

The New Metro Minority Map: Regional Shifts in Hispanics, Asians, and Blacks from Census 2010

William H. Frey

FINDINGS

An analysis of 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial census data for the 100 largest U.S. metropolitan areas indicates that:

- **Non-whites and Hispanics accounted for 98 percent of population growth in large metro areas from 2000 to 2010.** Forty-two of the 100 largest metro areas lost white population, and 22 now have “majority minority” populations. Smaller metro areas and areas outside of metropolitan regions, by contrast, remain overwhelmingly white.
- **Nearly half of Hispanics live in just 10 large metro areas, but those metro areas accounted for only 36 percent of Hispanic growth over the past decade.** Meanwhile, 29 of the 100 largest metro areas more than doubled their Hispanic populations; in two-thirds of these, Mexican Americans contributed most to Hispanic growth.
- **Asians are even more concentrated than Hispanics, with one-third living in just three metro areas: Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco.** While Chinese Americans remain the largest origin group among Asians, Asian Indians are dispersing more rapidly and accounted for more growth than other Asian groups in 63 of the 100 largest metro areas.
- **Three-quarters of black population gains from 2000 to 2010 occurred in the South.** Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston led all metropolitan areas in black population gains at the same time that black population dropped in metropolitan New York, Chicago, and Detroit for the first time.
- **Average neighborhood segregation levels held steady for Hispanics and Asians but declined for blacks from 2000 to 2010.** Older and northern metropolitan areas continue to register the highest segregation levels for minority groups. Despite recent declines, blacks remain more residentially segregated than either Hispanics or Asians.

This report shows how the rapid growth of Hispanic and Asian origin groups and new internal shifts of African Americans are transforming the racial and ethnic demographic profiles of America’s largest metropolitan areas ahead of other parts of the country.

“The 2010 census reveals a broad sweep of racial and ethnic change that has made its greatest imprint on the nation’s largest metropolitan areas.”

INTRODUCTION

The 2010 census shows strikingly that the first decade of the 21st century was pivotal for racial and ethnic change in the United States, indicating a clear break from the past.¹ The aging white population grew by only 1.2 percent over the 10-year period, giving way to the younger “new minority” growth engines, fueled by both recent immigration and natural increase. The two largest of these new minorities, Hispanics and Asians, each grew about 43 percent—together accounting for more than 60 percent of the nation’s population growth over the last decade. Blacks, growing at 12 percent, contributed far less, making the old image of a largely white-black U.S. population more than obsolete.

Yet this new sweep of diversity is not affecting all parts of the country evenly—a fact that has created wedge issues across many segments of society. An earlier State of Metropolitan America report showed that racial and ethnic shifts are much more prevalent among youth than among older age groups, leading to the potential emergence of cultural generation gaps.² This report takes a spatial perspective to illuminate how the largest new minorities—Hispanics and Asians—though relatively concentrated in a few large metropolitan areas, are gradually spreading out to new destinations.

Understanding this contemporary diaspora requires a more detailed focus on the origin and nationality of the new minorities. Many observers conflate Hispanic growth patterns with Mexican Americans, the largest single group of Hispanics as defined by the census. This report examines the degree to which the latter are propelling overall dispersal and where these patterns lie. Compared with Hispanics, Asian Americans are less dominated by a single ethnic group and have been altered more substantially by recent immigrants from several origins. The composition of the Asian populations, and the specific origin groups driving its dispersion during a decade when this population grew most rapidly, is explored in this report.

Despite the large contributions of Hispanics and Asians to recent growth, blacks still remain the dominant minority in many metropolitan areas. The black population is particularly noteworthy this past decade for its shifts across metro areas within the United States, and for its accelerating return to the South.

Following a discussion of methods and data, the findings detail how sharply these new minority growth patterns alter the demographic profiles of large metropolitan areas and reduce the white population presence in many of them. This is followed by an examination of neighborhood residential segregation of Hispanics, Asians and blacks in large metropolitan areas. The report concludes with a brief discussion of what these large metropolitan area racial and ethnic changes imply for the new social and economic realities facing these areas, and other parts of the country.

METHODOLOGY

Data sources

Data for this study draw from U.S. decennial censuses of 1990, 2000, and 2010.³

Racial and ethnic classifications

The decennial census asks two separate questions on race and ethnicity.⁴ The first asks the respondent whether he/she is of Hispanic or Latino origin. Hispanics can identify several subgroups. This report examines in detail the largest numeric Hispanic subgroups: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. People who identify as Hispanic or Latino may be of any race.

The second question asks the respondent to identify his/her race; options on the 2010 decennial form include (among others) white, black/African American, Asian (with several sub-groups), American Indians, some other race, and one or more races. Following convention in earlier reports, this report focuses on non-Hispanic members of each race group, specifically non-Hispanic whites, blacks, and Asians. Section C and Appendix C are exceptions, focusing on all Asians (both Hispanic and non-Hispanic) as well as the largest numeric Asian subgroups--Asian Indians and Chinese. Throughout, the report uses the term “new minorities” to refer to groups other than non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks.

Geography

The geographic units employed for most of this analysis are the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget in December 2010. Segregation indices (see below) use census tracts to represent neighborhoods. Census tracts are small subdivisions of counties with an average of about 4,000 inhabitants.

Segregation

The measure of neighborhood racial/ethnic segregation used in this report, termed the "segregation index" (in Figure 4, Table 4, and Appendix E), is the index of dissimilarity. The dissimilarity index measures the difference in the location of two groups (e.g., blacks and whites) across neighborhoods within a metropolitan area. Values range from 0 to 100 where 0 represents complete integration and 100 represents complete segregation. The value can be interpreted as the percentage of one group that would have to change neighborhoods to be residentially distributed exactly the same as the other group. Segregation index levels of at least 60 are considered high and those of at least 70 or are considered extreme.⁵ Segregation levels for a minority group are not affected by its relative size in a metropolitan area, but only by its similar or dissimilar residential distribution in relation to whites. Average segregation levels for minority groups reported here reflect the average of segregation levels in each of the 100 largest metropolitan areas.

FINDINGS

A. Non-whites and Hispanics accounted for 98 percent of population growth in large metro areas from 2000 to 2010.

Large metropolitan areas have traditionally been the nexus of minority settlement in the United States, starting with immigrant waves in the early 20th century, and continuing through mid-century with African American movement to northern cities. Not surprisingly, new minorities with substantial immigrant roots are concentrating in large metropolitan areas at higher rates than the general population.

Shifts in the composition of the nation's 100 largest metro areas make this plain (Figure 1a). Between 1990 and 2010, the combined white share of population in these metro areas decreased from 71 percent to 57 percent. Over the same period, Hispanics grew from 11 percent to 20 percent of population across these metro areas. Meanwhile, the white share of population in smaller metro areas and outside of metro territory declined, but remains much higher, at 73 percent and 80 percent, respectively.

