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Racial and Ethnic Separation in the Neighborhoods: Progress at a Standstill

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Report Summary

The 2005-2009 American Community Survey offers the first hard evidence of post-2000 racial and ethnic change at the neighborhood level. This report is a descriptive account of 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 issues: 1) whether there has finally been a quickening of progress in the very slow pace of lowering black-white segregation (and whether this has reached the traditional Ghetto Belt cities of the Northeast and Midwest); and 2) whether the rapidly growing Hispanic and Asian populations are becoming integrated into diverse neighborhoods or are creating more intense ethnic enclaves.

Racial and Ethnic Separation in the Neighborhoods: Progress at a Standstill

The racial and ethnic complexion of the United States continues to become more diverse, and growing Hispanic and Asian minorities are increasingly found today outside of the traditional immigrant gateway cities. But increasing ethnic diversity across the nation is not matched by integration at the neighborhood level.

New data released from the Census Bureau (the first tract-level results from the American Community Survey conducted during 2005-2009) offer our first look at post-2000 neighborhood trends. The main findings:

- Progress in residential segregation between blacks and whites since 2000 was even less than in the 1990s. Segregation peaked around 1960. 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 that there is very little change between 2000 and 2005-2009.

- Hispanics and Asians are considerably less segregated than African Americans. Segregation of Hispanics has remained steady since 1980. However, Asian-white segregation, historically lower than that of Hispanics, has taken a sharp upward turn in this decade. In addition, since both these groups are growing, there is a tendency for their ethnic enclaves to intensify. 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 77% 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 34% white and as much as 48% black. Diversity is experienced very differently in the daily lives of whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians.

How Do We Measure Segregation?

The American Community Survey (ACS) provides information on segregation at the level of census tracts, areas that typically have 3000-5000 residents. These data are drawn from large-scale annual sample surveys. To obtain enough information to describe census tracts, ACS is pooling together the sample data for five years, 2005 through 2009. Researchers do not have access to data for any single year. Therefore the analyses here refer to a period of time, roughly centered on 2007, that covers most of the second half of the decade. ACS data have considerable sampling error in numbers for any given census tract because the results are based on fewer cases than was true for census data in the past. Errors are random and tend to cancel each other out when we calculate statistics based on many tracts. **For smaller cities or metropolitan regions, or for segregation measures for groups with small populations, readers should interpret results with caution.**

Data for earlier years are taken from the decennial census, which has excellent coverage at the level of census tracts. 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 2000 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, and 2000 from the decennial census and for 2005-2009 from ACS. **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 2005-2009 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 and 2000, because tables are available for detailed multi-race categories by Hispanic origin.

3. For 1980 and 2005-2009 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.

    a. 1980 Census: For 1980 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).

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b. 2005-2009 ACS: For multi-racial blacks, Asians, and other race persons there is no table that distinguishes Hispanics from non-Hispanics. Here our estimation is based on the assumption that the proportion of multi-race blacks and Asians in the tract who are Hispanic is the same as that of single race blacks and Asians (which is given). The number of non-Hispanic "other race" persons is the remaining population not allocated to the other race/ethnic categories.

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.

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*).

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 331 metropolitan areas across the U.S., the typical white lives in a neighborhood that is 77% white, 7% black, 10% Hispanic, and 4% Asian.

The experience of minorities is very different. For example, the typical black lives in a neighborhood that is 48% black, 34% white, 14% Hispanic, and 3% Asian. The typical Hispanic lives in a neighborhood that is 46% Hispanic, 36% white, 10% black and 6% Asian. The typical Asian lives in a neighborhood that is 21% Asian, 49% white, 8% black, and 18% 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.

Figure 1. Diversity Experienced in Each Group's Typical Neighborhood - National Metropolitan Average, 2005-2009 ACS

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University
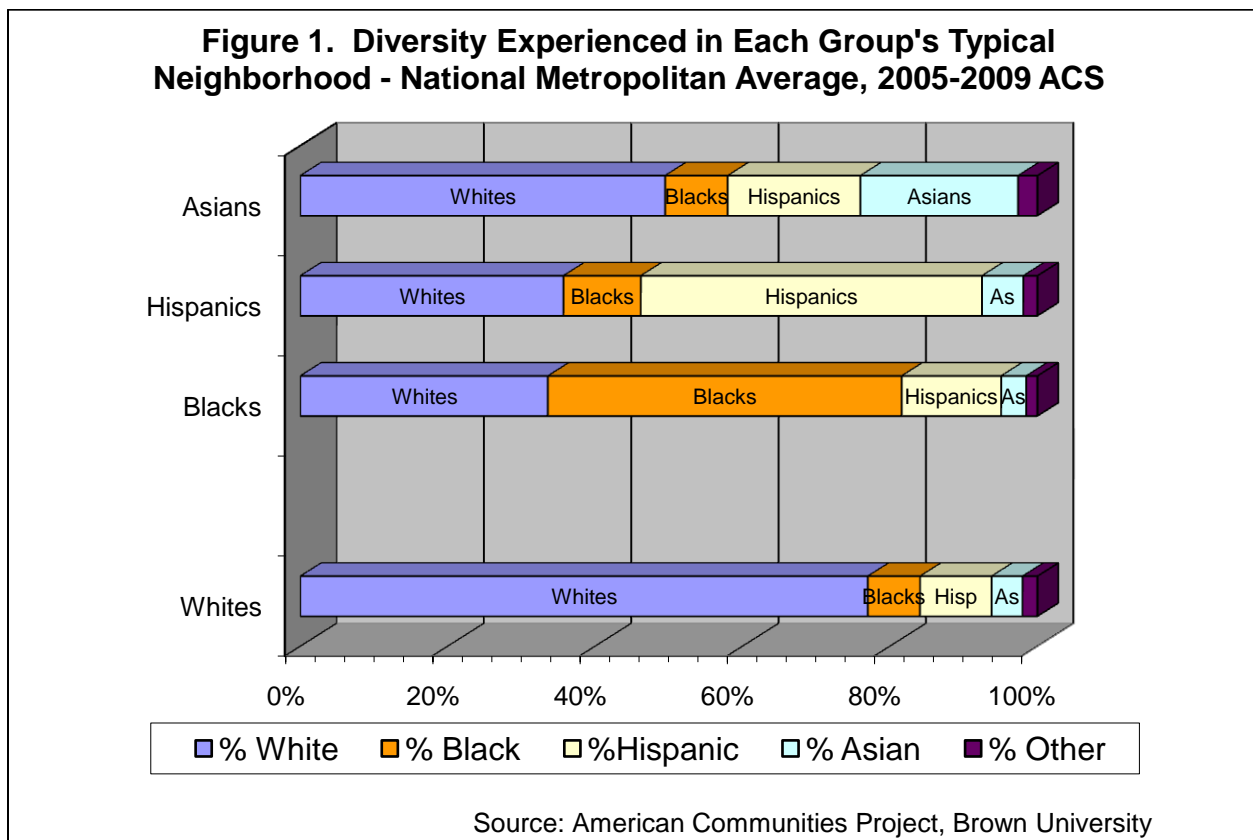
The trend is clearly toward increasing diversity for whites and blacks in their neighborhoods because of the growing share of Hispanics and Asians in the overall population. The average white person now lives in a neighborhood with considerably larger shares of Hispanics and Asians, but only small increases of African Americans since 1980. African Americans now have

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more Hispanic and Asian neighbors, as well as a small increase in coresidence 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.

