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Living Together:
A New Look at Racial and Ethnic Integration in Metropolitan Neighborhoods, 1990–2000

David Fasenfest, Jason Booza, and Kurt Metzger[1]

"A striking new level of racial and ethnic mixing occurred in the nation's major metropolitan areas during the 1990s."

Findings

An analysis of the changing racial and ethnic profile of neighborhoods in America's 10 largest metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000 reveals that:

- **The number of predominantly white neighborhoods fell by 30 percent during the 1990s.** Neighborhoods with a mixed white and Hispanic or Asian population replaced predominantly white communities as the most common neighborhood type by 2000.
- **Nine of the 10 metro areas saw an increase in mixed-race neighborhoods.** In Boston, Chicago, and Detroit, neighborhoods with a mix of whites and Hispanics or Asians fueled this increase. In Dallas, Houston, New York, and Washington, D.C., neighborhoods with a mix of blacks and Hispanics or Asians multiplied most rapidly.
- **Over the decade, whites and blacks became less likely, and Hispanics and Asians became more likely, to live in neighborhoods in which their group predominated.** In 2000, about equal proportions of whites, blacks, and Hispanics (41–42 percent) lived in predominantly white, black, and other-race communities, respectively.
- **Fewer than half of the country's multiethnic and mixed white-and-black neighborhoods retained the same racial/ethnic mix in 2000 that they had in 1990.** By contrast, neighborhoods in which Hispanics and/or Asians predominated, and neighborhoods in which those groups mixed with blacks, maintained their character over the decade.
- **Neighborhoods that changed from homogeneous to mixed-race were often suburban, but patterns varied widely among metro areas.** In Washington, neighborhoods with a mix of blacks and Hispanics/Asians grew rapidly in once-predominantly black suburbs. In Chicago, formerly white communities in the central city and older suburbs attracted significant numbers of non-black minorities.

The emergence of more mixed-race communities, especially those with growing Hispanic and Asian populations, calls out for examining how policy might foster racial and ethnic integration, and encourage positive social outcomes in an increasingly diverse society.

LivingCities CensusSeries

Introduction

Racial integration has served as a benchmark for social progress for as long as racial equality has been on the social policy agenda. The degree to which society accepts racial and ethnic diversity depends on whether people of different races and ethnic groups can live in some degree of intermingled harmony over time. While racial segregation signifies a host of inequalities within urban settings, many argue that integration promotes greater economic and social equity, increased stability (through the preservation of housing stock and community values), and greater social harmony.[2]

Census 2000 confirms that, overall, we are becoming a more racially and ethnically diverse society. The 100 largest cities in the U.S. are, in the aggregate, now majority non-white or Hispanic.[3] Suburbs became much more diverse over the past decade, as minorities now make up about 27 percent of suburban populations.[4] And segregation in metropolitan areas declined, most strongly in regions that are growing rapidly, and as a result of the decline in the number of entirely white census tracts.[5]

In light of these findings, several questions come to mind about whether people of different races and ethnicities are truly "living together" in metropolitan America. To what degree do patterns of greater diversity and increased integration play out at the neighborhood level? Will those patterns persist in the long run? What is a "stable integrated neighborhood," and should we promote neighborhood integration if it leads to increased residential change over time? Indeed, some research suggests that an increase in the prevalence of multiethnic neighborhoods does not necessarily imply stable integration. Denton and Massey find that in the 1970s, multi-group neighborhoods (those containing at least two racial/ethnic groups) tended to retain their mixed character over the decade, unless blacks made up one of the two groups. In those cases, the neighborhood tended to become predominantly black, perhaps signaling economic and social decline.[6]

In order to explore whether neighborhoods are truly integrated, one must first define "integrated neighborhood" in quantifiable terms. Because research on racial *integration* is still nascent compared to research on racial *segregation*, this topic has been debated widely only during the past decade. According to Smith, "…(w)e have only a limited understanding of the extent to which integrated places occur within the more general landscape," and therefore we cannot anticipate when they will emerge and whether they will be stable.[7]

However, a growing body of literature aims to define and study neighborhood integration. Several recent studies have attempted to answer many of the theoretical and methodological questions regarding integrated neighborhoods.[8] These questions include: What is the appropriate spatial unit(s) of analysis? Should one apply a comparative or absolute approach to defining integration? How many racial groups should be included? How does one compare results across time and space? What statistical formula best measures integration? We do not attempt to answer these questions in this study, but rather aim to define integrated neighborhoods in a way that permits a first look at experiences and outcomes over the 1990s.

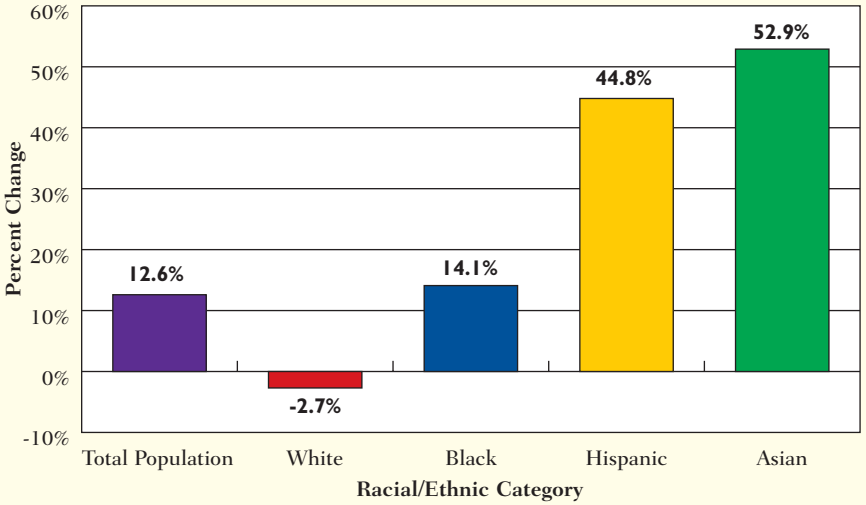
This study departs somewhat from previous studies, though, by exploring integration beyond the typical white/black dichotomy. We develop a neighborhood typology that explores the impact of a growing Hispanic and, in some geographies, Asian population on integration. Census 2000 offers an opportunity to revisit the definitions of integration empirically, and in so doing introduces greater texture to our understanding of changing racial and ethnic residential patterns over time. We believe our findings show that integration should be understood in both racial and ethnic terms, and that traditional arguments about residential integration in black-and-white terms alone are lacking.

The remainder of this report proceeds in several steps. In the next section we describe the data and the neighborhood typologies we employ to evaluate the changing racial and ethnic composition of the nation's 10 largest metropolitan areas. The body of the paper explores our key findings on the prevalence of integrated neighborhoods today, how the picture changed in the 1990s, and how trends differed across the 10 metro areas. We conclude by discussing the implications of these changes, and highlight research that could further improve our understanding of the conditions that foster racial integration in communities.

Background and Methodology

This study examines Census 2000 data for the 10 largest metropolitan areas in the United States: Los Angeles; New York; Chicago; Philadelphia; Detroit; Washington, D.C.; Houston; Atlanta; Dallas; and Boston.[9] These 10 metro areas account for over 20 percent of the nation's metropolitan population and over 30 percent of its minority population. Thus, while our findings do not necessarily capture the true extent of racial integration nationally, they likely reflect the overall direction of change in metropolitan areas during the 1990s. Following others, census tracts are deemed proxies to neighborhoods. While they are larger than most neighborhoods and their boundaries may change over time, census tracts are widely used in studies of racial integration and segre-

Figure 1. Population Change by Race/Ethnicity, 10 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1990–2000



Source: Authors' analysis of 1990 and 2000 census data

gation. The report similarly employs the term "community" synonymously with "neighborhood."

Data

The data used in this study derive from the race and ethnicity (Hispanic/Latino) questions from the decennial census, reported in the Census Bureau's 1990 Summary Tape File 1 (STF1) and 2000 Summary File 1 (SF1). The analysis classifies as Hispanic those individuals who, regardless of their race, denote Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino ethnicity. Other categories—white, black, Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and "other"—include non-Hispanic individuals who selected one of those races. Meanwhile, the neighborhood typology excludes individuals who selected more than one race—an option available for the first time in Census 2000—as they represent a small share of the overall population and are unlikely to affect our findings.[10] In sum, the bulk of the report focuses on white, black, Hispanic, and Asian populations.