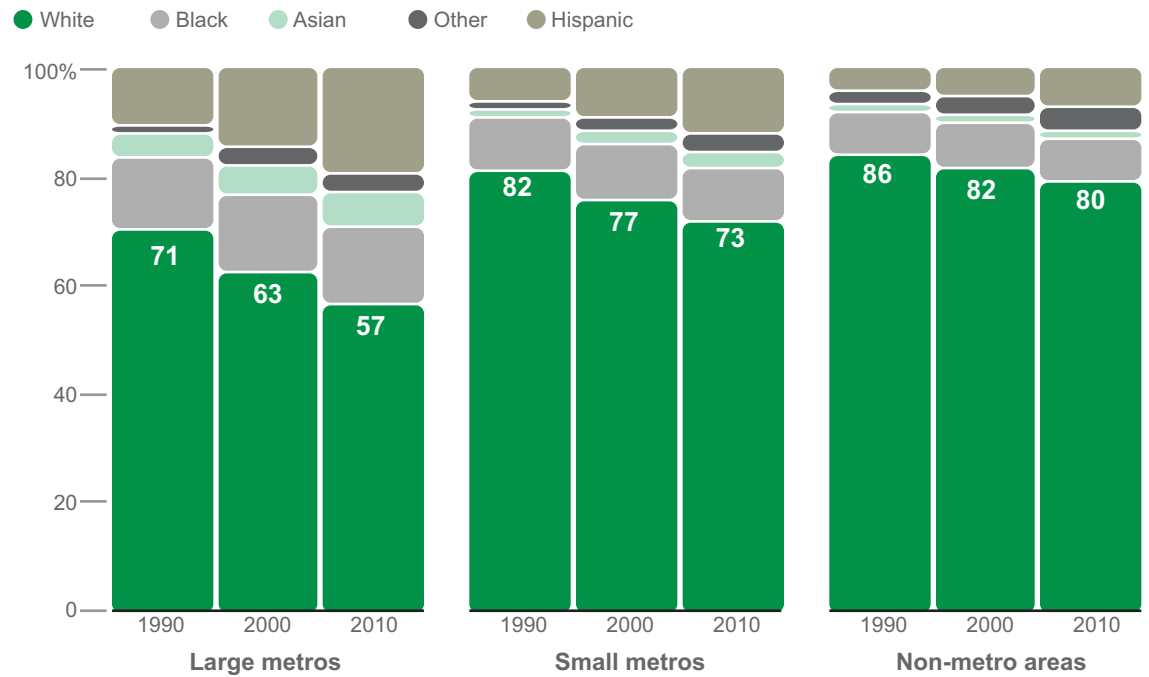
Population growth trends over the past decade accentuated these racial and ethnic differences between large metro areas and other parts of the nation (Figure 1b). Gains among Hispanics, Asians, and blacks were much greater in large metro areas. By contrast, gains for whites were greatest in smaller metro areas. The white population grew about the same outside of metro areas as in large metro areas.

By 2010, minorities (non-whites and Hispanics) comprised more than half the population in 22 of the 100 largest metro areas, up from 14 areas in 2000 and just five in 1990. Among the newcomers to this category are metropolitan New York, Washington D.C., San Diego, Las Vegas, and Memphis (Map 1). Overall, most of these "majority minority" metro areas are located in California and Texas, where Hispanics dominate the minority population. The more recent spread to other parts of the South and the Eastern seaboard could "tip" Atlanta and Orlando, as well as Dallas, to metropolitan majority-minority populations before the next census. Metropolitan Chicago, at 55 percent white in 2010, could very well experience a similar result.

The role of minorities in driving population growth and defining metropolitan character goes beyond these "majority minority" metro areas. Each of the 100 large metro areas showed declines in its white population share from 2000 to 2010. In 65 metro areas, the decline was at least 5 percentage points, led by Las Vegas with a 12 percentage-point decline (from 60 percent in 2000 to 48 percent in 2010). Metropolitan areas on the periphery of greater New York, including Allentown, PA (from 87 percent to 79 percent) and New Haven, CT (from 75 percent to 68 percent) showed significant shifts during the decade as well (see Appendix A).

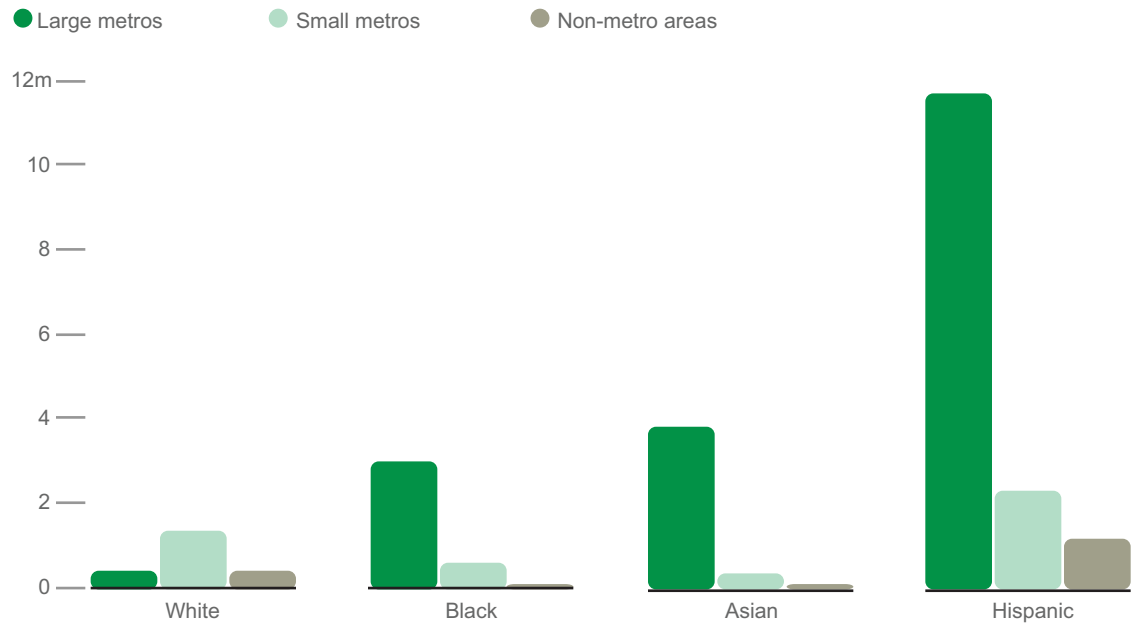
Many metropolitan areas showed not only declines in the white share of population, but also absolute declines in white population. White populations shrank from 2000 to 2010 in fully 42 of the 100 largest metro areas. Patterns of white population increase and decline do not exactly parallel overall population trends (Map 2). Some of the largest white decliners, such as New York and Los Angeles, are experiencing

Figure 1a: Population by Race/Ethnicity and Metropolitan Status, 1990-2010



Source: Author's analysis of 1990, 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