Black-White Segregation and Isolation

Black-white segregation remains very high. It reached its peak value in the 1950s and 1960s, and remained at about the same level through 1980. As shown in Figure 2, however, it has been slowly declining since that time, from an average value of 73.6 in 1980 to 62.7 in the latest ACS data. However, the change since 2000 is a modest 2.5 points. 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.

Figure 2. Black-White Segregation, 1980 to 2005-09

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University
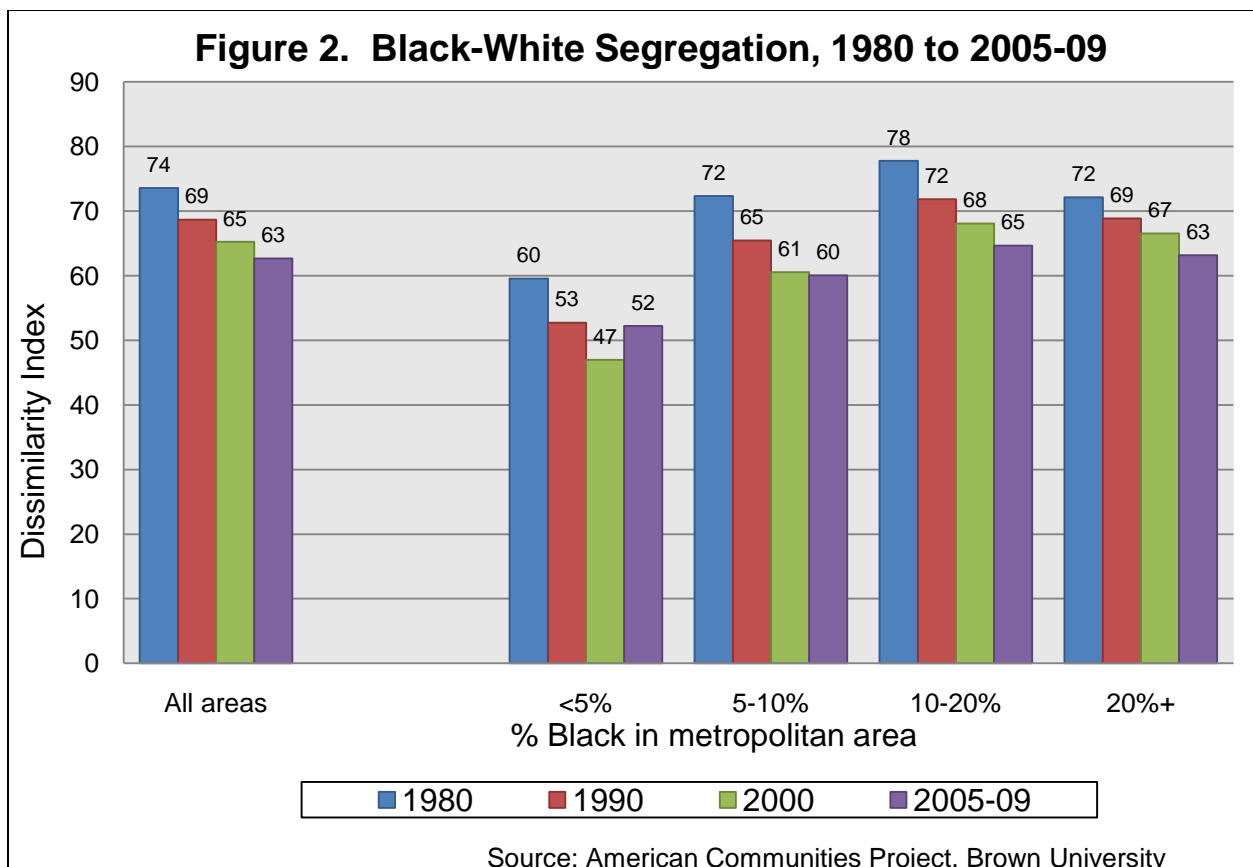
Figure 3 summarizes the changes across all metropolitan regions in each decade. We notice that the rate of change was small between 1980 and 1990 (4.9 points), smaller between 1990 and 2000 (3.4 points), and only 2.5 points since 2000.