Most metro areas have undergone significant changes in racial and ethnic composition within their own borders, as whites and more affluent blacks left the central city for suburban communities in recent decades. But fast population increases among nonwhites account for broader changes in the overall racial and ethnic profile of metropolitan areas. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the 10 metro areas grew by 12.6 percent overall in the 1990s, with the gain entirely attributable to growth in Asian, Hispanic, and black populations. Overall, the total number of whites living in these metro areas fell by about 2.7 percent from its 1990 level.[11] Still, while the data suggest that some white out-migration occurred during the 1990s, whites continue to comprise over 50 percent of the combined population of the 10 metro areas in 2000. Immigration, and larger family sizes and birth rates among Hispanics, help account for the increased prominence of non-black minority populations.

Neighborhood Typology

Between decennial censuses, the Census Bureau modified some census tract definitions in response to changes in population or local requests. In order to measure neighborhood change and stability based on a consistent geography, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) were used to equate 1990 and 2000 census tract boundaries.[12] Census tracts with fewer than 500 persons were eliminated, as were those in which people living in group quarters comprised at least half of the population. The resulting data set consists of 12,447 census tracts across the 10 metro areas. Our methods follow those from similar inquiries on neighborhood change.[13]

Previous research offers two approaches to defining neighborhood integration: absolute and comparative. The absolute approach defines integration with respect to a predetermined racial composition.[14] The comparative approach, by contrast, defines integration based on the demographic composition of the area within which the neighborhood is located. Both approaches have their proponents and their critics.[15]

From our perspective, the foremost problem with the comparative approach is that the metropolitan area in which a neighborhood is located may itself not be racially integrated. For example, a neighborhood in the Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) that is 1-percent black might be considered integrated because the MSA as a whole is 1-percent black. On the other hand, a neighborhood in the Mobile, AL MSA that is 24-percent black might not be considered integrated because the MSA as a whole is 27-percent black.

A second problem with the comparative approach concerns its limitations in comparing neighborhood integration across time, since the demographic compositions of metro areas change across decades. A neighbor-

hood defined as integrated in 1990 that did not change its residential makeup at all could lose this designation in 2000, due to racial and ethnic changes occurring elsewhere in the metro area. Given these drawbacks, this study employs an absolute approach to defining integration here, assuming that integration should be based upon a non-trivial degree of racial diversity.[16]

The particular measure of integration employed here, meanwhile, reflects the nature of population change in the 1990s. This survey presumes that the increase of non-black minorities in metropolitan areas, particularly during the 1990's, renders black/white measures of neighborhood integration insufficient. Therefore, this analysis employs a multiethnic neighborhood typology in order to recognize the growing role of Hispanics and Asians in neighborhood integration.[17] This typology categorizes neighborhoods in seven ways—three in which a single race is predominant, and four that are racially mixed or integrated. In order to keep the number of descriptive categories manageable, all non-black minorities (Asians, Hispanics, American Indians, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, and those indicating "other" race) have been assembled into an omnibus "other" category. With few exceptions, growth in this category reflects Hispanic population growth, though in some cases Asian growth proves an important factor.[18]

Following this approach, the paper deems a neighborhood homogeneous if one group predominates within the overall racial/ethnic composition. Thus, there are three types of homogeneous neighborhoods: predominantly white, predominantly black, and predominantly other-race (see box on next page).

If any minority group other than the predominant group represents more than 10 percent of the population in a neighborhood, the neighborhood is classified as mixed-race. The typology consists of four mixed-race or integrated neighborhoods: mixed white-and-other; mixed white-and-black; mixed black-and-other; and mixed multiethnic.

The different threshold levels for blacks and whites, such as those defining homogeneous status (at least 50 percent for blacks, and 80 percent for whites), reflect the overall difference in the proportion of blacks and whites in the general population. The 10 metro areas contain roughly three times as many whites as blacks, and none contains more blacks than whites (Table 1). Los Angeles is the only metro area in which whites do not represent at least a plurality of the population.

To provide context for our neighborhood typology analysis, consider each metro area relative to the seven neighborhood categories. Two are homogeneous—Boston is predominantly white, and Los Angeles is predominantly other-race (thanks to its large Hispanic and Asian populations). The other eight are mixed: Houston is mixed black-and-other; Philadelphia, Washington, Detroit, and Atlanta are mixed white-and-black regions; and New York, Dallas and Chicago are mixed multiethnic metro areas.

Understanding Neighborhood Racial/Ethnic Change

This report makes point-in-time comparisons in applying this typology to metropolitan neighborhoods in 1990

Table 1. Population by Race/Ethnicity, 10 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000

	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
Metro Area	Total	% of Population	Total	% of Population	Total	% of Population	Total	% of Population
Atlanta	2,445,308	60%	1,162,877	29%	267,465	7%	132,960	3%
Boston	2,708,501	80%	217,908	6%	198,322	6%	161,405	5%
Chicago	4,761,157	58%	1,511,842	18%	1,407,934	17%	373,621	5%
Dallas	1,963,564	56%	516,927	15%	806,440	23%	140,752	4%
Detroit	3,086,750	70%	1,002,945	23%	127,500	3%	103,052	2%
Houston	1,914,488	46%	708,637	17%	1,243,847	30%	217,264	5%
Los Angeles	2,926,479	31%	887,775	9%	4,222,646	45%	1,134,524	12%
New York	3,654,722	40%	2,095,414	23%	2,319,231	25%	834,779	9%
Philadelphia	3,540,107	70%	985,615	20%	252,360	5%	168,598	3%
Washington	2,736,529	56%	1,253,817	26%	429,597	9%	327,164	7%
TOTAL	**29,737,605**	**53%**	**10,343,757**	**18%**	**11,275,342**	**20%**	**3,594,119**	**6%**

Source: Authors' analysis of Census 2000 data

A Neighborhood Integration Typology

Homogeneous

Predominantly white—at least 80 percent white, and no minority group represents more than 10 percent of the population.

Predominantly black—at least 50 percent black, and no other minority group represents more than 10 percent of the population.

Predominantly other-race—at least 50 percent non-black minority, and no more than 10 percent black.

Mixed-race

Mixed white-and-other—between 10 percent and 50 percent of the population classified as other, and less than 10 percent black.

Mixed white-and-black—between 10 percent and 50 percent of the population black, and less than 10 percent classified as other.

Mixed black-and-other—at least 10 percent black, at least 10 percent classified as other, and no more than 40 percent white.

Mixed multiethnic—at least 10 percent black, at least 10 percent classified as other, and at least 40 percent white.

and 2000. Particular mixes of whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asians define neighborhood types, but a neighborhood can change its type between 1990 to 2000 for a variety of reasons.

First, an influx of one or another group can shift a neighborhood's composition. This could indicate that the community is prospering and attracting economically successful groups, or that it is in decline and its housing stock has recently become more affordable and attractive to less well-off in-migrants.

Second, selective out-migration of a particular group can alter a neighborhood's racial/ethnic profile. The change may result from internal push factors (such as a perception of detrimental changes in its racial mix, leading to the typical "white flight" scenario) or external pull factors (rising incomes may make more expensive homes elsewhere affordable). The movement of Detroit's black professional class from the central city to nearby suburbs provides one example of push and pull factors operating simultaneously.

Third, changes may take place among a neighborhood's existing households—births, deaths, marriages, children leaving home, and elderly parents moving in with children—that alter the neighborhood's overall racial and ethnic character. Although it is beyond the scope of this study, examining demographic characteristics of the population across the decade may offer insights into which factors drive change in a particular neighborhood.

To illustrate the various ways in which neighborhoods may evolve from one type to another, it bears looking more closely at examples of stable and transitional locales within our case studies. Four examples from Chicago and Washington, D.C. demonstrate that both rising and declining populations can experience changing degrees of neighborhood integration (Table 2).

Two of our example neighborhoods retained their type across the decade—Capitol Hill in Washington and Hyde Park in Chicago. Capitol Hill's overall population remained steady, while it experienced increases in both white and Hispanic populations, and a concomitant decline in its black population. Yet these changes did not alter its makeup enough to result in the neighborhood changing classification from mixed white-and-black. On the other hand, population dropped noticeably in Chicago's Hyde Park, thanks almost entirely to a decline in white population. That decline alone, though, was not sufficient to change the neighborhood's mixed white-and-other assignment.

Two other neighborhoods show how many neighborhoods transitioned from one type to another over the decade independent of their overall growth trend. The Southwest Waterfront neighborhood in Washington, for example, seems to have "tipped" from its prior mixed white-and-black status to a predominantly black one due to a precipitous decline in white population, coupled with growth in the black population. Total population in the neighborhood remained roughly the same, however. Alternatively, the population of Logan Square in Chicago changed little aside from a strong growth in Hispanics. That growth meant that blacks no longer made up more than 10 percent of the population, so that the neighborhood's classification changed from a mixed category to a homogeneous one.