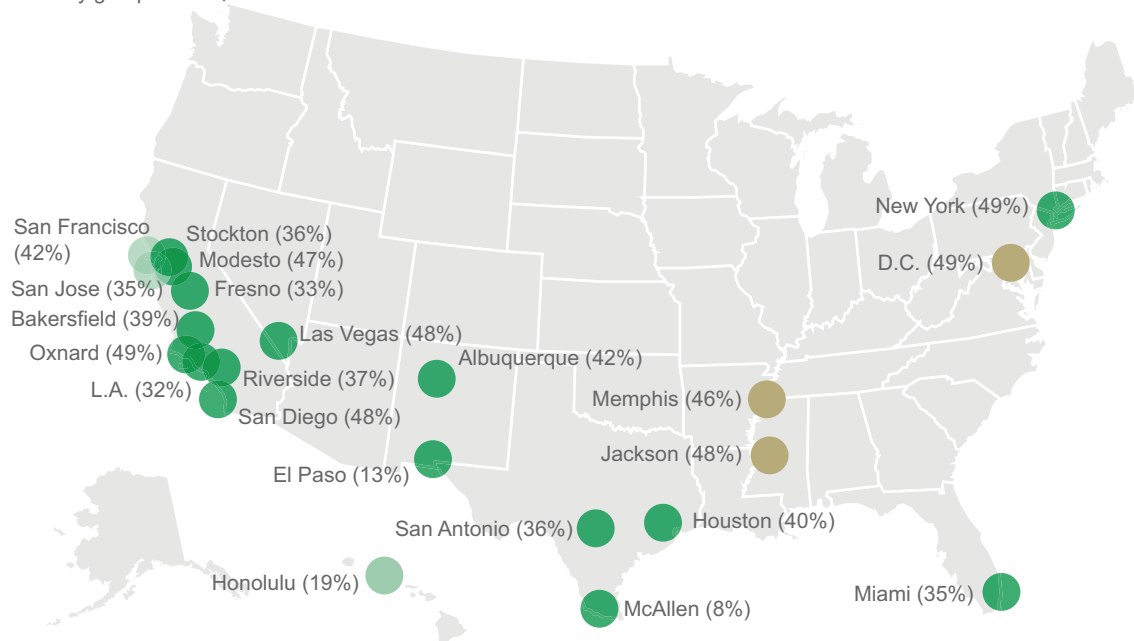
Figure 1b: Population Change by Race/Ethnicity and Metropolitan Status, 2000-2010



Source: Author's analysis of 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

Map 1: Metro Areas with Minority White Populations, 2010

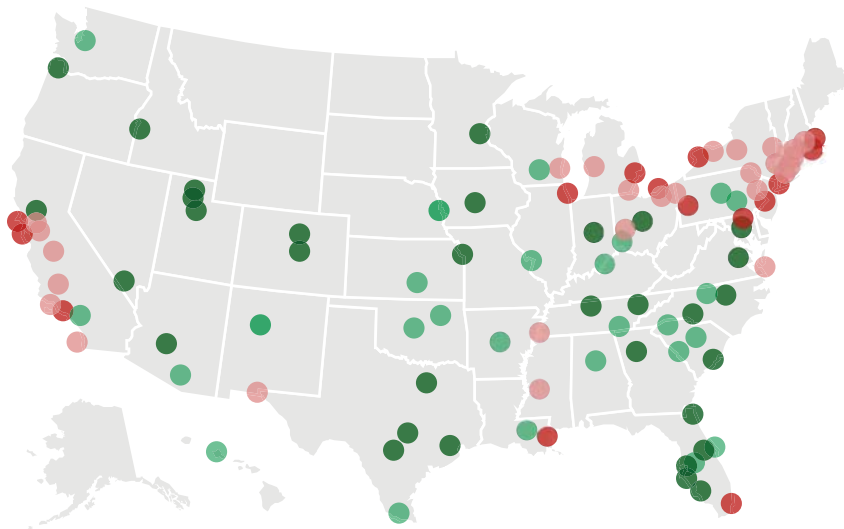
White share of population shown in parentheses after metro name. Circles are colored according to the most populous minority group: ● Hispanic ● Asian ● Black



Source: Author's analysis of 2010 decennial census data

Map 2: White Population Change, 2000-2010

White population change, 2000-2010: **Gains** (Green) >50,000, 0 to 50,000; **Declines** (Red) 0 to 50,000, >50,000



Top 5 Gainers:

Phoenix	+320,370
Austin	+180,172
Dallas	+158,283
Raleigh	+155,518
Charlotte	+153,147

Top 5 Decliners:

New York	-558,563
Los Angeles	-361,772
Miami	-267,991
Detroit	-194,535
Chicago	-193,010

Source: Author's analysis of 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

Table 1. Metro Areas with Largest Hispanic Populations, 2010, and Increases in Hispanic Population, 2000-2010

Size Rank			Metro Area Name*	Hispanics, 2010	Share of Hispanic Population			
2010	2000	1990			Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other
1	1	1	Los Angeles, CA	5,700,862	77	1	1	22
2	2	2	New York, NY	4,327,560	13	27	3	57
3	3	3	Miami, FL	2,312,929	6	9	42	43
4	5	5	Houston, TX	2,099,412	75	1	1	22
5	6	6	Riverside, CA	1,996,402	86	1	1	12
6	4	4	Chicago, IL	1,957,080	79	10	1	10
7	7	8	Dallas, TX	1,752,166	83	2	1	14
8	9	12	Phoenix, AZ	1,235,718	86	2	1	11
9	8	7	San Antonio, TX	1,158,148	84	2	0	14
10	10	9	San Diego, CA	991,348	88	2	1	10

Change Rank		Metro Area Name*	Hispanic Change, 2000-2010	Share of Hispanic Change, 2000-2010			
2000s	1990s			Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Other
1	7	Riverside, CA	767,440	94	1	1	4
2	2	New York, NY	760,983	33	0	1	67
3	5	Houston, TX	745,935	79	2	1	18
4	4	Dallas, TX	634,449	90	3	1	7
5	6	Miami, FL	608,865	7	8	42	43
6	1	Los Angeles, CA	583,070	105	2	1	-8
7	3	Chicago, IL	462,377	93	5	1	1
8	8	Phoenix, AZ	418,706	96	3	1	0
9	14	Washington, DC	341,107	16	5	1	77
10	13	San Antonio, TX	294,986	125	3	1	-29

Source: Author's analysis of 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial census data

*Metro area names abbreviated

Hispanic and Asian population growth even as whites depart due especially to housing affordability pressures exacerbated by the mid-decade housing bubble. White losses from other areas, such as Detroit and Cleveland, reflect long-standing, broad-based regional economic challenges.

Metropolitan areas that gained large numbers of whites during the 2000s are located in the Mountain West and Southeast, areas that also attracted minorities. Only nine large metro areas gained more whites than minorities from 2000 to 2010. Those include Provo, Boise, Charleston, and Nashville. While Phoenix, Austin, Dallas, and Raleigh gained the most whites overall, their minority gains were even larger.