Figure 3. Change in Average Black-White Segregation by Decade

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University
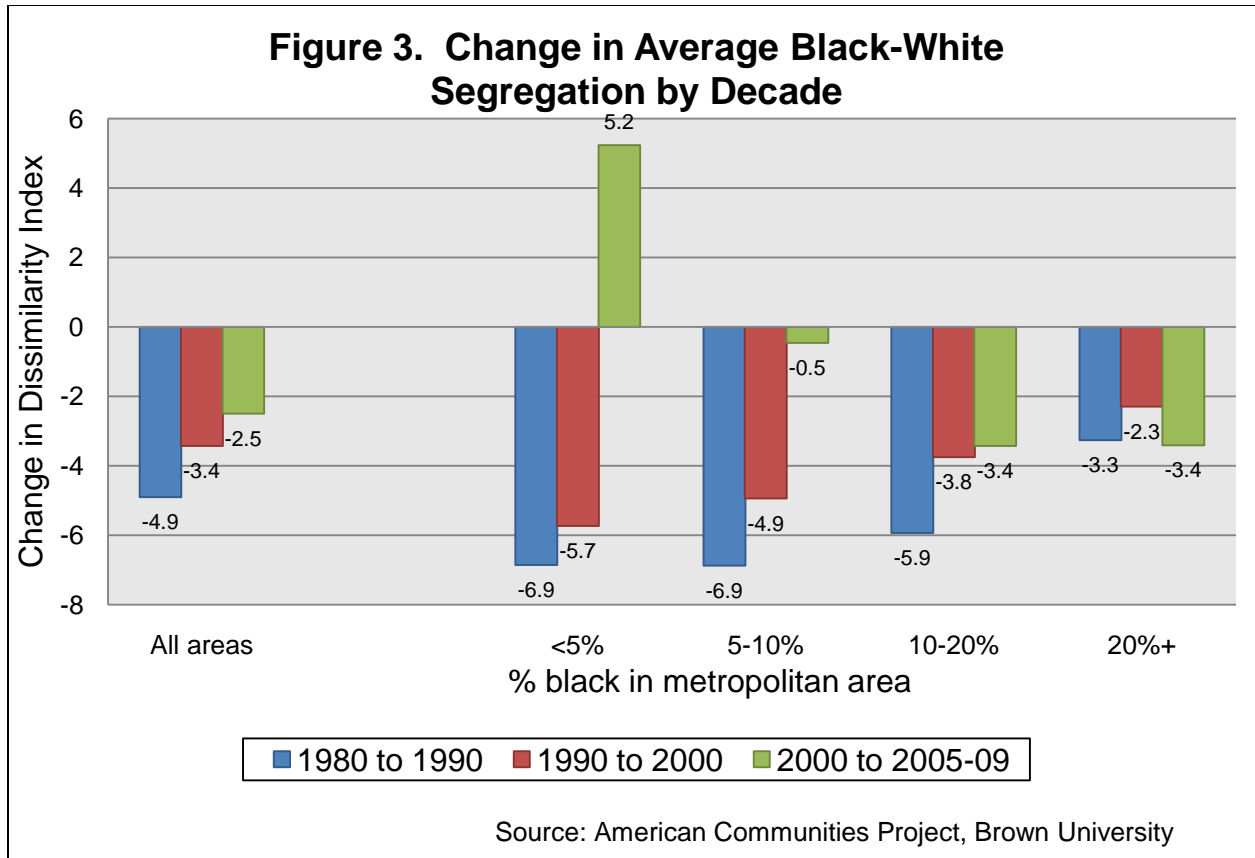
Notice that progress during the 1980s and 1990s was greatest in the metropolitan areas with the smallest black populations. Figures 2 and 3 show that black-white segregation has historically been lowest in metro areas with less than 5% black population. But since 2000 black-white segregation has increased in these places by more than 5 points. In those areas with 20% or more blacks, segregation remained quite high through 2000 and declined by 3.4 points since then.

To assess regional variation in detail, Tables 1-2 list the 50 metropolitan regions in the country with the largest black populations (population sizes are based on aggregating tract data from the 2005-2009 ACS to the metropolitan boundaries used by the Census Bureau in 2000). Of these, the 10 with the highest levels of segregation are New York, NY; Milwaukee, WI; Newark, NJ; Detroit, MI; Chicago, IL; Cleveland, OH; Nassau-Suffolk, NY; Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN; St. Louis, MO_IL; 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 six of the 10 declined by 6 points or less in nearly three decades.

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Table 1. Black-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations in 2005-2009

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Segregation	2000 Segregation	1990 Segregation	1980 Segregation
1	New York, NY	81.8	81.8	82.2	81.6
2	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	81.0	82.2	82.8	83.9
3	Newark, NJ	79.6	80.4	82.8	82.8
4	Detroit, MI	79.5	84.7	87.5	87.5
5	Chicago, IL	78.1	80.9	84.4	88.3
6	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	75.7	77.5	82.7	85.5
7	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	74.1	74.4	77.2	77.6
8	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	73.0	74.8	76.7	78.8
9	St. Louis, MO-IL	72.8	74.6	77.9	82.7
10	Miami, FL	72.5	73.6	73.2	80.5
11	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	71.5	72.3	77.0	78.2
12	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	69.4	67.5	73.2	81.2
13	Pittsburgh, PA	68.0	67.3	70.9	72.7
14	Birmingham, AL	67.6	72.9	74.3	75.9
15	Baltimore, MD	66.5	67.9	71.6	74.5
16	Indianapolis, IN	65.7	70.7	75.7	79.5
17	Kansas City, MO-KS	65.4	69.1	72.6	77.3
18	Memphis, TN-AR-MS	64.9	68.7	68.5	69.6
19	Boston, MA-NH	64.8	65.7	69.5	76.5
20	Baton Rouge, LA	63.5	69.3	65.6	69.9
21	New Orleans, LA	63.1	70.8	68.4	71.2
22	Houston, TX	62.6	67.5	67.4	76.3
23	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	62.2	63.2	65.6	69.2
24	Oakland, CA	61.1	62.8	68.1	74.3
25	Columbus, OH	60.7	63.6	68.2	73.2

At the other extreme, there are several places on this list where segregation has now fallen into what social scientists consider the moderate range (less than 50). These include several mid-sized metropolitan regions in the South: Norfolk, VA; Raleigh-Durham, NC; Greenville, SC; and Charleston, SC. Riverside-San Bernardino, CA; Phoenix, AZ; and Las Vegas, NV also fall into this category. In several of these segregation declined by 5 or 10 points, or even more, between 1980 and 2000. But segregation in each of these seven actually increased after 2000.

There are also examples of persistent segregation in large Southern cities: Birmingham, AL; Memphis, TN; and Baton Rouge, LA fit into this category. New Orleans, LA is an unusual case where post-Katrina displacement has severely impacted the population and uprooted predominantly African American neighborhoods. The 2005-2009 ACS population estimate for the city of New Orleans – 328,000 – is well below its 2000 count of 485,000. The 2009 population estimate is still only 355,000. Through 2000 the city stood out for the high percentage of African Americans in its population, but the metropolitan area's level of segregation was around the national average. The ACS data show a sharp decline in segregation for the New Orleans metropolitan region – most likely the consequence of continued displacement of blacks out of the central city, and not representative of social change in the U.S. or in the South.

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

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Segregation	2000 Segregation	1990 Segregation	1980 Segregation
26	Mobile, AL	60.3	63.7	67.5	70.4
27	Atlanta, GA	60.0	65.6	68.6	75.0
28	Fort Lauderdale, FL	59.4	62.2	70.9	83.9
29	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	59.4	66.7	76.3	84.2
30	Louisville, KY-IN	59.0	64.5	70.9	74.4
31	Jackson, MS	58.4	63.7	68.5	70.0
32	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	57.8	64.5	70.9	78.9
33	Dallas, TX	57.5	59.4	63.3	77.5
34	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	57.2	60.3	62.6	78.3
35	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	56.2	57.8	62.3	67.7
36	Richmond-Petersburg, VA	55.8	58.4	59.8	64.2
37	Greensboro--Winston-Salem--High Point, NC	55.0	59.7	60.6	65.5
38	Nashville, TN	54.6	57.1	60.8	66.0
39	Jacksonville, FL	53.1	53.9	59.1	68.8
40	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	52.8	55.6	55.9	60.6
41	Columbia, SC	52.0	52.1	55.5	58.9
42	Orlando, FL	51.3	57.0	61.0	74.1
43	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	48.0	43.7	50.4	61.6
44	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	46.7	46.5	48.8	59.6
45	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	46.2	46.3	45.1	54.8
46	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC	44.6	46.4	50.3	53.6
47	Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC	44.5	45.5	45.6	47.6
48	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	43.5	46.8	47.4	50.9
49	Las Vegas, NV-AZ	43.4	43.3	52.0	63.3
50	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	41.8	47.4	50.5	57.0

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, fourth highest in the Index of Dissimilarity, is highest in the Isolation Index. The average black person in the Detroit metro area lives in a tract that is 74% black – similar to the 1980 level. Some other Rustbelt metro areas are also among the top 10 in isolation (Chicago, Cleveland, 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. Hence Memphis, Jackson, MS, Birmingham, and Baton Rouge also are in the top 10 in isolation.