As these examples demonstrate, the fact that a community changes designation does not necessarily imply that it has hit a "tipping point." Research on changes in the 1980s points to racial and/or ethnic stability in integrated neighborhoods as an important indicator of economic and social success. Yet stable neighborhoods may in fact experience population decline across the board, while transitional

Table 2. Selected Neighborhoods and Neighborhood Type, Washington, D.C. and Chicago, 1990–2000

Neighborhood Name	Year	Population				Share of Population			Type
		White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	White	Black	Other	
Capitol Hill, D.C.	1990	2,315	1,041	48	64	67%	30%	3%	Mixed white-and-black
	2000	2,469	801	56	139	70%	23%	6%	Mixed white-and-black
Southwest Waterfront, D.C.	1990	1,813	1,724	54	105	49%	46%	4%	Mixed white-and-black
	2000	1,361	2,094	67	169	36%	55%	6%	Predominantly black
Hyde Park, Chicago	1990	1,939	155	303	86	78%	6%	16%	Mixed white-and-other
	2000	1,671	189	386	81	69%	8%	19%	Mixed white-and-other
Logan Square, Chicago	1990	225	208	10	1,366	12%	11%	76%	Mixed black-and-other
	2000	226	185	14	1,608	11%	9%	79%	Predominantly other-race

Source: Authors' analysis of 1990 and 2000 census data
Data represent one census tract within each of the named neighborhoods

neighborhoods may simply reflect a new distribution of residents by racial and ethnic background. The goal here is to demonstrate that integration and neighborhood transformation take on various dimensions, and should not be viewed solely as a matter of black versus white.

Findings

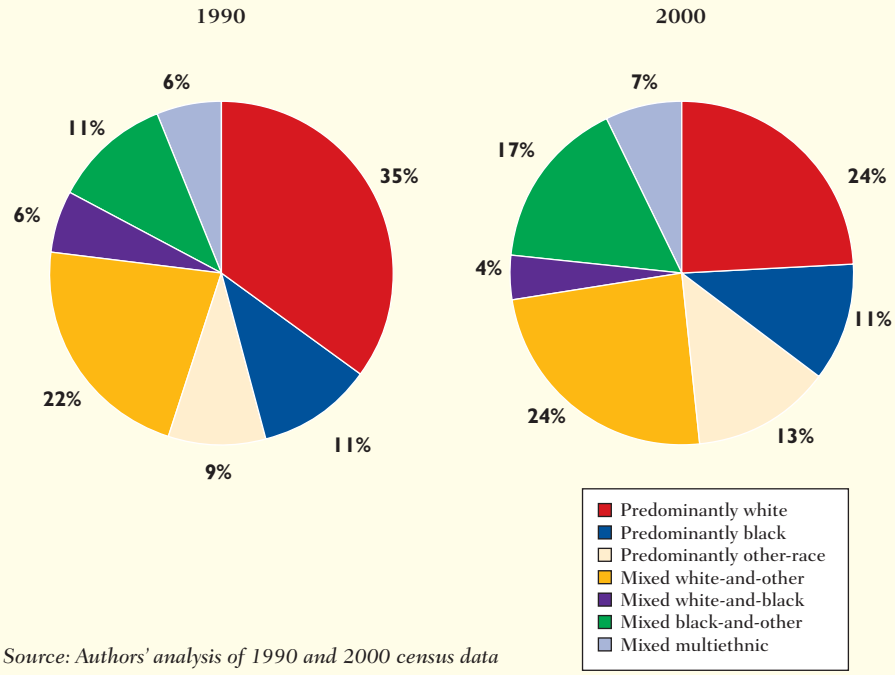
A. The number of predominantly white neighborhoods fell by 30 percent during the 1990s.
Strong growth in Hispanic and Asian populations, steady growth in the black population, and a slight decline in the white population characterized the overall population trend in our 10 metro areas during the 1990s. These overarching changes accompanied a profound transformation in the racial and ethnic composition of metropolitan neighborhoods over the same period.

Overall, mixed-race neighborhoods replaced homogeneous neighborhoods in large numbers. In 1990, over half (55 percent) of all communities in these 10 metro areas had a homogeneous classification—predominantly white, predominantly black, or predominantly other-race (Figure 2). By 2000, that share fell to under half (48 percent) of all neighborhoods. Three very distinct patterns lay beneath this shift.

First, and most prominently, the number of predominantly white neighborhoods fell by 30 percent over the decade. Consequently, the share of all neighborhoods that were predominantly white dropped precipitously, from 35 percent to 24 percent. Second, the growth of Hispanic (and to a lesser degree Asian) populations resulted in a large increase in predominantly other-race neighborhoods. Third, the number of predominantly black neighborhoods remained at the same level, about 11 percent of all neighborhoods. Thus, the nation's homogeneous neighborhoods were more likely to be dominated by racial and ethnic minorities at the end of the decade than in 1990.

With the decline in homogeneous neighborhoods came an increase in mixed-race neighborhoods. Large increases in mixed white-and-other (up 10 percent) and mixed black-and-other (up 41 percent) neighborhoods countered the drop in predominantly white neighborhoods. Together, these two neighborhood types comprised 40

Figure 2. Neighborhood Types, 10 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1990–2000



Source: Authors' analysis of 1990 and 2000 census data

percent of all neighborhoods in 2000, reflecting the growing prominence of Hispanics and Asians in both white and black communities.

Interestingly, amid the growth in non-black minority populations, the number of mixed multiethnic communities in the 10 metro areas remained about the same—there were just 96 more neighborhoods overall (a 13 percent increase), representing 7 percent of the total, in 2000. Mixed white-and-black communities, meanwhile, dwindled to just 4 percent of all neighborhoods. In this fashion, the growth of Hispanic and Asian populations apparently did not generate a substantial increase in truly multiethnic communities, but instead contributed to a growing number of neighborhoods in which *either* whites or blacks live alongside non-black minority populations.

To be sure, sweeping judgments about neighborhood transitions from these aggregate data remain inappropriate. After all, much of the change in neighborhood classifications results from large increases in non-white—usually Hispanic—populations in each metro area. It is worth noting, however, that the unchanged number of predominantly black communities may indicate that blacks did not move very much during the 1990s, and that few new arrivals of other races moved into predominantly black communities. Meanwhile, the small increase in mixed multiethnic neighborhoods, and the decline in mixed white-and-black communities, may signal that Hispanic and Asian populations tended to grow fastest in communities where they already predominated, or were already integrated with another race group.[19]

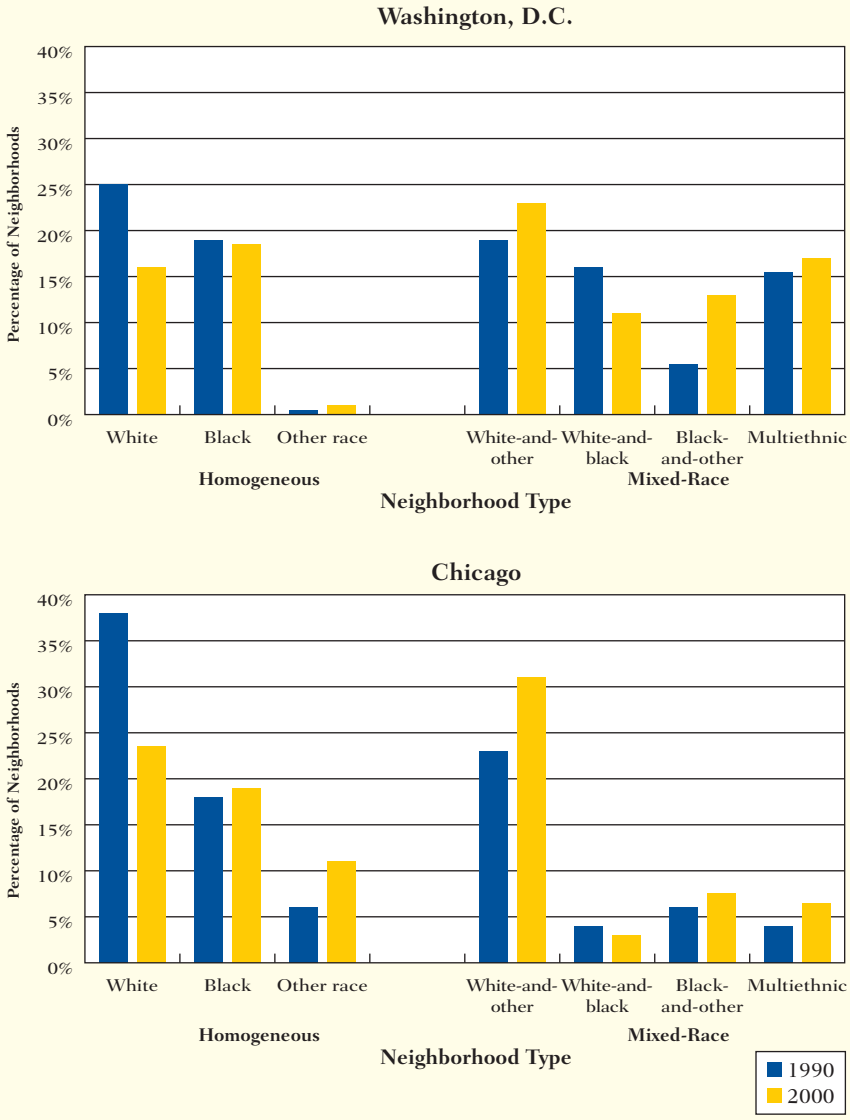
B. Nine of the 10 metro areas saw an increase in mixed-race neighborhoods.