The growth of new minorities also altered the complexion of minority populations in many large metro areas. Among the 100 largest metropolitan areas, Hispanics now represent the largest minority group in 52, followed by blacks in 44 and Asians in eight. Since 2000, Hispanics gained the minority advantage from blacks in 10 metropolitan areas, including Chicago, New Haven, and Oklahoma City.

B. Nearly half of Hispanics live in just 10 large metro areas, but those metro areas accounted for only 36 percent of Hispanic growth over the past decade.

Like many immigrant ethnic groups before them, Hispanics began settling in the United States in areas with large numbers of other Hispanics. Friends, family, and other informal networks helped to direct newcomers to major metropolitan areas where same-nationality communities and institutions evolved. For Mexicans, these areas included Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago, San Antonio, and other areas in southern California and the Southwest. Puerto Ricans settled in New York and other Northeastern metro areas. Cubans settled in Miami, and many other Central and South Americans settled in both eastern and western metro areas.

Notwithstanding recent dispersal of Hispanics nationwide, by 2010, the 10 largest Hispanic settlement metro areas still housed 47 percent of the nation's Hispanic population (Table 1).⁶ The two largest areas, Los Angeles and New York, accounted for fully one-fifth of U.S. Hispanics. The metropolitan areas with the largest concentrations of Hispanics, with the exception of Miami and Chicago, are located primarily in California, Texas, and the Southwest.

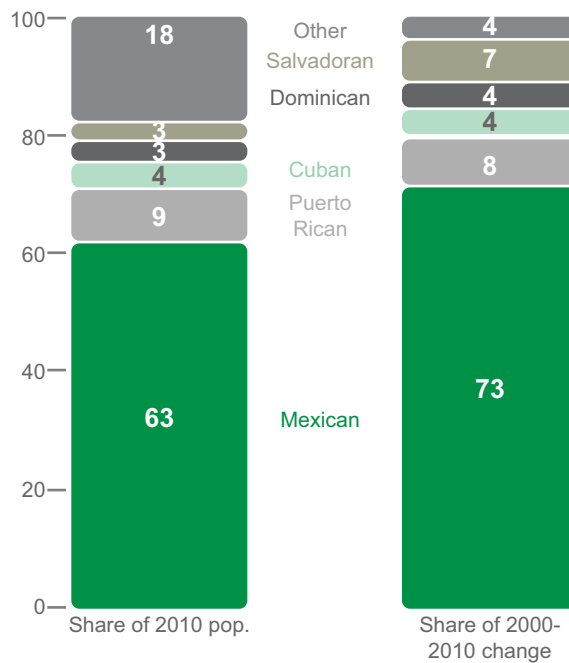
Still, the Hispanic population spread well beyond these major settlement areas over the last decade. Despite accounting for nearly half of all Hispanics in 2010, these 10 metro areas accounted for only 36 percent of U.S. Hispanic growth from 2000 to 2010. Los Angeles, for example, which houses the nation's largest Hispanic population, showed far less growth in that population during the 2000s than nearby Riverside, as well as four other non-California metro areas.

Hispanics now account for more than 10 percent of the populations in nearly half (49) of the 100 largest metro areas, up from 35 areas in 2000 and 26 in 1990. These metro areas include a swath of places stretching from New England to the Southeast, Midwest, and Mountain West, such as Hartford, Raleigh, Bradenton-Sarasota, Wichita, and Boise.

Mexican Americans remain an important engine for this growth. They comprised 63 percent of the nation's Hispanic population in 2010, but accounted for nearly three-quarters of Hispanic growth in the 2000s, with the remainder split among Salvadorans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, and other Hispanic groups (Figure 2). Mexicans accounted for the lion's share of gains in 7 of the 10 metro areas posting the largest numeric gains in Hispanics (Appendix B).

Perhaps more importantly, Mexican Americans fueled growth in metro areas experiencing the fastest increases in Hispanic population. Demand for workers in construction, retail, and lower-end services industries drew Mexican-origin Hispanics from abroad as well as from traditional settlement areas.⁷ Among the 29 large metro areas that doubled their Hispanic populations during this decade, Mexican Americans accounted for most of the growth in 19. With the exception of Scranton and Indianapolis, metro areas with the fastest Hispanic growth in the 2000s are located in the South and especially the Southeast (Map 3). Many areas like Charlotte and Raleigh experienced considerable overall population growth, raising the demand for Hispanic labor. While the late-decade recession dampened some of this growth in new settlement areas, eventual economic recovery could very well spur further Hispanic dispersion.⁸

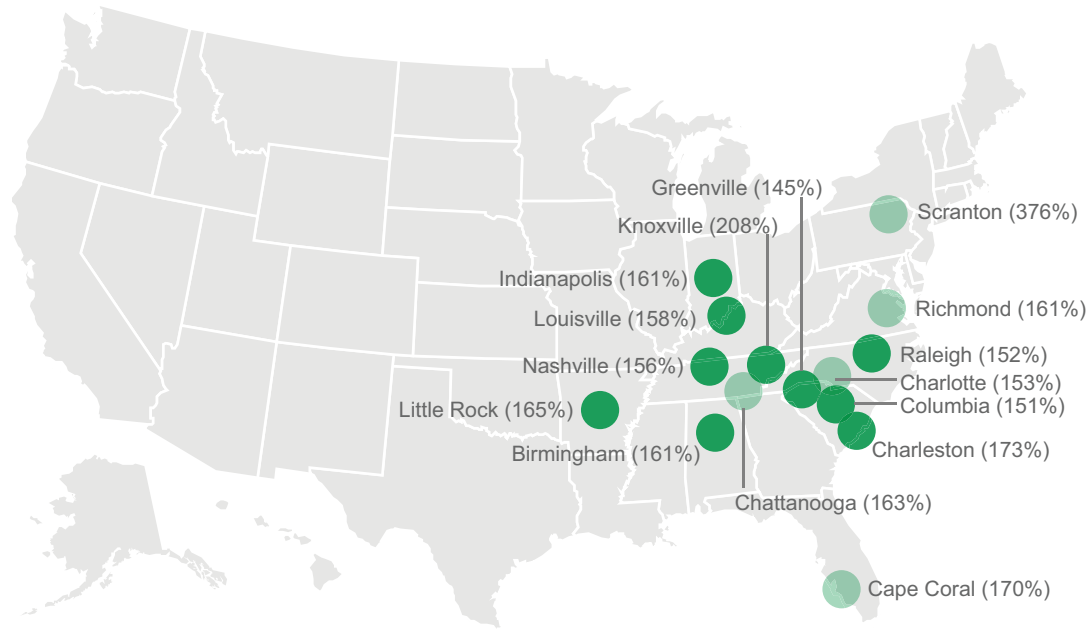
Figure 2: Hispanic Population 2010, and 2000-2010 Change by Origin