Table 2. Black-White Isolation in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations in 2005-2009

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Isolation	2000 Isolation	1990 Isolation	1980 Isolation
1	Detroit, MI	74.1	79.0	80.9	78.9
2	Memphis, TN-AR-MS	70.4	73.3	74.0	74.1
3	Jackson, MS	69.1	72.0	74.0	74.2
4	Chicago, IL	68.7	72.9	77.7	83.2
5	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	67.1	70.6	76.2	77.0
6	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	65.5	67.2	69.1	69.4
7	Birmingham, AL	65.4	71.7	72.5	74.0
8	Baton Rouge, LA	64.4	67.8	64.6	64.9
9	Baltimore, MD	64.4	66.1	69.6	72.6
10	New Orleans, LA	64.2	71.4	69.0	69.9
11	St. Louis, MO-IL	64.0	65.5	69.8	74.5
12	Newark, NJ	62.7	66.7	69.4	70.0
13	Mobile, AL	59.9	63.2	66.8	69.6
14	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	59.8	62.3	67.3	68.8
15	Atlanta, GA	59.0	62.6	65.2	70.1
16	New York, NY	58.7	60.4	62.0	63.0
17	Miami, FL	57.8	61.7	63.0	67.1
18	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	56.0	58.9	61.7	66.7
19	Richmond-Petersburg, VA	54.6	58.6	59.4	64.0
20	Columbia, SC	54.2	55.5	57.2	59.4
21	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	52.6	57.7	60.9	63.4
22	Fort Lauderdale, FL	51.5	53.0	55.9	71.3
23	Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC	51.0	52.0	50.6	51.6
24	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	51.0	51.9	53.3	60.6
25	Jacksonville, FL	48.4	51.3	55.9	65.1

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 almost all of these places.

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

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Isolation	2000 Isolation	1990 Isolation	1980 Isolation
26	Kansas City, MO-KS	48.2	53.3	59.8	67.2
27	Louisville, KY-IN	48.1	54.0	59.9	65.3
28	Indianapolis, IN	46.6	52.9	60.1	64.7
29	Greensboro--Winston-Salem--High Point, NC	44.4	49.5	54.5	59.5
30	Columbus, OH	44.1	48.1	52.5	57.3
31	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	44.0	49.6	52.5	57.4
32	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	43.4	49.8	58.5	69.0
33	Pittsburgh, PA	43.4	47.1	51.0	53.6
34	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	41.3	45.8	50.8	54.9
35	Nashville, TN	41.2	45.6	52.2	56.1
36	Houston, TX	40.1	47.3	54.1	66.7
37	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	39.0	40.9	45.9	48.6
38	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	37.9	43.1	47.8	52.6
39	Dallas, TX	37.4	42.0	50.2	66.9
40	Orlando, FL	36.7	40.6	47.3	61.3
41	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	36.5	42.5	49.3	58.5
42	Boston, MA-NH	35.2	38.6	45.2	52.7
43	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC	34.8	38.0	41.0	42.6
44	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	32.1	34.4	42.3	60.3
45	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	29.6	35.1	44.4	62.7
46	Oakland, CA	28.1	34.6	45.6	55.8
47	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	21.8	23.3	24.8	29.7
48	Las Vegas, NV-AZ	17.0	19.2	33.6	50.5
49	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	12.9	14.6	13.8	19.5
50	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	8.5	8.7	13.1	22.7

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 1980-2000. These areas, home to about one in six African Americans, had extreme values of the Dissimilarity Index, dropping only slightly in that period. The 2005-09 ACS data provide a window into this region that could well be described as America's Ghetto Belt.

New findings for these metropolitan regions are provided in Table 3. Six metropolitan areas with segregation indices above 80 in 1980 still have values very close to 80 today. They are particularly important to the black experience because such a large share (more than one in six) of African Americans in metropolitan areas live in these places, especially New York, Chicago, and Detroit.

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

Metropolitan Region	1980			1990			2000			2005-09	
	D	N of blacks		D	N of blacks		D	N of blacks		D	N of blacks
New York, NY	81.6	1,813,191		82.2	1,984,143		81.8	2,217,680		81.8	2,134,556
Chicago, IL	88.3	1,417,694		84.4	1,408,465		80.9	1,575,173		78.1	1,541,842
Detroit, MI	87.5	886,776		87.5	938,161		84.7	1,037,674		79.5	1,021,643
Newark, NJ	82.8	403,504		82.8	400,491		80.4	457,825		79.6	440,625
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	83.9	149,520		82.8	195,247		82.2	240,859		81.0	249,417
Gary, IN	90.8	125,340		89.9	115,786		84.1	125,093		78.8	129,929
Blacks: these 6 regions		4,796,025			5,042,293			5,654,304			5,518,012
Blacks: national total		21,727,185			24,901,421			30,523,642			32,347,066

Hispanic-White Segregation and Isolation

For Hispanics, there has been no appreciable change in segregation since 1980. Figure 4 summarizes the trends in the Index of Dissimilarity. Overall, Hispanic segregation has stayed right around 51 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 also was seen for African Americans. In areas with a smaller Hispanic presence, segregation from whites is lower but the new ACS data show a sharp rise in those places with less than 5% Hispanic residents – precisely the "new destinations" that have become very visible around the country.