The aggregate pattern across the 10 metro areas—a decline in homogeneous neighborhoods, and a rise in mixed-race neighborhoods—reflected changes taking place in each of the areas during the 1990s. With the exception of Los Angeles, all of the metro areas saw declines in the number of neighborhoods where one racial/ethnic group predominated, and increases in the number of neighborhoods with two or more racial/ethnic groups present in significant numbers (see Appendix A for metro-level statistics). The drop in homogeneous neighborhoods tracked large declines in the number of predominantly white communities in almost all of the metro areas, even as predominantly Hispanic/Asian neighborhoods rose in nine out of 10.

While the 10 metro areas all lost homogeneous neighborhoods, they diverged on the types of mixed-race neighborhoods that proliferated in them. Most of the growth in mixed communities in Dallas, Houston, New York, and Washington, D.C. came in the form of mixed black-and-other neighborhoods. Figure 3 shows that in the Washington area, these neighborhoods more than doubled in number over the decade, and represented 13 percent of all metropolitan communities by 2000. Hispanic (and to a lesser degree Asian) populations grew sharply in all four of these metro areas during the 1990s, and these data indicate that their numbers grew substantially in communities that were also home to blacks.

In another set of metro areas—including Boston, Chicago, and Detroit—growth in mixed white-and-other neighborhoods drove the overall increase in mixed-race communities. Figure 3 shows that mixed white-and-other neighborhoods replaced predominantly white neighborhoods as the most common neighborhood type in the Chicago region by 2000. Other types of heterogeneous communities also increased in Chicago during the decade, but at a much slower rate than neighborhoods in which whites

Figure 3. Proportion of Neighborhoods by Type, Selected Metropolitan Areas, 1990–2000



Source: Authors' analysis of 1990 and 2000 census data

lived alongside Hispanics or Asians.[20]

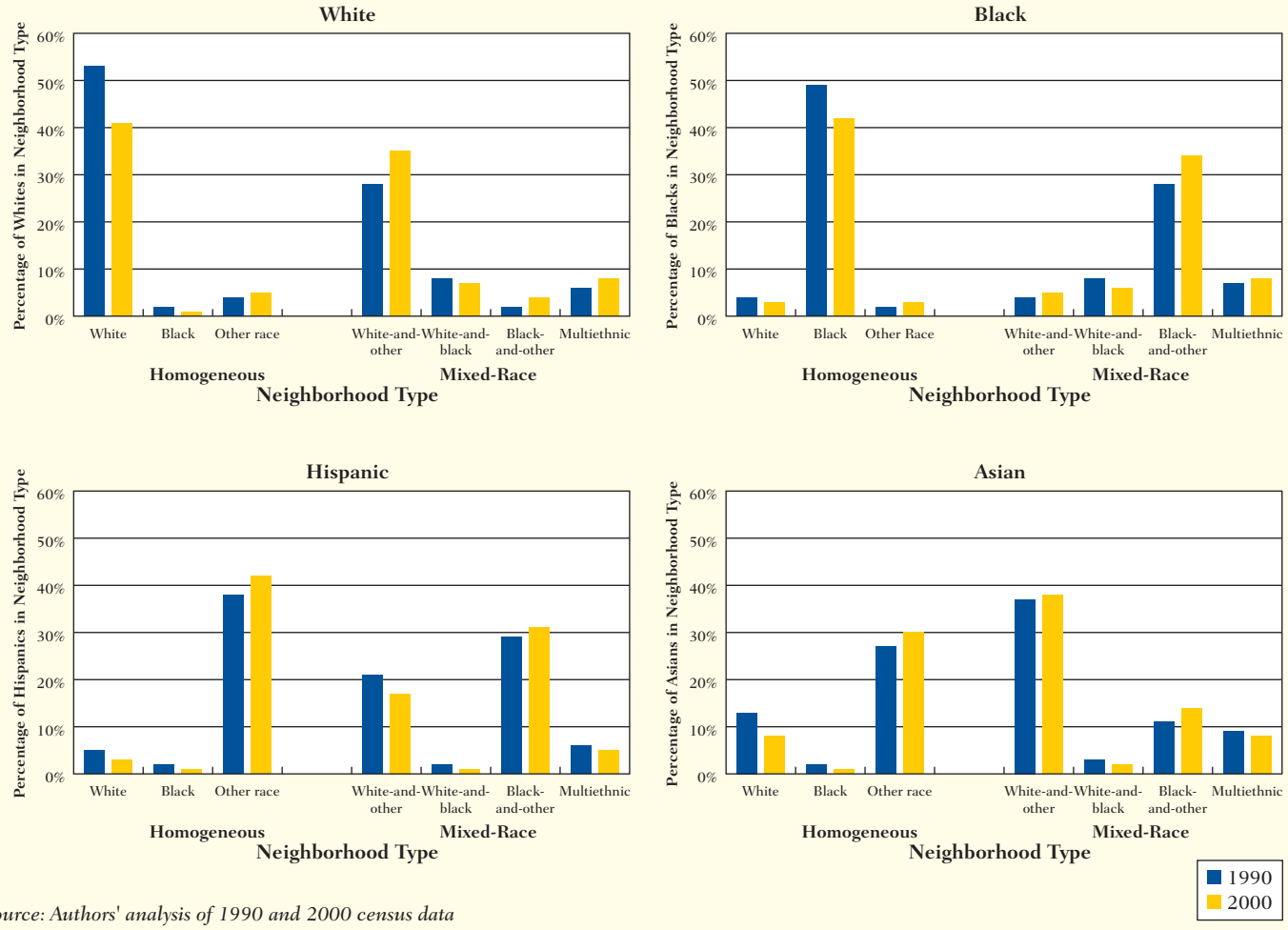
The occurrence of predominantly black communities also changed in very different ways among the 10 metro areas. Consistent with the aggregate pattern, changes at the metro area level in the number of these neighborhoods were not large. But as six metro areas saw declines in this type of community, four (Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia) saw increases. These same four metro areas also have the highest proportion of predominantly black communities among the 10 analyzed here. Growing Hispanic and Asian populations in these areas do not appear to have settled in black communities to the degree that they did in other places.[21]

Given these patterns of change, where did the different metro areas end up in 2000? A couple of observations can be made. First, Houston, Dallas, New York, and Washington exhibit the highest proportions of mixed-race communities. Apparently, increased neighborhood mixing between black and Hispanic/Asian populations in these metros in the 1990s contributed to this outcome. Otherwise, Washington and Dallas—and to a lesser extent Atlanta and Houston—boast the highest proportions of mixed multiethnic communities (though Houston experienced a decline over the decade). A later section will examine how these neighborhoods evolved in different metro areas, and how stable they may prove to be over time.

C. Over the decade, whites and blacks became less likely, and Hispanics and Asians became more likely, to live in neighborhoods in which their group predominated. During the 1990s, the shifting profile of neighborhoods in the nation's largest metropolitan placed different racial/ethnic groups in closer proximity. Neighborhoods classified as mixed-race under our typology now account for more than half of all neighborhoods across the 10 metro areas. But how have these changes affected the type of neighborhood in which members of different races and ethnicities live? Did all groups live in more heterogeneous communities in 2000 than they did in 1990?