Source: Author's analysis of 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

Map 3: Metro Areas with Fastest Growing Hispanic Populations, 2000-2010

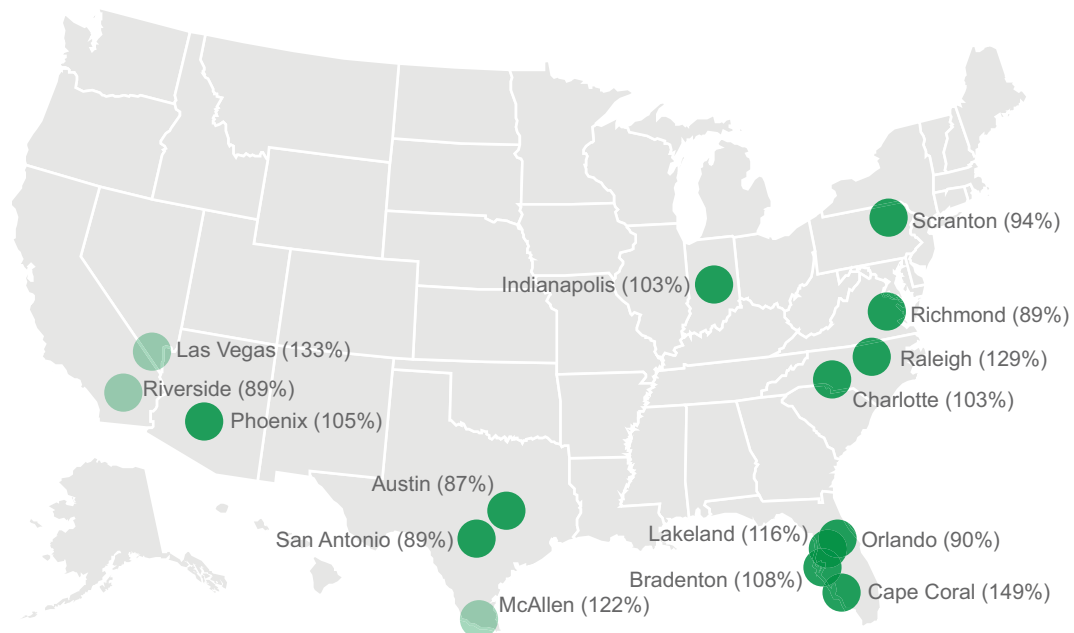
Hispanic growth rate shown in parentheses after metro name. Circles are colored according to the Mexican contribution to Hispanic growth: ● >50% ● <50%



Source: Author's analysis of 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

Map 4: Metro Areas with Fastest Growing Asian Populations, 2000-2010

Asian growth percentage shown in parentheses after metro name. Circles are colored according to the Indian contribution to Asian growth: ● >25% ● <25%



Source: Author's analysis of 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

Table 2. Metro Areas with Largest Asian Populations, 2010, and Increases in Asian Population, 2000-2010

Size Rank		Metro Area Name*	Asians, 2010	Share of Asian Population, 2010						
2010	2000			Asian Indian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese	Other
1	1	Los Angeles, CA	1,884,669	6	25	21	7	16	14	10
2	2	New York, NY	1,878,261	28	35	10	2	11	1	12
3	3	San Francisco, CA	1,005,823	12	43	24	4	4	6	8
4	4	San Jose, CA	571,967	21	27	15	4	5	22	6
5	6	Chicago, IL	532,801	32	17	21	3	10	4	13
6	7	Washington, DC	517,458	25	18	11	2	15	11	17
7	5	Honolulu, HI	418,410	0	12	34	36	5	2	10
8	8	Seattle, WA	392,961	13	20	17	7	13	14	15
9	10	Houston, TX	389,007	24	19	10	1	4	27	16
10	12	Dallas, TX	341,503	29	14	7	2	8	21	18

Change Rank		Metro Area Name*	Asian Change, 2000-2010	Share of Asian Change, 2000-2010						
2000s				Asian Indian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese	Other
1		New York, NY	522,319	29	32	7	0	9	1	22
2		Los Angeles, CA	360,384	9	23	23	-2	17	16	13
3		San Francisco, CA	214,160	22	38	16	-2	4	6	14
4		Washington, DC	188,352	30	15	11	0	13	8	24
5		Houston, TX	160,663	25	15	11	0	3	25	22
6		Dallas, TX	146,257	35	10	7	0	7	17	24
7		Chicago, IL	144,597	38	17	18	-2	5	4	19
8		San Jose, CA	140,595	36	26	8	-2	4	18	8
9		Seattle, WA	134,603	25	22	14	0	10	13	16
10		Riverside, CA	121,900	9	17	38	1	11	9	15

Source: Author's analysis of 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial census data

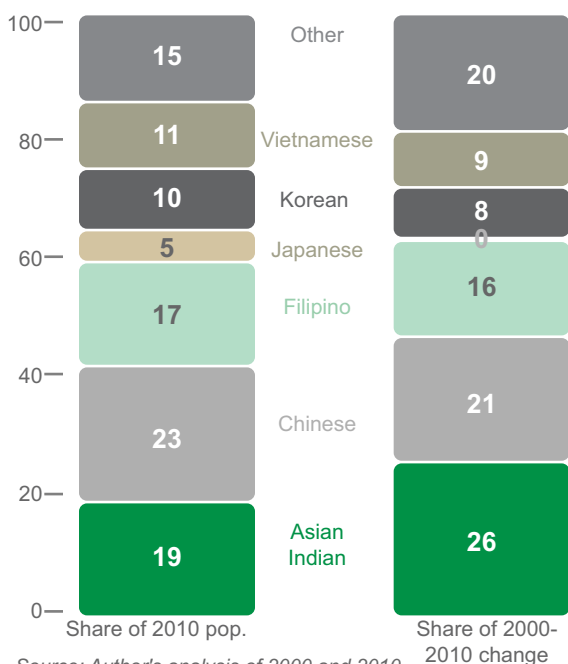
*Metro area names abbreviated

C. Asians are even more concentrated than Hispanics, with one-third living in just three metro areas: Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco.

The Asian population, while much smaller than the Hispanic population, grew just as rapidly in the 2000s. A larger share of Asians represents new immigrants, especially the flourishing Asian Indians. Yet as a group, Asians are more concentrated in their major settlement areas than are Hispanics. Fully one-third of Asians nationwide reside in three metropolitan areas—Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco. Over half (54 percent) reside in the 10 largest metropolitan settlement areas (Table 2, top panel).