Figure 4. Hispanic-White Segregation, 1980 to 2005-09

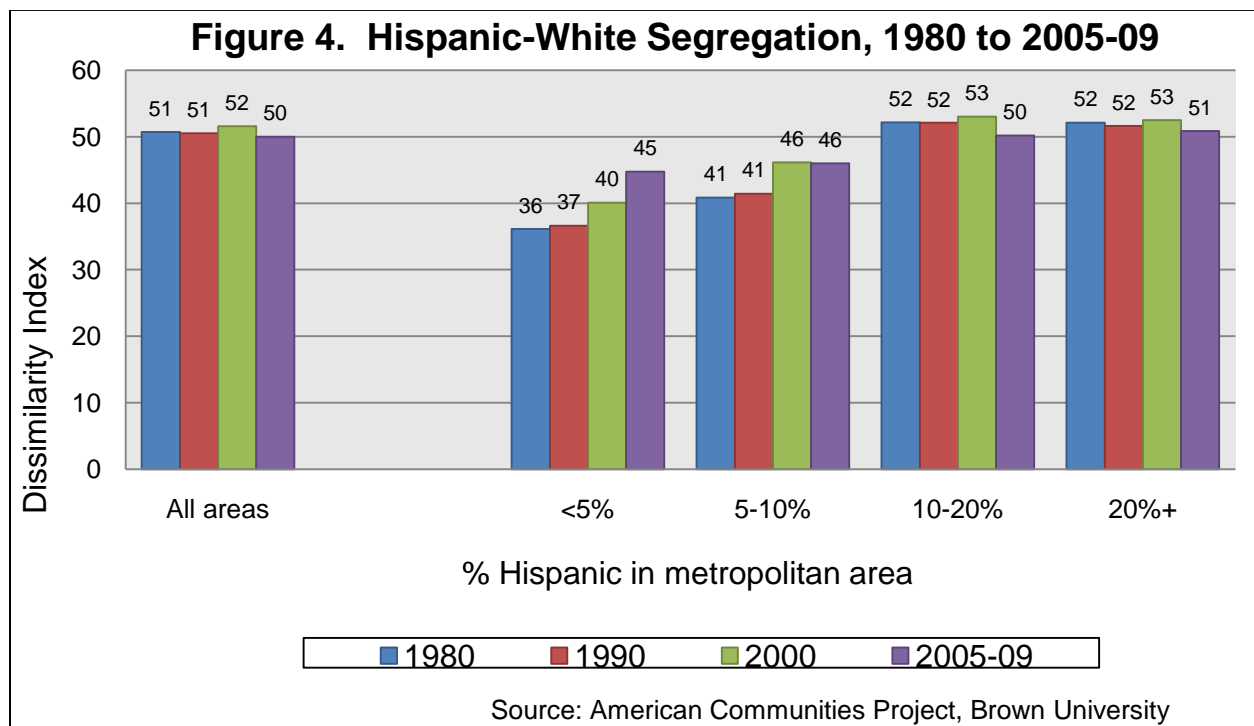Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

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Table 4 lists segregation levels in the 50 metropolitan regions with the most Hispanic residents. Of these, the most segregated are New York, NY; Los Angeles, CA; Newark, NJ; Salinas, CA; Philadelphia, PA; Chicago, IL; Boston, MA; Orange County, CA; Bergen-Passaic, NJ; and Ventura, CA. Hispanic segregation increased in six of these 10 since 1980.

Table 4. Hispanic-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2005-2009

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Segregation	2000 Segregation	1990 Segregation	1980 Segregation
1	New York, NY	65.3	66.7	65.8	65.2
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	63.8	63.2	61.1	57.3
3	Newark, NJ	62.5	65.0	67.0	66.9
4	Salinas, CA	59.9	59.5	57.7	55.2
5	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	59.2	60.2	62.5	62.9
6	Chicago, IL	57.3	62.1	62.8	64.0
7	Boston, MA-NH	57.2	58.8	55.3	55.4
8	Orange County, CA	55.4	56.0	50.4	43.1
9	Bergen-Passaic, NJ	54.5	57.8	58.8	60.9
10	Ventura, CA	54.2	56.3	52.8	54.1
11	Houston, TX	54.0	55.7	49.9	50.4
12	Dallas, TX	52.9	54.1	50.1	48.8
13	Detroit, MI	52.6	45.7	39.8	41.3
14	Bakersfield, CA	52.2	54.0	55.5	54.5
15	San Francisco, CA	51.0	53.9	50.0	45.6
16	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	50.9	52.2	50.0	53.6
17	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	50.8	52.5	48.8	52.5
18	Denver, CO	50.5	50.2	46.7	49.0
19	San Diego, CA	49.6	51.0	45.7	42.3
20	Atlanta, GA	49.5	52.5	36.0	31.3
21	San Jose, CA	49.2	51.6	48.0	45.7
22	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	48.9	47.2	42.5	37.5
23	Oakland, CA	48.4	47.3	39.0	36.6
24	Miami, FL	47.9	44.4	50.8	53.0
25	San Antonio, TX	47.8	51.0	53.6	57.8

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 90% in 2000). More typical at the low end of segregation are Sunbelt metros including Fort Lauderdale, FL; Stockton, CA; Modesto, CA; and Albuquerque, NM; as well as Northwestern metros such as Seattle, WA and Portland, OR. Note a disturbing trend in these later cases, however. Since 1980 segregation soared in both Seattle and Portland. Similar cases are Las Vegas, Orlando, FL, and Washington DC – all metros that initially had quite low values of segregation that rose sharply as the Hispanic population grew.

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

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Segregation	2000 Segregation	1990 Segregation	1980 Segregation
26	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	47.5	48.5	42.8	32.7
27	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	47.1	48.4	45.3	48.4
28	Tucson, AZ	47.0	49.5	50.2	53.7
29	Fresno, CA	46.7	48.3	48.6	47.0
30	Jersey City, NJ	46.2	44.8	42.9	48.7
31	El Paso, TX	43.8	46.3	50.6	54.4
32	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	43.4	43.2	42.7	44.5
33	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT	43.4	42.5	33.0	34.6
34	Austin-San Marcos, TX	43.4	46.5	42.6	46.4
35	Las Vegas, NV-AZ	43.2	42.7	29.9	22.7
36	Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX	43.1	46.5	44.0	39.2
37	Corpus Christi, TX	42.3	46.4	47.8	53.4
38	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	42.2	45.1	45.6	50.5
39	Orlando, FL	41.4	40.7	31.3	30.7
40	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	41.3	43.0	36.5	39.0
41	Sacramento, CA	40.0	39.8	35.7	34.9
42	Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA	39.0	42.7	40.8	39.1
43	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	38.1	44.5	41.0	44.6
44	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	37.9	35.4	26.6	22.1
45	Albuquerque, NM	37.2	40.8	41.5	45.8
46	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	37.1	31.1	21.5	20.1
47	Modesto, CA	35.2	36.1	34.2	37.1
48	Stockton-Lodi, CA	33.3	36.6	36.3	38.1
49	Fort Lauderdale, FL	32.8	31.6	27.0	27.7
50	Laredo, TX	32.7	28.7	34.2	41.9

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Table 5 provides comparable data on Hispanic isolation, which mostly reflects the size of the Hispanic population. Isolation increased in virtually all of the 50 regions on the list, reflecting Hispanic population growth and immigration into mostly established enclaves. It is by far the highest (above 80) in four Texas border regions that are largely Mexican (Laredo, McAllen, Brownsville, and El Paso). Outside of these extreme cases, where increases were limited by the fact that values were already so high, the most remarkable trend shown in this table is the increasing residential isolation among Hispanics.