In considering the answer, it bears keeping in mind that the shifting distribution of racial and ethnic groups among different neighborhood types owes primarily to the fact that these groups grew at different rates in the 10 metro areas during the 1990s. A decline in the proportion of whites living in predominantly white communities, for instance, does not indicate that whites relocated *en masse* to mixed-race neighborhoods over the decade. It does, however, reflect the growth of black and non-black minority populations in previously homoge-

Figure 4. Distribution of Racial/Ethnic Groups by Neighborhood Type, 10 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1990–2000



Source: Authors' analysis of 1990 and 2000 census data

neous neighborhoods.

At any rate, both whites and blacks were much less likely to live in a neighborhood in which their group predominated in 2000 than in 1990. Figure 4 shows, for each racial/ethnic group, the percentage of that group's members that lived in each of the neighborhood types in both years. Whites and blacks experience nearly mirror-image declines in the proportion of individuals living in homogeneous neighborhoods in the 10 metro areas. The drop in the proportion of whites living in predominantly white communities—from 52 percent to 41 percent—equated to a decline of nearly 3.8 million whites in such neighborhoods over the decade. The upshot was a much higher proportion—35 percent—living in mixed white-and-other communities in 2000, up from 27 percent in 1990. And whereas whites were more likely to live in a mixed white-and-black community in 1990 than a mixed multiethnic one, by 2000 greater numbers lived in multiethnic communities.

These findings suggest that growth in Hispanic and Asian populations brought about two distinct changes (among others) within our neighborhood typology. Thanks to growth in other-race residents, many predominantly white communities appear to have become mixed white-and-other communities, and many mixed white-and-black communities became mixed multiethnic.

For the black population, a similar pattern prevailed. About one in two blacks lived in a predominantly black neighborhood in 1990, and fewer than 28 percent lived in mixed black-and-other neighborhoods. The proportions in each of these neighborhood types grew much closer by 2000 (42 percent and 35 percent, respectively), paralleling the trend for whites. Because the overall black population in the 10 metro areas grew by 13 percent over

Table 3. Proportion of 1990 Neighborhoods by Type in 2000, 10 Largest Metropolitan Areas

	Percentage in 2000 Neighborhood Type						
1990 Neighborhood Type	Predominantly white	Predominantly black	Predominantly other-race	Mixed white-and-other	Mixed white-and-black	Mixed black-and-other	Mixed multiethnic
Predominantly white	**68.1**	0.4	0.0	22.9	4.2	0.4	4.1
Predominantly black	0.1	**88.3**	0.0	0.0	0.4	11.0	0.3
Predominantly other-race	0.0	0.0	**94.7**	2.3	0.0	2.8	0.2
Mixed white-and-other	1.2	0.0	16.9	**71.0**	0.0	3.8	7.1
Mixed white-and-black	6.4	15.4	0.0	2.2	**47.0**	7.9	21.1
Mixed black-and-other	0.0	2.5	6.5	0.1	0.1	**89.5**	1.3
Mixed multiethnic	0.0	0.5	2.1	8.6	0.3	47.3	**41.2**

Source: Authors' analysis of 1990 and 2000 census data

the 1990s, about the same number of blacks lived in predominantly black communities in 2000 as in 1990. But their numbers climbed by over 1 million in neighborhoods with mixed black and Hispanic or Asian populations.

While the proportions of whites and blacks living in homogeneous communities declined, the exact opposite held for Hispanics and Asians. They are living in predominantly other-race neighborhoods in greater numbers and greater proportions, as shown in Figure 4. In 2000, 42 percent of Hispanics, and 30 percent of Asians, lived in neighborhoods in which they made up at least 50 percent of the population (and blacks no more than 10 percent).

At the same time, two factors distinguish the residential locations of Hispanics from those of Asians. First, Hispanics are significantly more likely than Asians to live in a predominantly other-race neighborhood. The rate at which Hispanics live in this neighborhood type is about the same as the rate at which whites and blacks live in neighborhoods where they predominate (41-42 percent). While this type of neighborhood is the most common location for Hispanics in the 10 metro areas, for Asians, the most common neighborhood type is a mixed white-and-other neighborhood. This suggests a higher level of integration among Asians and whites than among Hispanics and whites at the neighborhood level.

Second, as the share of Asians living in mixed white-and-other neighborhoods climbed slightly during the 1990s, that share declined for Hispanics. By 2000, Hispanics were about twice as likely to Asians to live in a mixed neighborhood with blacks (mixed black-and-other), while Asians were more than twice as likely as Hispanics to live in a mixed neighborhood with whites (mixed white-and-other). In sum, it seems that in neighborhoods where Hispanics live alongside another racial/ethnic group, that group is more often black, while for Asians it is more often white.

D. Fewer than half of the country's multiethnic and mixed white-and-black neighborhoods retained the same racial/ethnic mix in 2000 that they had in 1990.

To most observers, "stability" implies growth, development, improved quality of life for residents, and in general a "good" to be achieved. Its opposite—instability—is fraught with images of decay and decline, boarded-up shops and abandoned cars, and an ever-downward spiral of economic despair for residents trapped in such neighborhoods. Viewed through a different lens, however, stability carries negative implications. For example, racially or economically segregated communities that remain stable by definition remain segregated.

This survey employs the term "stability" more simply. A "stable" community is one that did not undergo significant racial and ethnic change during the 1990s. A "transitioning" neighborhood, by contrast, did change and shifted its racial/ethnic classification during the decade.

With these considerations in mind, this section explores the varying degrees of stability and transition that each neighborhood type exhibited during the 1990s. Table 3, to this end, presents a matrix showing, for each neighborhood type as of 1990, the proportion of its communities falling into each classification in 2000. Boldface cells in the matrix (along the diagonal) suggest the proportion of neighborhoods remaining in the same category throughout the decade, providing a sort of "stability rating" for each type. For instance, reading left to right, the matrix reveals that 68 percent of neighborhoods classified as predominantly white in 1990 were still predominantly white in 2000.

The rate at which different neighborhood types changed over the decade signals the widespread and significant growth in Hispanic and Asian populations that occurred in these 10 metro areas. Multiethnic neighborhoods, as Table 3 shows, were the

Table 4. Metropolitan Areas with Most and Least Stable Neighborhood Types, 1990–2000

	Most Stable		Least Stable	
1990 Neighborhood Type	Metro Area	%	Metro Area	%
Predominantly white	Detroit	85.7	Dallas	40.3
Predominantly black	Detroit	98.1	Houston	51.8
Predominantly other-race	Boston; Detroit; Washington, D.C.	100.0	Philadelphia	60.0
Mixed white-and-other	Washington, D.C.	84.6	Atlanta	40.0
Mixed white-and-black	Philadelphia	62.5	Houston	14.3
Mixed black-and-other	Washington, D.C.	96.2	Atlanta	50.0
Mixed multiethnic	Washington, D.C.	60.8	Atlanta	19.0

Source: Authors' calculations of 1990 and 2000 census data

Values indicate percentage of neighborhoods of that type in 1990 remaining the same type in 2000 for named metro area

least likely to retain their designation over the decade. Only 41 percent of all mixed multiethnic neighborhoods in 1990 remained that way by 2000. The statistics indicate that growth in "other" groups (Hispanics and Asians), perhaps combined with some white population loss, tilted almost half of these neighborhoods toward mixed black-and-other status. By contrast, just 9 percent of multiethnic communities became mixed white-and-other neighborhoods. This distinction also reflects that white population dropped slightly in these 10 metro areas in the 1990s, while black population grew by 13 percent.[22]

Other neighborhood types proved more stable in their racial/ethnic profile over the decade. Mixed black-and-other neighborhoods were the least changed, with nine out of 10 retaining that designation over the decade.[23] About seven in 10 mixed white-and-other communities retained that character, and generally became predominantly other-race neighborhoods when they changed (again reflecting the influence of growing Hispanic and Asian populations in all types of neighborhoods). Mixed white-and-black neighborhoods, however, changed classification much more frequently. Fewer than half retained that mix over the decade. Most often, they became mixed multiethnic communities, or else predominantly black. The latter type of transition reflects the classic "tipping point" (such as occurred along Washington, D.C.'s Southwest Waterfront). At the same time, the fact that more of these neighborhoods became mixed multiethnic suggests that Hispanic and Asian growth during the 1990s did not inevitably lead to significant losses of white population.

What became of neighborhoods that were racially/ethnically homogeneous in 1990? Predominantly white neighborhoods transitioned more often than any other type during the 1990s, as 23 percent developed into mixed white-and-other neighborhoods by 2000. Predominantly black and predominantly other-race communities experienced lower rates of racial/ethnic turnover than predominantly white communities. Specifically, predominantly black neighborhoods were only half as likely as predominantly white neighborhoods to absorb Hispanic/Asian population sufficient to change to mixed status. And predominantly other-race communities changed categories at less than half the rate (5.3 percent versus 11.7 percent) that predominantly black communities did.