The Asian population is comprised of several different origin groups, the largest being Chinese, Asian Indians, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Koreans, and Japanese. Chinese represent nearly one-quarter of all Asians, while Asian Indians total about one-fifth (Figure 3). Similarly, no single origin group dominates the Asian populations of major metropolitan settlement areas. Chinese and Filipinos are the largest groups in Los Angeles, although Koreans and Vietnamese make up a significant presence. Chinese and Asian Indians are

Figure 3: Asian Population 2010, and 2000-2010 Change by Origin



Source: Author's analysis of 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

the largest groups in New York, followed by smaller shares of Koreans and Filipinos. Of the three large settlement areas, San Francisco comes closest to having a dominant group. Chinese make up 43 percent of all Asians in San Francisco, followed by Filipinos and Asian Indians.

Despite the continued concentration of the Asian population in selected large metropolitan areas, the growing population did disperse during the past decade. While the 10 largest concentrations are home to well over half of all Asians, those metro areas received only 46 percent of the decade's gains. The top 10 Asian-gaining metro areas overlap largely with those with the largest Asian populations, with a few notable differences (Table 2, bottom panel). Washington D.C., Houston and Dallas rank higher on gains than they do on size, and Riverside shows up as a large gainer. As with Hispanics, Riverside absorbed some of the population from nearby Los Angeles, reflecting lower housing costs and increased employment opportunities throughout much of the decade. While Asian Indians contribute notably to Asian growth in most of these metro areas, Filipinos became a major source of Asian gains for Riverside and nearby Las Vegas.

Metro areas with the highest Asian growth rates indicate the direction of the population's dispersion and underscore the role of the Asian Indian population, which contributed more to total Asian

gains from 2000 to 2010 than any other Asian group, including Chinese (Figure 3). Their numbers grew 69 percent during that time, compared to less than 40 percent for every other Asian group. As a consequence, Asian Indians contributed more to Asian growth than any other origin group in 63 of the 100 largest metro areas, and their share of the Asian population rose in 88 metro areas. The new growth and dispersion of Asian Indians made them the single largest Asian origin group in 56 of the 100 largest metro areas by 2010 (Appendix C).

Asian Indians assisted in fueling the 15 fastest-growing metropolitan Asian populations (Map 4). These growth centers are less regionally concentrated than those of Hispanics, and include the Western metro areas of Phoenix, Las Vegas, and Riverside, as well as the Southeastern areas of Raleigh, Orlando, and Charlotte. Thus the slowly dispersing Asian population has gotten a boost this decade with the growth of Asian Indians, the most educated and recently arrived Asian group.

D. Three-quarters of black population gains from 2000 to 2010 occurred in the South.

One of the most significant demographic trends of the 2000s was the large redistribution of black population out of the Northeast, Midwest, and West and into the South. This effective reversal of the "Great Migration" began in the 1970s, but expanded during the past decade to the extent that the former major receiving states of Illinois, Michigan, New York, and California experienced absolute declines in their black populations.⁹ Indeed, three-quarters of the nation's black growth occurred in the South. Today, 57 percent of the U.S. black population—a 50-year high—lives in the South.

The new shifts can be attributed to a number of factors. These include the economic decline of many industrial areas, high costs of living in non-Southern coastal metro areas, the rise of "New Sun Belt" growth centers with emerging black professional opportunities and a new generation of middle-class blacks, and the relocation of black retirees.

Table 3. Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations, 2010, and Increases in Black Population, 2000-2010

Size Rank			Metro Area Name*	Blacks, 2010
2010	2000	1990		
1	1	1	New York, NY	3,044,096
2	4	7	Atlanta, GA	1,679,979
3	2	2	Chicago, IL	1,613,644
4	3	3	Washington, DC	1,409,473
5	5	4	Philadelphia, PA	1,204,303
6	8	8	Miami, FL	1,096,536
7	9	9	Houston, TX	998,883
8	6	6	Detroit, MI	972,689
9	10	11	Dallas, TX	941,695
10	7	5	Los Angeles, CA	859,086

Change Rank		Metro Area Name*	Black Change, 2000-2010
2000s	1990s		
1	1	Atlanta, GA	473,493
2	5	Dallas, TX	233,890
3	7	Houston, TX	214,928
4	3	Miami, FL	191,658
5	4	Washington, DC	155,648
6	15	Charlotte, NC	121,523
7	11	Orlando, FL	100,605
8	8	Philadelphia, PA	93,161
9	16	Minneapolis, MN	83,464
10	28	Phoenix, AZ	80,318

Source: Author's analysis of 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial census data
 *Metro area names abbreviated

The list of the metro areas with the largest black populations over time shows the re-ascendance of the South (Table 3, top panel). New York continued to hold its top ranking due to its long history as a magnet for blacks, despite black out-migration in recent decades and a loss of black population from 2000 to 2010. For the first time, however, metropolitan Atlanta registers the country's second-largest black population, up from fourth in 2000 and seventh in 1990. This shift is symbolic since Chicago was the highly celebrated destination of Southern blacks for much of the Great Migration period early in the last century. Miami, Houston, and Dallas also moved up in rank in the 2000s, and now place sixth, seventh and ninth among the 100 largest metro areas for black population.

Shifts in the metro areas experiencing the largest gains in black population also point southward (Table 3, bottom panel). Atlanta holds the top spot in both decades, gaining more blacks from 2000 to 2010 than the second and third ranking metro areas (Dallas and Houston) combined. All three "New South" metro areas underscore the draw of economically prosperous areas for the current generation of African Americans. Charlotte and Orlando also move into the top seven metro areas for black population gains. Minneapolis-St Paul ranks ninth, partly by virtue of its role as a growing resettlement and population center for immigrant Somalis.

Despite ranking among the metro areas with the largest black populations, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles all registered large black population declines between 2000 and 2010, coinciding with declines in their major cities (Map 5).¹⁰ Aside from New Orleans, which lost substantial numbers of blacks in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, each of the other metro areas that lost blacks was located outside the South, including major coastal California metro areas (San Francisco, San Jose, San Diego, and Oxnard) and older industrial metro areas (Cleveland, Youngstown, and Buffalo), as well as Honolulu.

By contrast, most of the metro areas posting large black population gains were either located in the South or were non-Southern, non-traditional destinations such as Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Columbus. Philadelphia and Boston, longstanding magnets for black migrants, continue to show gains primarily due to natural increase and immigration rather than domestic in-migration.

E. Average neighborhood segregation levels held steady for Hispanics and Asians but declined for blacks from 2000 to 2010.

Another aspect of racial residential shifts involves how concentration at the local level plays out across neighborhoods. There are reasons to anticipate both parallels and differences between shifts at the metropolitan and local levels for Hispanics and Asians. Both groups are showing some dispersion to “new destination” metropolitan areas. Yet this could lead to highly segregated neighborhoods within these new destinations due to a combination of factors: self selection to maintain social and economic support; economic isolation due to the groups’ relative income status and ability to afford more integrated neighborhoods, and less-than-welcoming acceptance of the groups by long-term residents.¹¹

Much depends, of course, on the specific community and racial/ethnic group involved. For example, evidence from 2005 to 2008 shows that Hispanic migrants to new metropolitan destinations were disproportionately less-educated recent immigrants drawn by construction or other low-skilled employment opportunities. This suggests that Hispanics may experience high levels of segregation in these areas. By contrast, Asians migrants have tended to concentrate in areas with similar origin groups, which could also lead to higher segregation.¹² Among blacks, recent population shifts have relocated many from more segregated cities in the Northeast and Midwest to the suburbs of less-segregated metropolitan areas in the South and West, possibly stabilizing existing segregation patterns in both.