Table 5. Hispanic-White Isolation in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2005-2009

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Isolation	2000 Isolation	1990 Isolation	1980 Isolation
1	Laredo, TX	94.6	94.5	94.2	92.3
2	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	90.2	89.9	87.3	84.9
3	Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX	88.0	87.5	85.5	81.2
4	El Paso, TX	84.6	82.7	78.0	74.4
5	Miami, FL	74.0	71.3	67.8	58.8
6	Salinas, CA	70.8	68.1	59.0	49.5
7	Corpus Christi, TX	66.7	65.8	64.5	64.7
8	San Antonio, TX	65.9	65.7	65.1	66.3
9	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	65.5	63.3	58.0	50.4
10	Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA	64.5	61.0	50.8	42.3
11	Bakersfield, CA	61.0	56.7	49.3	42.0
12	Fresno, CA	60.6	57.8	51.3	45.5
13	Jersey City, NJ	56.7	55.2	49.6	46.4
14	Ventura, CA	56.6	55.6	47.6	43.1
15	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	54.7	49.8	38.3	32.5
16	Albuquerque, NM	54.5	53.6	50.0	51.9
17	Orange County, CA	54.5	53.7	45.6	32.6
18	Houston, TX	51.1	49.2	40.7	35.9
19	Tucson, AZ	50.1	48.9	45.1	44.5
20	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	49.8	45.8	35.8	34.3
21	Modesto, CA	47.6	41.2	30.4	24.6
22	Chicago, IL	47.4	48.0	42.6	38.1
23	Dallas, TX	47.4	44.8	32.4	24.0
24	New York, NY	46.8	46.3	44.2	40.5
25	San Diego, CA	46.8	43.7	35.3	27.9

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

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Isolation	2000 Isolation	1990 Isolation	1980 Isolation
26	Stockton-Lodi, CA	43.4	38.3	31.8	28.9
27	Austin-San Marcos, TX	43.0	40.2	34.4	36.0
28	San Jose, CA	41.8	41.2	36.4	32.5
29	Bergen-Passaic, NJ	41.7	38.9	34.3	27.7
30	Denver, CO	41.0	37.6	30.4	28.8
31	Las Vegas, NV-AZ	39.9	33.6	16.2	10.1
32	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	39.5	37.0	29.4	25.8
33	Newark, NJ	38.3	35.8	32.8	26.7
34	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	37.7	34.3	27.3	24.0
35	Oakland, CA	34.4	29.8	20.8	17.7
36	Orlando, FL	34.2	27.3	13.5	6.1
37	San Francisco, CA	33.7	34.2	28.6	22.1
38	Fort Lauderdale, FL	30.6	23.0	11.6	5.6
39	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	29.5	22.9	15.8	13.2
40	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	27.2	26.7	27.2	21.3
41	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	26.5	22.9	15.1	9.8
42	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT	25.9	21.5	10.7	9.6
43	Detroit, MI	25.8	19.1	9.9	7.6
44	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	25.7	22.8	18.6	18.5
45	Sacramento, CA	25.1	21.0	16.2	14.2
46	Atlanta, GA	23.9	19.5	5.3	1.9
47	Boston, MA-NH	23.9	21.0	16.1	12.0
48	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	23.8	20.4	13.4	5.2
49	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	18.3	14.5	6.1	2.9
50	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	12.6	7.9	3.5	2.4

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 half the Hispanic population (58.8%) in 1980 lived in metro areas with Hispanic-white segregation of 50 and above. Only 47.7% of Hispanics live in these same areas in the most recent period, which is a drop of more than 10 points. At the same time, the share of Hispanics living in the least segregated regions in 1980 was 20.1%; these same regions account for 30.3% of Hispanics in 2005-2009. 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 could be caused equally 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
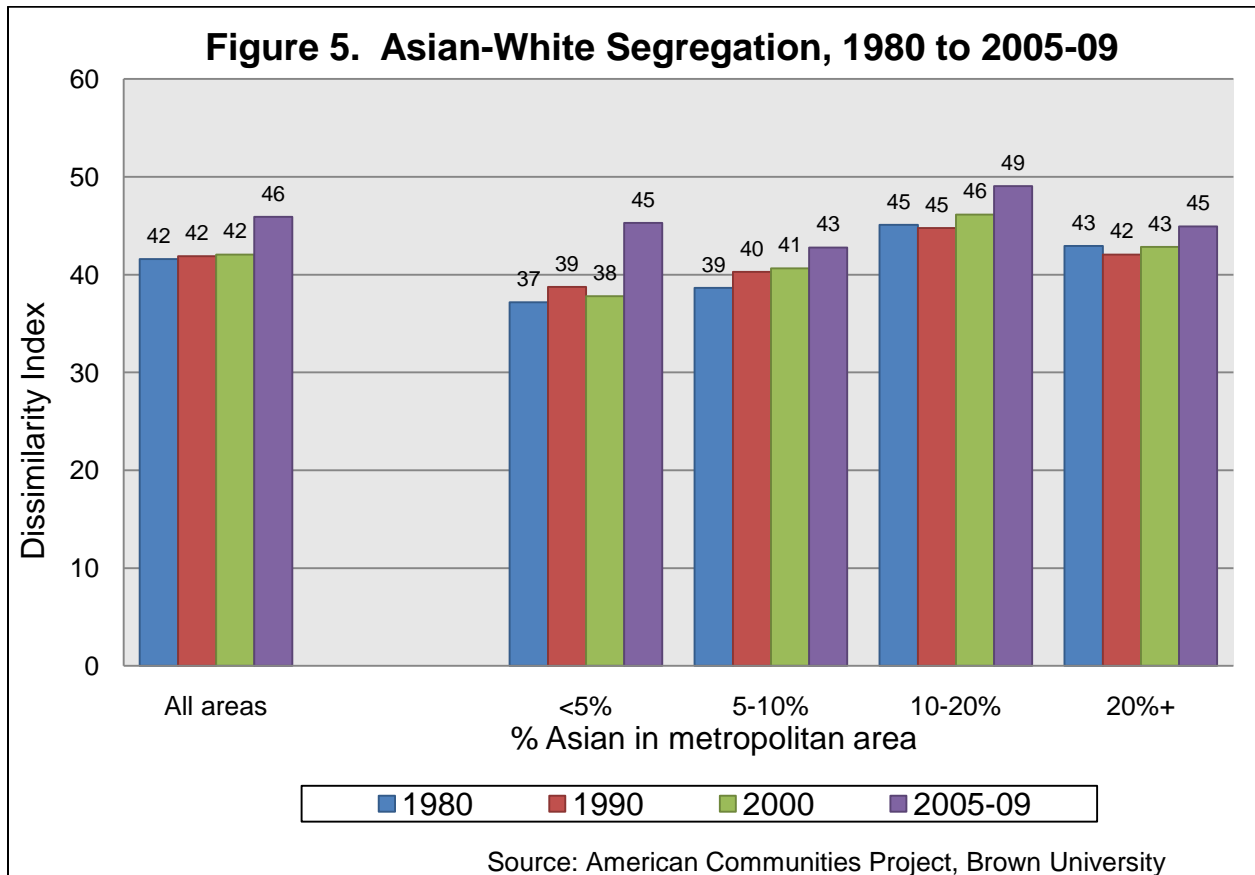with varying levels of segregation in 1980**

