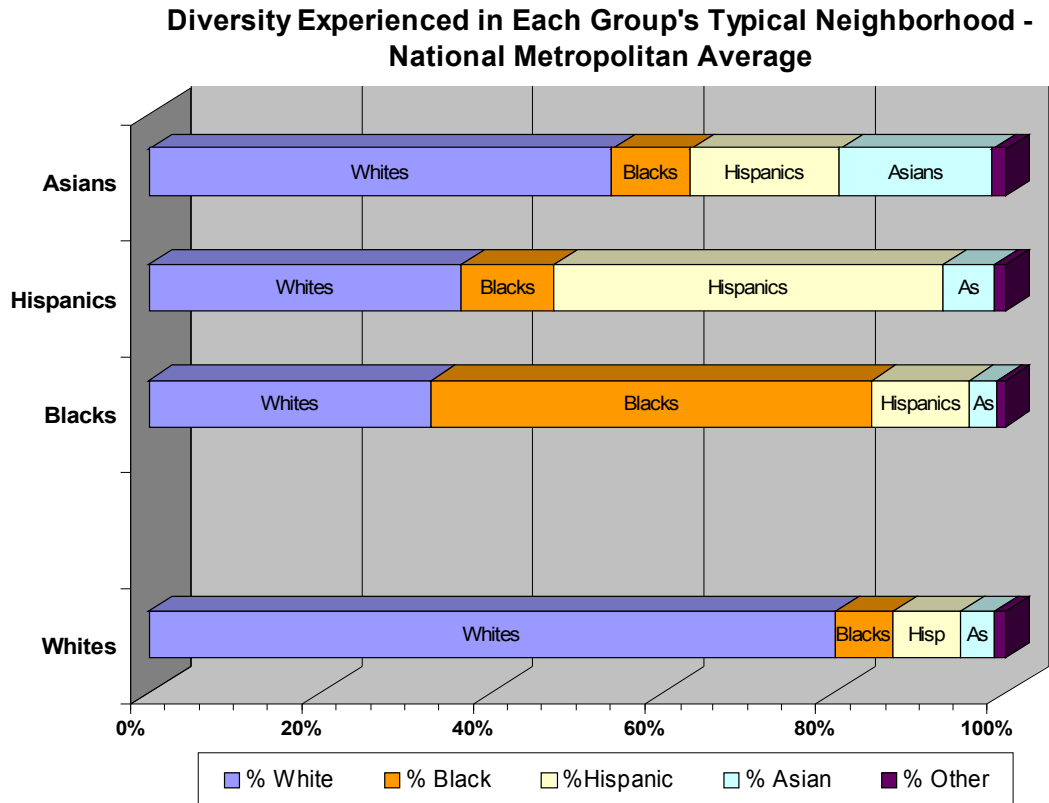
Hispanics and Asians are considerably less segregated than African Americans. But as their numbers grew rapidly in the last twenty years, there has been no change in their level of segregation. As a result these groups now live in more isolated settings than they did in 1980, with a smaller proportion of white residents in their neighborhoods. This trend is the same in both cities and suburbs.

### **The Typical Neighborhood: Continued Minority Segregation from Whites**

Based on national metropolitan averages, the graph below 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. The typical white lives in a neighborhood that is 80.2 % white, 6.7% black, 7.9% Hispanic, and 3.9% Asian.

The experience of minorities is very different. For example, the typical black lives in a neighborhood that is 51.4 % black, 33.0 % white, 11.4% Hispanic, and 3.3% Asian. The typical Hispanic lives in a neighborhood that is 45.5% Hispanic, 36.5% white, 10.8% black and 5.9% Asian. The typical Asian lives in a neighborhood that is 17.9% Asian, 54.0% white, 9.2% black, and 17.4% Hispanic.

The basic message here is that whites live in neighborhoods with low minority representation while minorities live in neighborhoods with high minority representation, and limited white representation. Blacks, Hispanics, and Asian live in more integrated neighborhoods than whites.



### Black-White Segregation

Black-white segregation remains very high except in the metropolitan areas with the smallest black populations. Over twenty years, segregation declined by more than 12 points in metro areas with less than 5% black population, and by nearly 10 points in areas that are 10-20% black. But in those areas with 20% or more blacks, the decline was only half that (about 6 points). The total black population of this latter set of metro areas (20% or more black) is nearly 15 million, about half the national total. This means that the African American population in the United States is about equally divided between regions where there has been moderate progress since 1980 and regions where progress is very slender.

Of the 50 metropolitan regions in the country that had the largest black populations in 2000, the 10 with the highest levels of segregation include: Detroit, MI; Milwaukee, WI; New York, NY; Chicago, IL; Newark, NJ; Cleveland, OH; Cincinnati, OH; Nassau-Suffolk, NY; St. Louis, MO; and Miami, FL. 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 them, but 6 of the 10 declined by 4 points or less over the past twenty years.

At the other extreme, there are several places on this list where segregation has now fallen into what social scientists consider the moderate range (under 50). These include several mid-sized metropolitan regions in the South: Charleston, Greenville, Norfolk, Raleigh-Durham, and Augusta. Riverside-San Bernardino (California) also falls in this category. In most of these segregation declined by 5 or 10 points, or even more, since 1980.