Averaged across the 100 metropolitan areas, Hispanic segregation stood at a moderate 44 level in 2010 (Figure 4). This average level remained flat between 2000 and 2010, after rising from 39 in 1990.

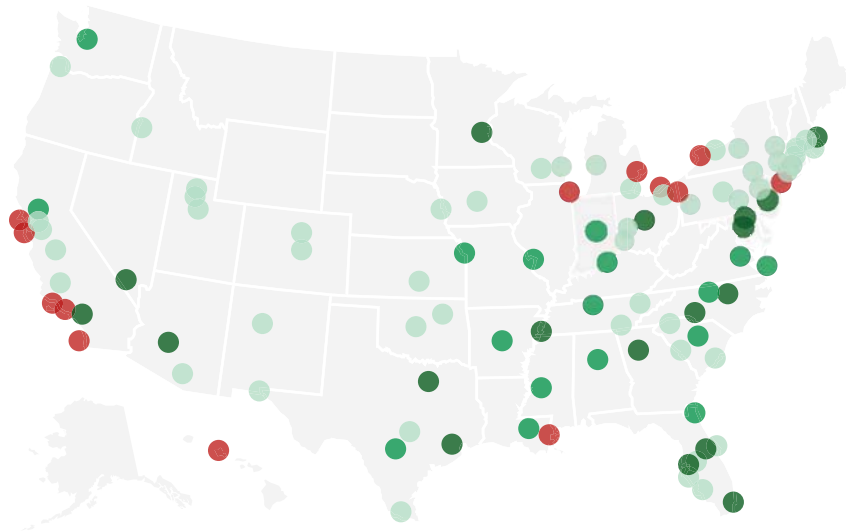
Yet these averages mask wide variation among metropolitan areas in Hispanic segregation, from a high of 63 (Springfield, MA) to a low of 25 (Palm Bay-Melbourne, FL). Metro areas with high Hispanic segregation levels tend to house established Hispanic populations, and most (Los Angeles excepted) have large Puerto Rican or Cuban, rather than Mexican, populations. Many of the most segregated areas are located in the northern and eastern part of the country. The least segregated metro areas—areas such as Pittsburgh, Dayton, and Palm Bay-Melbourne, but also Provo, Colorado Springs, and Seattle—tend to have either relatively small Hispanic populations, high recent Hispanic growth, or both. In between these two extremes (segregation scores of 46 to 50) lie more familiar Hispanic settlement areas like Dallas, San Diego, Washington, D.C., and San Antonio (Appendix E).

While some metro areas with small but rapidly growing Hispanic populations show noticeable recent increases in segregation (Scranton; Jackson, MS; Knoxville; and Cincinnati), levels in the vast majority of metro areas did not increase or decrease by more than three points over the course of the decade.

The average metropolitan segregation level for Asians is lower, at 40 in 2010, up slightly from 38 in 1990. Similar variation across metro areas characterizes Asian segregation levels, from a high of 54 (Buffalo) to a low of 21 (Ogden, UT). Seven metro areas have levels of 50 and above, located largely in the Northeast or in non-traditional settlement areas for Asians (New York, Detroit and Houston are in this group). Those with the lowest levels of Asian segregation (below 30) tend to be in Mountain West and Florida regions where Asian populations are smaller and broadly distributed across different Asian groups (Bradenton-Sarasota, Colorado Springs, Tucson, and Boise are in this group). In between these extremes, most metro areas register scores of 35 to 50 on Asian segregation, including two of the largest settlement areas, Los Angeles (48) and San Francisco (47).

Map 5: Black Population Change, 2000-2010

Black population change, 2000-2010: ● >50,000 ● 25,000 to 50,000 ● 0 to 25,000 ● Decline



Top 5 Gainers:

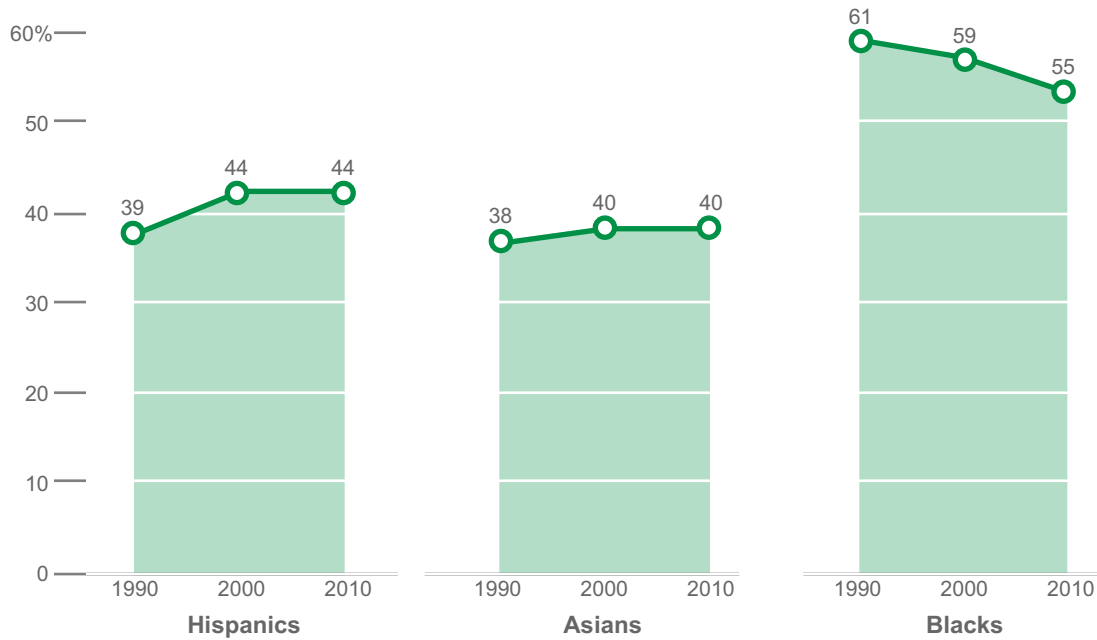
Atlanta	+473,493
Dallas	+233,890
Houston	+214,928
Miami	+191,658
D.C.	+155,648

Top 5 Decliners:

New Orleans	-95,539
Los Angeles	-85,025
New York	-67,709
Chicago	-58,255
Detroit	-37,603

Source: Author's analysis of 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

Figure 4. Average Hispanic, Asian, and Black Segregation Indices, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 1990-2010