1980 Metro Segregation	Year	N of Hispanics	% of Total	Mean Segregation
<40	1980	2,627,423	20.1%	33.6
40-44.9		1,206,773	9.2%	42.9
45-49.9		1,551,078	11.9%	47.2
50+		7,672,167	58.8%	58.5
Total		13,057,441	100.0%	50.7
<40	1990	4,433,345	21.7%	34.9
40-44.9		2,002,411	9.8%	44.4
45-49.9		2,404,166	11.8%	47.2
50+		11,616,063	56.8%	58.2
Total		20,455,985	100.0%	50.5
<40	2000	8,562,499	26.6%	40.7
40-44.9		3,155,020	9.8%	48.1
45-49.9		3,987,857	12.4%	50.1
50+		16,466,373	51.2%	58.2
Total		32,171,749	100.0%	51.6
<40	2005-09	12,534,013	30.3%	41.1
40-44.9		3,951,678	9.5%	46.8
45-49.9		5,180,531	12.5%	48.5
50+		19,753,745	47.7%	56.7
Total		41,419,967	100.0%	50.0

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 33.6 in 1980; the same regions averaged 41.1 in 2005-09. At the same time, segregation in the most segregated regions remained fixed at near 58. 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 close to 40, and it remained unchanged between 1980 and 2000. However, as Figure 5 illustrates, there was an increase in the post-2000 period. As a result, Asians are now nearly as segregated as Hispanics.

Figure 5. Asian-White Segregation, 1980 to 2005-09

Dissimilarity Index vs % Asian in metropolitan area

% Asian	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
All areas	42	42	42	46
<5%	37	39	38	45
5-10%	39	40	41	43
10-20%	45	45	46	49
20%+	43	42	43	45

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

The jump in Asian segregation was especially large in those areas with less than 5% Asian residents – the same phenomenon observed with Hispanics. These areas that previously had the lowest levels of segregation now are at about the national average.

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 Detroit, MI; New York, NY; Los Angeles, CA; Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA; Sacramento, CA; San Diego, CA; San Francisco, CA; Stockton-Lodi, CA; Houston, TX; and Fort Worth-Arlington, TX. Segregation increased substantially in eight of these places.

Much lower segregation is found in Denver, CO and Las Vegas. However, even these areas follow the nearly uniform trend of increasing segregation.

Table 7. Asian-White Segregation (D) in 40 Metro Areas with Largest Asian Populations in 2005-2009

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Segregation	2000 Segregation	1990 Segregation	1980 Segregation
1	Detroit, MI	55.9	45.9	43.2	41.0
2	New York, NY	54.0	50.5	48.1	49.3
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	51.5	48.3	46.3	47.6
4	Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA	51.1	47.2	46.4	42.3
5	Sacramento, CA	50.6	49.1	49.5	49.0
6	San Diego, CA	49.8	47.0	48.2	46.0
7	San Francisco, CA	49.6	48.7	50.2	51.3
8	Stockton-Lodi, CA	49.5	49.5	56.3	42.8
9	Houston, TX	49.3	49.4	46.9	43.9
10	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	47.8	42.2	41.4	37.2
11	Atlanta, GA	46.8	45.2	42.7	38.7
12	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	46.7	43.8	43.6	40.4
13	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	46.4	42.7	41.6	30.1
14	Dallas, TX	46.1	45.0	42.7	39.2
15	Boston, MA-NH	45.5	44.9	44.3	48.5
16	Jersey City, NJ	45.2	44.7	42.5	48.2
17	Baltimore, MD	44.9	39.4	38.7	38.2
18	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	44.7	42.9	36.9	35.5
19	Chicago, IL	44.6	44.4	45.8	47.2
20	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	44.4	35.6	32.8	31.0
21	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	44.4	41.4	43.4	40.9
22	San Jose, CA	44.0	41.7	38.9	32.0
23	Orange County, CA	44.0	40.3	33.8	28.4
24	Oakland, CA	43.8	41.5	39.8	38.4
25	Austin-San Marcos, TX	42.8	40.9	40.5	36.8
26	Honolulu, HI	42.8	40.6	39.6	42.6
27	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	41.0	37.8	34.7	31.0
28	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	41.0	39.2	36.2	33.2
29	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	40.0	34.2	35.2	37.9
30	Newark, NJ	39.8	35.2	31.1	31.3
31	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	39.8	34.3	35.3	33.9
32	Fresno, CA	39.5	39.2	46.0	29.4
33	Fort Lauderdale, FL	39.4	28.2	25.2	27.9
34	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	39.3	32.1	31.8	29.5
35	Bergen-Passaic, NJ	38.8	36.1	34.5	34.3
36	Orlando, FL	38.7	35.9	31.8	33.3
37	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	38.0	35.1	37.1	39.6
38	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	37.2	28.1	28.6	27.4
39	Denver, CO	36.6	30.0	29.9	26.7
40	Las Vegas, NV-AZ	35.2	29.5	28.9	23.4

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Table 8. Asian-White Isolation in 40 Metro Areas with Largest Asian Populations in 2005-2009