It should be noted that these patterns also reflect whether neighborhood population increased or decreased. Neighborhoods with stable or declining population tended to retain their racial/ethnic profile over the decade; those with growing populations tended to change. For instance, predominantly black neighborhoods in which population rose changed categories more often—20 percent of the time—than those in which population declined. Predominantly other-race neighborhoods, in which increasing population tended to reinforce already high proportions of Hispanics or Asians, provided the only exception to this rule.

How did the stability of different neighborhood types vary among the 10 metro areas? Table 4 shows, for each neighborhood type, the metro areas where the highest and lowest proportions of neighborhoods retained the same designation across the decade. This display of the most and least stable neighborhoods clearly reveals that the aggregate figures in Table 3 mask some sharply contrasting trends. Generally 40 percentage points or more separate the least stable and most stable metro area for each neighborhood category. About six in seven predominantly white neighborhoods in the Detroit area remained that way, but the same held for fewer than half the predominantly white neighborhoods in the Dallas area. Detroit also showed significant stasis in its predominantly black communities, but changes occurred much more often in this type of com-

Figure 5. Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area Neighborhoods by Type, 1990–2000

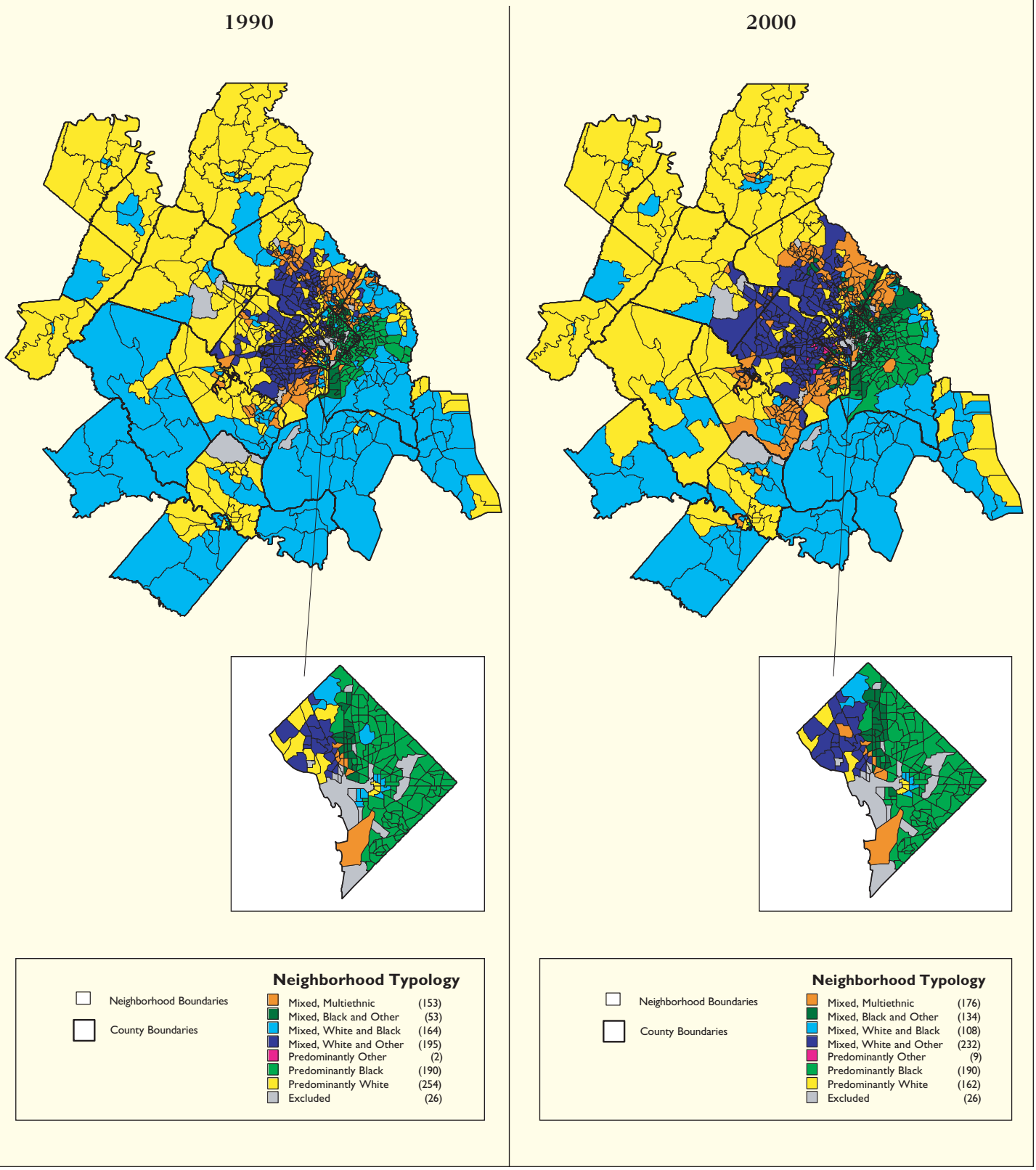
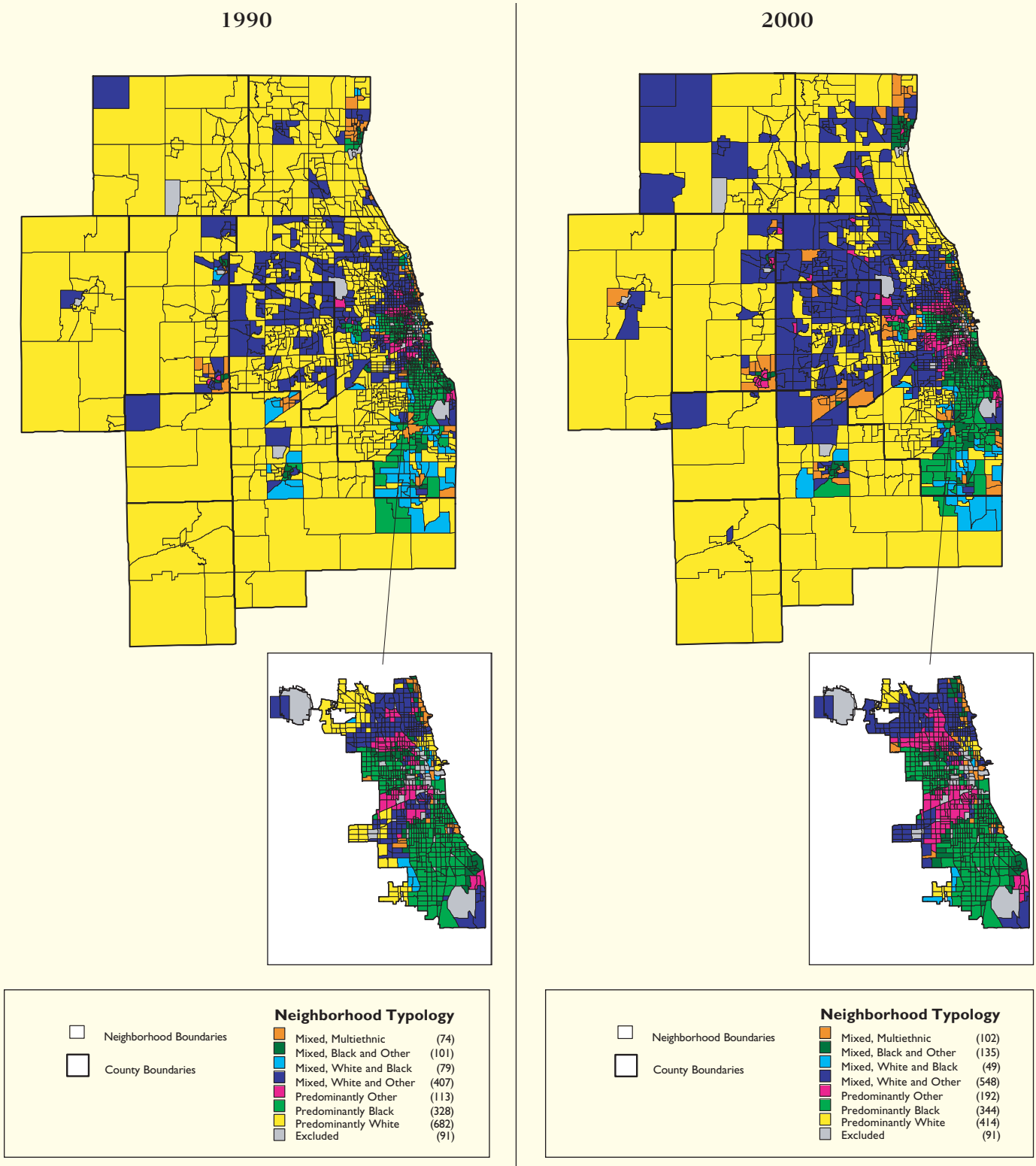


Figure 6. Chicago Metropolitan Area Neighborhoods by Type, 1990–2000



munity in areas like Houston that had booming Hispanic populations.