Source: Author's analysis of 1990, 2000 and 2010 decennial census data

Table 4. Highest and Lowest Hispanic, Asian, and Black Neighborhood Segregation Levels* by Metro Area, 2010

<i>Highest Segregation Scores</i>			<i>Lowest Segregation Scores</i>		
Rank	Metro Area Name**	Value	Rank	Metro Area Name**	Value
<i>Hispanics</i>			<i>Hispanics</i>		
1	Springfield, MA	63	1	Palm Bay-Melbourne, FL	25
2	Los Angeles, CA	62	2	Akron, OH	25
3	New York, NY	62	3	Dayton, OH	27
4	Providence, RI	60	4	Jacksonville, FL	28
5	Boston, MA	60	5	Pittsburgh, PA	29
<i>Asians</i>			<i>Asians</i>		
1	Buffalo, NY	54	1	Ogden, UT	21
2	Pittsburgh, PA	52	2	Palm Bay-Melbourne, FL	21
3	New York, NY	52	3	El Paso, TX	22
4	Syracuse, NY	52	4	Bradenton-Sarasota, FL	23
5	Baton Rouge, LA	51	5	Colorado Springs, CO	24
<i>Blacks</i>			<i>Blacks</i>		
1	Milwaukee, WI	82	1	Provo-Orem, UT	22
2	New York, NY	78	2	Boise City-Nampa, ID	30
3	Chicago, IL	76	3	El Paso, TX	31
4	Detroit, MI	75	4	Albuquerque, NM	31
5	Cleveland, OH	74	5	Ogden, UT	32

Source: Author's analysis of 2010 decennial census data

*Levels represent the dissimilarity index across census tracts within the metro area between the racial/ethnic group and non-Hispanic whites

**Metro area names abbreviated

As with Hispanic segregation, Asian segregation levels changed little in individual metro areas from 2000 to 2010. Only 12 areas showed declines of three or more points, and 11 showed gains of this magnitude. Among the latter are those with newer rapidly growing Asian populations, including Raleigh, McAllen, TX, and Buffalo.

Following a somewhat more positive trajectory, average segregation levels for blacks across the 100 largest metro areas declined over each of the last three censuses, from 61 in 1990, to 59 in 2000, to 55 in 2010. Further, the decline has been geographically pervasive; black segregation scores declined in 84 metro areas from 1990 to 2000, and in 92 from 2000 to 2010 (Appendix E).

Yet, black segregation levels across metropolitan areas remain enormously varied, from 82 (Milwaukee) to 22 (Provo). As in the past, metro areas with the highest black segregation levels tend to be in the North. Seven metro areas, including New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, and St. Louis have black segregation levels above 70, and another 15 have scores above 65. All of these metro areas except one (Baltimore) are located in the Northeast or Midwest. Black settlements in most of these areas emerged in segregated city neighborhoods, shaped by well-documented housing discrimination during earlier waves of the Great Migration. Since black population growth as well as new housing construction has been relatively stagnant in these areas recently, the longstanding segregation patterns for blacks persist.¹³ Those areas with the lowest black segregation levels tend to be located in the Mountain West and other parts of the

country with small but growing black populations. Twelve metro areas had black segregation scores below 40, including Provo, Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and Salt Lake City.

The broad swath of Southern metro areas, including those with large, growing black populations, shows black segregation scores between 40 and 65. Those include Memphis (63), Washington, D.C. (62), Houston (61), Dallas (57), Orlando (51), Atlanta (49), and Raleigh (42). Most of these metro areas have shown continued segregation declines over recent decades, partly attributed to their growing middle-class black populations seeking housing in the post-Civil Rights era. Somewhat surprisingly, several non-Southern metro areas also ranked among those exhibiting large segregation declines over the last decade, including Detroit, Kansas City, Minneapolis, and Omaha. Despite these declines, however, sharp segregation distinctions still exist among U.S. regions and racial/ethnic groups.

CONCLUSION

The 2010 census reveals a broad sweep of racial and ethnic change that has made its greatest imprint on the nation's largest metropolitan areas. Rapid "new minority" gains to these areas coupled with very modest growth, or often declines, in white populations put these areas on the front lines of a transformative era affecting public policy and race relations for decades to come.

Some important policy implications will involve how to provide social, educational, and health services to rapidly changing, diverse Hispanic and Asian communities who speak a variety of languages and represent different origins. When juxtaposed against the needs of longstanding black communities, especially in more segregated northern metropolitan areas, it is clear that "one size fits all" approaches will no longer apply. The shifts also hold important political implications for ever-changing cities and suburbs within metropolitan areas.¹⁴ For example, old urban coalitions that appeal to the needs of both blue collar whites and African Americans now need to contend with issues brought on by emerging Hispanic and Asian communities. An earlier report discussed the rise of a "cultural generation gap" between a more-diverse youth population and a less-diverse older population reacting to new policies on immigration, education, and the competition over scarce public funds for the respective needs of these groups.¹⁵ These gaps will become most prevalent within large metro areas, especially within the suburbs, where the divides will be most apparent.

The new, more globalized demographics of America in the 21st century bring exciting opportunities for a more diverse and outward-looking country and labor force. But this transformation also brings challenges in adapting politics and policies to a citizenry who needs to be educated about the importance of these shifts for future economic and social prosperity. From their position on the front lines, the nation's largest metropolitan areas will be the laboratories for accommodating and capitalizing on the nation's continued demographic evolution.

ENDNOTES

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2. William H. Frey, "America's Diverse Future: Initial Glimpses at the U.S. Child Population from the 2010 Census" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2011).
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4. Karen R. Humes, Nicholas A. Jones, and Roberto R. Ramirez, "Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011); and Sharon R. Ennis, Merarys Rios-Vargas, and Nora G. Albert, "The Hispanic Population: 2010" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).
5. Further information on this segregation measure can be found in William H. Frey and Dowell Myers, "Residential Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas and Cities, 1990-2000: Patterns, Trends and Explanations." Research Report 05-573 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Population Studies Center, 2005). Segregation indices are affected by the definitions of neighborhoods, metropolitan areas, and racial and ethnic groups. As a consequence, the indices reported in this study may differ from those reported in others (such as in John R. Logan and Brian J. Stults, "The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census" (Providence, RI: Brown University, Project 2010, 2011); or Frey and Myers, "Residential Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas and Cities, 1990-2000").
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FOR MORE INFORMATION

William H. Frey
Senior Fellow
Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings
202.797.6292
wfrey@brookings.edu

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Appendix A: 2010 Race-Ethnic Distributions and 2000-2010 Change

Appendix B: Hispanic 2010 Population and 2000-2010 Change

Appendix C: Asian 2010 Population and 2000-2010 Change

Appendix D: Black 2010 Population and 2000-2010 Change

Appendix E: Neighborhood Segregation 2010, and Change 1990-2010 for Hispanics, Asians and Blacks

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1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036-2188
telephone 202.797.6000
website www.brookings.edu

Metropolitan Policy Program

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