2005-09 Rank	Area name	2005-2009 Isolation	2000 Isolation	1990 Isolation	1980 Isolation
1	Honolulu, HI	62.6	75.3	68.4	65.7
2	San Jose, CA	43.2	37.9	24.6	10.5
3	San Francisco, CA	41.6	39.6	35.2	29.0
4	Oakland, CA	33.1	29.4	20.6	12.0
5	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	31.6	28.7	22.0	14.8
6	New York, NY	30.2	26.5	20.1	15.9
7	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	28.9	23.3	11.8	3.6
8	Orange County, CA	28.8	25.7	16.1	6.3
9	Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA	25.2	23.8	21.3	11.5
10	Jersey City, NJ	24.6	20.2	14.0	7.1
11	Stockton-Lodi, CA	23.7	23.3	25.2	10.1
12	San Diego, CA	23.0	21.7	17.0	10.0
13	Bergen-Passaic, NJ	21.4	16.4	9.7	3.8
14	Sacramento, CA	21.0	19.6	16.0	12.6
15	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	19.6	18.6	14.8	11.4
16	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	16.0	13.8	9.0	4.9
17	Houston, TX	15.9	14.6	9.6	5.2
18	Chicago, IL	15.5	14.8	11.4	8.4
19	Dallas, TX	14.6	10.8	6.1	2.0
20	Fresno, CA	14.3	13.5	16.5	4.2
21	Boston, MA-NH	14.3	12.5	10.2	11.3
22	Detroit, MI	13.4	8.1	4.1	2.1
23	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	13.1	11.9	10.8	1.6
24	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	12.3	8.2	5.0	2.1
25	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	12.1	10.6	6.7	2.7
26	Newark, NJ	11.8	9.0	5.2	2.3
27	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	11.6	10.1	6.7	3.5
28	Las Vegas, NV-AZ	11.2	8.8	4.2	2.4
29	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	10.7	9.3	5.5	3.0
30	Atlanta, GA	10.6	8.4	4.5	1.4
31	Austin-San Marcos, TX	10.3	9.0	5.6	1.9
32	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	10.1	7.1	4.0	1.5
33	Baltimore, MD	8.9	6.7	3.8	2.0
34	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	8.1	8.2	6.4	2.0
35	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	7.1	6.3	4.9	3.7
36	Orlando, FL	6.1	5.2	2.8	1.3
37	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	5.9	4.4	3.0	1.2
38	Denver, CO	5.9	5.2	3.4	1.8
39	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	5.6	3.9	2.1	0.8
40	Fort Lauderdale, FL	5.3	3.6	1.8	0.7

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. There are eight other metros where on average, Asians live in tracts that are more than 25% Asian. The four highest of these are in California: San Jose and San Francisco (more than 40%), Oakland and Los Angeles. Others are New York NY; Middlesex NJ; Orange County CA; and Vallejo CA. The increases in some of these places are dramatic: from 11% in 1980 to 43% in 2005-2009 for San Jose, from 12% to 33% for Oakland, from 6% to 29% for Orange County. 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	252,038	8.3%	27.4
30-34.9		436,206	14.3%	32.4
35-39.9		439,508	14.4%	38.2
40+		1,925,187	63.1%	46.3
Total		3,052,939	100.0%	41.6
<30	1990	680,347	10.3%	32.4
30-34.9		1,167,545	17.7%	36.7
35-39.9		1,054,434	16.0%	38.9
40+		3,680,596	55.9%	46.1
Total		6,582,922	100.0%	41.9
<30	2000	1,311,465	11.6%	33.2
30-34.9		2,194,030	19.4%	37.9
35-39.9		2,070,037	18.3%	39.5
40+		5,708,971	50.6%	46.7
Total		11,284,503	100.0%	42.1
<30	2005-09	1,487,903	11.5%	39.4
30-34.9		2,652,031	20.5%	42.3
35-39.9		2,523,181	19.5%	44.1
40+		6,244,053	48.4%	49.8
Total		12,907,168	100.0%	45.9

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 (63.1%) lived in areas with a value of D greater than 40 in 1980. For 2005-2009, only 48.4% of Asians lived in the same set of metro areas. But again as is true for Hispanics, segregation was more likely to rise in the areas to which Asians were moving. However, in this case segregation has risen in all of these categories of metros, and the dispersion of Asians toward lower segregated regions has not been sufficient to offset it.

Discussion

This report uses new ACS data to provide important information about trends in residential segregation over the 1980 to 2005-2009 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 choices of where to live in terms of affordability; 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 a black 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 country is far from post-racial 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 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 neighborhoods with 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 in the long run. 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.

One caveat is in order regarding the time frame covered by the new ACS data analyzed here. They include interviews conducted between 2005 and 2009, a period in which the nation's economy and housing markets have been in considerable turmoil. Job and housing losses have undoubtedly had significant impacts on racial and ethnic residential patterns, especially in many Sunbelt metropolitan regions, and the effects may have differed by race and Hispanic origin. A better gauge of conditions at this time will be available soon from Census 2010, to be released early in 2011. For these reasons the findings here should be thought of as preliminary: a first insight into post-2000 trends but not the last word.

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.

Segregation and Isolation Weighted Averages, 1980 to 2005-2009

	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009
Whites				
Dissimilarity with Blacks	69.7	64.3	60.0	60.0
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	41.6	41.5	45.2	46.9
Dissimilarity with Asians	38.5	39.9	39.0	46.1
The average white lives in a neighborhood with:				
a % white of	88.4	85.2	80.3	77.0
a % black of	4.9	5.7	6.7	7.1
a % Hispanic of	4.6	5.9	7.9	9.7
a % Asian of	1.4	2.6	3.9	4.2
Blacks				
Dissimilarity with Whites	73.6	68.7	65.2	62.7
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	61.2	58.6	53.0	53.1
Dissimilarity with Asians	73.2	67.7	62.0	64.5
The average black lives in a neighborhood with:				
a % white of	30.6	33.2	32.8	33.6
a % black of	61.6	55.8	51.5	48.0
a % Hispanic of	6.1	8.4	11.4	13.5
a % Asian of	1.0	2.1	3.3	3.4

Segregation and Isolation Weighted Averages, 1980 to 2005-2009 (continued)

	Total metro area			
	1980	1990	2000	2005-2009
Hispanics				
Dissimilarity with Whites	50.7	50.5	51.6	50.0
Dissimilarity with Blacks	60.6	54.0	49.2	50.4
Dissimilarity with Asians	51.9	49.9	49.6	53.1
The average Hispanic lives				
in a neighborhood with:				
a % white of	47.3	41.8	36.5	35.7
a % black of	10.1	10.2	10.8	10.5
a % Hispanic of	38.4	42.4	45.5	46.3
a % Asian of	2.8	4.9	5.9	5.6
Asians				
Dissimilarity with Whites	41.6	41.9	42.1	45.9
Dissimilarity with Blacks	65.9	59.1	54.2	59.5
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	44.6	44.8	46.2	51.6
The average Asian lives				
in a neighborhood with:				
a % white of	61.5	57.9	52.0	49.5
a % black of	7.1	7.9	8.8	8.5
a % Hispanic of	11.9	15.1	16.8	18.0
a % Asian of	17.6	18.5	21.0	21.4

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University