The stability of mixed white-and-black neighborhoods also varied greatly among metropolitan areas. These neighborhoods displayed moderate stability in the Philadelphia area, but only one in seven mixed white-and-black communities in the Houston area in 1990 stayed that way by 2000. A more robust 50 percent of white-and-black communities in Atlanta, Detroit, and Washington maintained their profile. This may reflect the presence in each of these metro areas of well-established black-and-white neighborhoods with above-average household incomes.

In sum, the widespread growth of Hispanic and Asian populations strongly influenced the likelihood that different types of communities changed in their racial and ethnic profile during the 1990s. That influence was amplified in predominantly white neighborhoods, relative to predominantly black neighborhoods. Truly multiethnic communities were the least stable in their makeup, but even as many transitioned to a somewhat less-diverse makeup, new ones formed from previously white-and-black neighborhoods. Examining the changes on a metro-by-metro basis provides greater context for understanding how neighborhood transitions occurred, and we turn to this subject in the next section.

E. Neighborhoods that changed from homogeneous to mixed-race were often in suburbs, but patterns varied widely among metro areas. Neighborhood change also reflects distinct spatial patterns. Mapping the neighborhood typology in selected metro areas identifies some of the overall patterns, but each area also exhibits unique changes influenced by its population mix and historical settlement trends. In this section, we examine Chicago and Washington, D.C. to illustrate these dynamics.

One characteristic common to Washington (Figure 5) and a number of other metro areas is the growth of mixed-race communities all across the region—and not just within the core of the region. In 1990, the region already had a substantial number of mixed white-and-other communities on its west side, and an area of predominantly black communities in its eastern half (including the central city). Mixed multiethnic and black-and-other neighborhoods, for the most part, were located in close-in suburbs. By 2000, these mixed-race neighborhoods had spread outward from the core of the region, covering large portions of all of the inner counties (Montgomery County, MD, and Arlington and Fairfax counties, VA), and reaching into farther-flung suburban counties (such as Prince William and Loudon counties, VA).

Growth in the region's mixed-race communities did not occur in a neat, concentric fashion, however, as early theories of urban change posited. To the west and north of the central city, formerly white and white-black neighborhoods evolved into mixed white-and-other and multiethnic communities. On the eastern side of the city, mixed black-and-other and multiethnic communities took root. And the overall number of predominantly black communities in the region stayed the same, as several neighborhoods in Prince George's County, Maryland (to the city's east) became more than 50 percent black. This divergence reflects historical development trends that have resulted in whites and blacks largely living on opposite sides of the Washington region.[24] Consequently, very different mixed-race communities emerged in different parts of the metro area.

The Chicago region experienced a similar amount of neighborhood transition during the 1990s, but its spatial trajectory differed from that in Washington. In Chicago's case, large increases in both Hispanic and Asian populations substantially altered neighborhoods from the core outwards, but racial and ethnic mixing tended to "leapfrog" out into older suburban areas. Smaller cities in Chicago's suburbs like Elgin and Aurora (Kane County) to the west, and Joliet (Will County) to the southwest, received immigrants and ethnic outmigrants from the central city in the 1990s, forming new multiethnic communities far from the region's core. Meanwhile, adjoining suburbs transitioned from predominantly white to mixed white-and-other status.

As on the eastern side of the Washington region, the southern side of the Chicago area saw a number of neighborhoods transition from mixed white-and-black to predominantly black. Little change occurred on the city's south side, where the majority of historically black neighborhoods remained that way over the decade. Unlike Washington, however, the city of Chicago experienced substantial increases in predominantly Asian (largely Korean and Vietnamese) communities on its north side, and predominantly Hispanic communities on its west side. Along the highway corridor heading west from the downtown Loop, formerly mixed communities became predominantly other-race, and several formerly white neighborhoods at the city's western edge became mixed white-and-other. By contrast, the few neighborhoods in the Washington region in which Hispanics or Asians predominate are located exclusively outside the central city, partly reflecting that region's more recent emergence as an immigration gateway.[25]

Conclusion

This report reveals that a striking new level of racial and ethnic mixing occurred in the nation's major metropolitan areas during the 1990s. Moreover, the

survey offers a glimpse of the future. After all, the 10 large metropolitan areas assessed here exhibit the sort of demographic changes increasingly reshaping urban America and soon to occur on a much broader scale nationally. As such, these early trends offer an important opportunity to discuss what we mean by integration, how integrated communities will look in the future, and how we might create appropriate conditions for integration that lead to positive social outcomes in an increasingly diverse society.

To be sure, the findings here offer only limited insights as to how and why neighborhoods changed the way they did. Predicting the nature of neighborhood change and assessing the factors that cause it, moreover, require additional research. Some suburban communities in the Washington region, for example, may have become predominantly black because upwardly mobile blacks migrated there during the 1990s. Meanwhile, the emergence of predominantly other-race—whether Asian or Hispanic—neighborhoods may not reflect segregation so much as the gravitation of immigrants to communities of common interest.

With those caveats in mind, though, a few observations can be made about the meaning of the changes that have taken place in the nation's largest metropolitan areas—observations that may have broad relevance in other locales.

First, the overall changes show that both whites and blacks are increasingly living among people of other ethnicities, not just with each other. That means that national and local policies to foster the integration of blacks and whites alone may miss the mark. For example, programs that subsidize home ownership or home rental in mixed communities may fail to recognize progress if they define goals strictly in terms of the proportion of a community that is black or white. As we have seen, mixed white-and-black communities are in decline, but mixed communities of other forms are on the rise. At the same time, programs that provide financial support for disadvantaged black families, regardless of their eventual residential location, may better comport with unfolding realities. At any rate, this report suggests that measurements of integration should consider whether populations live in truly multicultural communities—not just whether blacks and whites live in the same neighborhoods.

Second, it bears noting that the spread of integration has implications for the allocation of public resources. Abundant evidence documents that non-white families tend to include more and younger children. Increases in mixed-race neighborhoods, then, point to shifting household composition and age distribution in these communities. As many cities have discovered, population shifts have caused some schools to become increasingly underutilized while others become increasingly overcrowded. Examining neighborhood integration levels, as well as the kinds of community compositions that remain stable over time, can help inform educational policy makers on where to devote new resources, and how to redirect existing ones.

A third insight is that, depending on the regional context, local community-level changes may indicate renewed economic vitality, or may portend economic struggle. Ethnic entrepreneurship has blossomed in many cities (e.g., Korean green grocers in New York, Arab convenience store owners in Detroit), leading to new economic activity, while at the same time exacerbating complaints about lack of access and opportunity for existing residents relative to new in-migrants. Understanding the forces driving these neighborhood transitions is critical if local and regional policy makers wish to support positive changes on one hand, and blunt negative changes on the other.

A final observation: Over the past decade, non-white populations fueled continued growth in the nation's major metropolitan areas, contributing to a rise in mixed-race communities. So long as these communities remain economically vibrant and viable, this increased diversity should be welcomed as a stabilizing social influence. Prior research does find that as a community's relative share of whites declines, it can go into an economic tailspin. However, this was more likely to prove true at an earlier time, when an "invasion-succession" model of neighborhood change prevailed. Under that model, a decline in the share of residents who were white usually indicated an out-migration of economically better-off residents and an influx of poorer black residents. But such analyses were based on a white/non-white dichotomy. For that reason, they may not capture the more diverse economic profile of newer mixed-race communities, with increased Hispanic and Asian populations. Future research should examine whether the increase in mixed black-and-other neighborhoods might bode well for blacks, and whether the decrease in mixed white-and-black neighborhoods might break the "traditional" cycle of economic decline for blacks living in transitional neighborhoods.

In closing, a careful review of how researchers and policy makers understand integration seems in order—as does more research on how integration occurs and how it impacts the nation's metropolitan areas. The goal of improving the economic and social standing of the poorest (and most often black) segments of the nation's urban populations is still a pressing one, and the latest evidence should encourage us to reconsider the profile of stable integrated neighborhoods, as well as our strategies to support them.