Despite these signs of progress in the South, there are also examples of persistent segregation in large Southern cities. For example, in New Orleans, metro-wide segregation dropped only two points and remains above the national average (at 69.3). In Atlanta the news is mixed. Metro-level segregation has declined by 12 points, mainly due to a shift of African Americans to the suburbs. But it is still slightly above the national average (at 65.6), and segregation in the city of Atlanta has actually risen in the last twenty years (from 79.5 to 81.6) and is much higher than the national city average.

### **Hispanic-White Segregation**

For Hispanics, there has been no net change in segregation since 1980. Hispanic-white segregation remains high in the metropolitan areas with the biggest Hispanic populations. In areas with a smaller Hispanic presence, segregation from whites is lower but rising over time.

The metro areas with the largest Hispanic populations are also the most highly segregated. Of the 50 metropolitan regions with the most Hispanic residents. Of these, the most segregated are New York, NY; Newark, NJ, Los Angeles, CA; Chicago, IL, Philadelphia, PA, Salinas, CA; Boston, MA, Bergen-Passaic, NJ, Ventura, CA; and Orange County, CA. Hispanic segregation increased in 6 of these 10 since 1980 (and in 28 of the 50).

### **Asian-White Segregation**

Asian-white segregation is in the moderate range, and it has remained virtually unchanged since 1980. The 10 most highly segregated metro areas for Asians have large Asian populations. These areas include: New York, NY; Stockton-Lodi, CA; Houston, TX; Sacramento, CA, San Francisco, CA; Los Angeles, CA; Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA; San Diego, CA, Detroit, MI; and Atlanta, GA. Segregation has been increasing in 9 of these, though in some cases by only a point or two.

Much lower segregation is found in places like Phoenix and Las Vegas, where Asians range below 6% of the total population.

## Segregation and Isolation Averages Show Persistence in Cities and Suburbs

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, 1980-2000									
	<u>Total metro area</u>			<u>Central cities</u>			<u>Suburbs</u>		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
<b>Whites</b>									
Dissimilarity with Blacks	69.9	64.4	59.9	66.9	59.8	53.7	61.1	56.6	52.5
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	41.9	41.7	45.1	42.2	40.5	43.3	33.2	34.4	37.5
Dissimilarity with Asians	38.4	39.9	38.9	36.2	36.8	33.8	37.2	38.1	37.6
The average white lives in a neighborhood with:									
a % white of	88.4	85.3	80.2	83.6	78.9	71.6	91.2	88.4	83.8
a % black of	4.9	5.7	6.7	7.2	8.6	10.3	3.5	4.3	5.3
a % Hispanic of	4.6	5.9	7.9	6.4	8.3	11.3	3.6	4.7	6.5
a % Asian of	1.5	2.7	3.9	1.9	3.7	5.2	1.2	2.3	3.4
<b>Blacks</b>									
Dissimilarity with Whites	73.8	68.8	65.0	74.9	69.8	64.9	63.1	58.7	56.6
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	61.4	58.8	52.8	60.0	59.0	53.3	55.5	52.4	47.7
Dissimilarity with Asians	73.1	67.5	61.8	72.1	67.9	62.8	66.0	60.6	55.3
The average black lives in a neighborhood with:									
a % white of	30.4	33.1	33.0	22.6	24.4	24.3	51.2	50.9	46.6
a % black of	61.8	55.9	51.4	69.3	64.4	60.2	41.6	38.6	37.7
a % Hispanic of	6.1	8.4	11.4	6.4	8.7	11.6	5.3	7.7	11.1
a % Asian of	1.1	2.2	3.3	1.0	2.1	3.0	1.2	2.4	3.7
<b>Hispanics</b>									
Dissimilarity with Whites	50.7	50.6	51.5	53.5	53.0	52.7	42.7	44.0	46.5
Dissimilarity with Blacks	60.6	54.0	49.2	59.0	52.5	47.7	58.9	51.9	48.0
Dissimilarity with Asians	50.3	48.4	49.5	51.1	48.2	49.5	46.0	45.1	46.8
The average Hispanic lives in a neighborhood with:									
a % white of	47.3	41.8	36.5	40.3	35.0	30.0	57.5	50.2	43.3
a % black of	10.2	10.2	10.8	13.0	12.9	13.1	5.9	6.9	8.4
a % Hispanic of	38.4	42.4	45.5	42.4	46.2	49.3	32.6	37.6	41.4
a % Asian of	3.0	5.2	5.9	3.1	5.5	6.1	2.9	4.9	5.7
<b>Asians</b>									
Dissimilarity with Whites	41.2	42.0	42.1	40.7	41.7	39.9	37.5	38.6	40.5
Dissimilarity with Blacks	65.3	58.2	54.4	64.9	57.3	54.0	59.6	54.7	51.0
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	46.1	45.1	47.2	46.4	44.0	46.3	41.7	42.6	45.0
The average Asian lives in a neighborhood with:									
a % white of	67.5	60.4	54.0	59.8	52.5	46.2	76.7	68.5	60.6
a % black of	8.2	8.5	9.2	10.6	10.8	11.4	5.4	6.1	7.4
a % Hispanic of	13.1	16.3	17.4	15.2	19.0	20.3	10.6	13.5	14.9
a % Asian of	10.0	14.7	17.9	13.0	17.6	20.3	6.5	11.8	15.9