Appendix Table A. Proportion of Neighborhoods by Type, 10 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1990-2000

		Homogeneous (%)			Mixed-Race (%)			
Metro Area	Year	White	Black	Other-race	White-and-other	White-and-black	Black-and-other	Multiethnic
Atlanta	1990	47.3	22.2	0.0	0.8	25.7	0.6	3.4
	2000	28.8	22.5	0.2	6.9	18.8	10.5	12.3
	change	-18.5	0.3	0.2	6.1	-6.9	9.9	8.9
Boston	1990	71.9	1.4	0.7	14.1	1.7	5.2	4.9
	2000	55.7	0.6	1.7	26.3	0.6	8.4	6.8
	change	-16.2	-0.8	1.0	12.2	-1.1	3.2	1.9
Chicago	1990	38.0	18.6	6.3	22.6	4.4	5.7	4.3
	2000	23.1	19.3	10.7	30.8	2.8	7.6	5.8
	change	-14.9	0.7	4.4	8.2	-1.6	1.9	1.5
Dallas	1990	31.3	6.1	3.8	32.2	4.1	8.1	14.5
	2000	13.0	3.7	11.2	36.3	1.3	17.7	16.7
	change	-18.3	-2.4	7.4	4.1	-2.8	9.6	2.2
Detroit	1990	68.3	21.3	0.1	2.0	6.1	0.9	1.4
	2000	58.9	23.6	0.6	6.7	5.9	2.2	2.0
	change	-9.4	2.3	0.5	4.7	-0.2	1.3	0.6
Houston	1990	16.6	7.4	7.8	34.5	1.8	15.3	16.6
	2000	8.0	4.1	14.5	34.7	0.3	27.9	10.6
	change	-8.6	-3.3	6.7	0.2	-1.5	12.6	-6.0
Los Angeles	1990	3.8	0.9	34.3	39.4	0.1	18.4	3.2
	2000	1.9	0.6	44.4	30.9	0.0	19.8	2.5
	change	-1.9	-0.3	10.1	-8.5	-0.1	1.4	-0.7
New York	1990	18.2	9.5	7.7	30.4	0.5	27.1	6.5
	2000	9.4	8.9	12.6	31.4	0.3	32.4	4.9
	change	-8.8	-0.6	4.9	1.0	-0.2	5.3	-1.6
Philadelphia	1990	65.5	11.5	0.4	2.5	13.7	3.7	2.7
	2000	55.0	12.7	0.2	6.5	12.3	6.8	6.4
	change	-10.5	1.2	-0.2	4.0	-1.4	3.1	3.7
Washington, D.C.	1990	25.0	18.9	0.2	19.2	16.3	5.2	15.1
	2000	16.1	18.7	0.9	22.9	10.6	13.3	17.4
	change	-8.9	-0.2	0.7	3.7	-5.7	8.1	2.3

Source: Authors' analysis of 1990 and 2000 census data

Endnotes

1. David Fasenfest is a senior research fellow at the Douglas Fraser Center for Workplace Issues and associate professor of urban affairs at the College of Urban, Labor, and Metropolitan Affairs at Wayne State University. Jason Booza and Kurt Metzger are, respectively, Geographic Information Specialist and Research and Analysis Director at the college's Center for Urban Studies.

2. Discussions of racial segregation and integration invariably focus on urban populations, since most non-white people live in and around the nation's major urban centers.

3. The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, "Racial Change in the Nation's Largest Cities: Evidence from the 2000 Census" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001).

4. William Frey, "Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001). A portion of this increased diversity owes to the ability of Census 2000 respondents to select more than one race category, consistent with the increasingly "fluid" way in which people identify their racial/ethnic heritage. See also Audrey Singer, "America's Diversity at the Beginning of the 21st Century: Reflections from Census 2000" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2002).

5. Ed Glaeser and Jacob Vigdor, "Racial Segregation in the 2000 Census: Promising News" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001).

6. Nancy Denton and Douglas Massey, "Patterns of Neighborhood Transition in a Multiethnic World: U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970–1980." *Demography* 28 (1) (1991): 41–63.

7. Richard A. Smith, "Discovering Stable Racial Integration." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20 (1) (1998): 1–5.

8. Ingrid Gould Ellen, "Stable Racial Integration in the Contemporary United States: An Empirical Overview." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20 (1) (1998): 27–42; George Galster, "A Stock/Flow Model of Defining Racially Integrated Neighborhoods." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20 (1) (1998): 43–51; Michael T. Maly, "The Neighborhood Diversity Index: A Complementary Measure of Racial Residential Settlement." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22 (1) (2000): 37–47; Phillip Nyden and others, "Neighborhood Racial and Ethnic Diversity in U.S. Cities." *Cityscape* 4 (2) (1998): 1–17; Smith, "Discovering Stable Racial Integration."

9. We use the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) and Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA) concepts as defined by the Office of Management and Budget for Census 2000. We use a consistent set of census tracts for each metro area in 1990 and 2000.

10. When combined with the Hispanic/non-Hispanic classification, the race question generates 126 mutually exclusive race/ethnicity categories, compared to just 10 categories in the 1990 census. When Hispanics are removed from the population classified as multi-race, the national rate of multi-race response is just 1.6 percent of the population. The comparable rate for our 10 metropolitan areas is 1.9 percent. The 1990 census did not have a multiracial category, thus complicating comparisons across the decade.

11. Some portion of this decrease may be attributable to individuals selecting more than one race in 2000 after classifying themselves as white in 1990, thereby excluding themselves from our analysis.

12. To ensure that this process did not unduly affect the 1990 data, we applied our methodology to both the original 1990 census tracts and the "realigned" 1990 tracts and found that the results were nearly identical.

13. Barrett A. Lee and P. Wood, "The Fate of Residential Integration in American Cities: Evidence for Racially Mixed Neighborhoods, 1970–1980." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 12 (4) (1990): 425–436; Ellen, "Stable Racial Integration in the Contemporary United States."

14. For instance, researchers at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee recently studied the prevalence of census blocks in which at least 20 percent of the population is white and at least 20 percent black. They acknowledge that dealing with only two race groups constrains this measure, as well as traditional measures of segregation. Lois M. Quinn and John Pawasarat, "Racial Integration in Urban America: A Block Level Analysis of African American and White Housing Patterns" (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute, 2003).

15. Smith criticizes the absolute approach as being non-precise, non-grounded, arbitrary and atheoretical (Smith, "Discovering Stable Racial Integration"). However, Galster finds that the comparative approach also has it faults (Galster, "A Stock/Flow Model of Defining Racially Integrated Neighborhoods").

16. Galster, "A Stock/Flow Model of Defining Racially Integrated Neighborhoods."

17. This "absolute" approach follows that from Ellen, "Stable Racial Integration in the Contemporary United States."

18. Native Americans and persons of "other" races constitute less than 4 percent of our sample, and their presence does not affect the typology significantly in any of the 10 metro areas.

19. Because the number of predominantly black communities stays fairly constant, we posit that the decline in the number of mixed white-and-black neighborhoods owes to growth in Hispanic or Asian population, not a decline in the white population.

20. Atlanta and Philadelphia experienced similar increases in mixed white-and-other and mixed black-and-other neighborhoods.

21. Not surprisingly, these four metro areas rank higher on the index of dissimilarity between blacks and Hispanics than the other six metros. See "Metropolitan Area Rankings: Population of All Ages," available at **mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/WholePop/WPsort.html** (February 2004).

22. The likelihood that a particular neighborhood type transitions to another type also depends on how close neighborhoods were to threshold proportions for certain race/ethnic groups in 1990. The typical multiethnic neighborhood across the 10 metro areas in 1990 was 59 percent white, 20 percent black, 15 percent Hispanic, and 7 percent Asian. All else equal, a multiethnic neighborhood would become mixed white-and-other if its black proportion fell below 10 percent, and would become mixed black-and-other if its white proportion fell below 40 percent. The former scenario represents, then, a drop by half in black population share from the typical multiethnic community (amid rising black population overall), while the second, more common, scenario represents a drop by one-third in the white population share (amid a slight drop in white population overall).

23. Of those that did change designation, most became predominantly other-race neighborhoods, perhaps reflecting a two-decade process of Hispanic population growth.

24. Bruce Katz and Amy Liu, "A Region Divided: The State of Growth in Greater Washington, D.C." (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1999).

25. Audrey Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004).

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For more information

David Fasenfest
Douglas Fraser Center for Workplace Issues
Wayne State University
Phone: (313) 993-4236
Email: **david.fasenfest@wayne.edu**

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