



"At the turn of the 21st century, the nation's melting pot ideal persists, but it now encompasses a more racially and ethnically diverse group of Americans, both native and foreign born."

METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

Diversity Spreads Out: Metropolitan Shifts in Hispanic, Asian, and Black Populations Since 2000

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Findings

Analysis of Census Bureau population estimates detailing the distribution of racial and ethnic groups within and across U.S. metropolitan areas since Census 2000 reveals that:

- **Hispanic and Asian populations are spreading out from their traditional metropolitan centers, while the shift of blacks toward the South is accelerating.** The Los Angeles and New York metropolitan areas contained 23 percent of the nation's Hispanic population in 2004, down from 30 percent in 1990. Meanwhile, interior California areas such as Riverside and Stockton gained significant numbers of Hispanics and Asians. Fully 56 percent of the nation's blacks now reside in the South, a region that has garnered 72 percent of the increase in that group's population since 2000.
- **The fastest growing metro areas for each minority group in 2000–2004 are no longer unique, but closely parallel the fastest growing areas in the nation.** National growth centers such as Las Vegas, Atlanta, Orlando, and Phoenix are now prominent centers of minority population growth as well. Still, Hispanics, Asians, and blacks remain more likely to reside in large metropolitan areas than the population as a whole.
- **Of the nation's 361 metropolitan areas, 111 registered declines in white population from 2000 to 2004, with the largest absolute losses occurring in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.** Declines were greatest in coastal metropolitan areas and economically stagnant parts of the country. More so than for minority groups, white population growth has dispersed towards smaller-sized areas.
- **Minorities contributed the majority of population gains in the nation's fastest-growing metropolitan areas and central metropolitan counties from 2000 to 2004.** Minority groups remain the demographic lifeblood of inner counties in older metropolitan areas, but they are increasingly fueling growth in fast-growing outer suburban and "exurban" counties as well.
- **A strong multi-minority presence characterizes 18 large "melting pot" metro areas, and 27 large metro areas now have "majority minority" child populations.** Because the nation's child population is more racially diverse than its adult population, in nearly one-third of all large metro areas—including Washington, D.C., Chicago, Phoenix, and Atlanta—fewer than half of all people under age 15 are white.

Hispanic, Asian, and black populations continue to migrate to, and expand their presence in, new destinations. They are increasingly living in suburbs, in rapidly growing job centers in the South and West, and in more affordable areas adjacent to higher-priced coastal metro areas. The wider dispersal of minority populations signifies the broadening relevance of policies aimed at more diverse, including immigrant, communities.

Introduction

The idea of America as an ethnic “melting pot” gained currency at the turn of the 20th century, amid an unprecedented wave of European immigrants to the United States. At the turn of the 21st century, the melting pot ideal persists, but encompasses a more racially and ethnically diverse group of Americans, both native and foreign born. In particular, the higher growth rates of the nation’s minority populations versus its white population animate this distinctly American concept.

Yet the impact of minority population growth on individual metropolitan areas and regions weaves a more complicated tapestry. While Census 2000 results generated greater awareness of the minority presence in metropolitan America, particularly in the suburbs, ongoing patterns of immigration and domestic migration have begun to alter stereotypes regarding where America’s Hispanics, Asians, and blacks live.¹ This survey updates the picture for the first part of the current decade, and identifies significant patterns of both continuity and change. These patterns hold important implications for consumer and voter behavior, economic development, and race relations in metropolitan areas both large and small.

Social and economic forces in recent decades have radically altered the regional landscape for racial and ethnic minorities. Forty years ago, blacks were continuing their long-standing move out of the South toward cities in the North and West, while Hispanic and Asian populations remained rooted in traditional “port of entry” cities like New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago. Soon thereafter, important congressional legislation, including the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act and landmark civil rights laws, helped change these dynamics.

Though not fully appreciated at the

time, the 1965 legislation “opened up” immigration to large numbers of incomers from Latin America and Asia. The long-term impact of the law became especially evident in the last two decades, as record levels of immigration fueled unprecedented numeric gains in the nation’s Hispanic and Asian populations.²

Likewise, Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s strongly impacted the social and geographic mobility of subsequent generations of African Americans. As more blacks entered the middle class, and as images of the segregated South receded with time, black migration started to flow back to the South. Beginning in the 1970s, but especially during the 1990s, record numbers of African Americans began to move away from traditional Northern and Western cities to newly prosperous Southern metropolitan areas—a reversal of the earlier northward “Great Migration.”³

These minority population shifts occurred in the context of growth and decline in the nation’s metropolitan areas. A recent review of these patterns shows metropolitan population growth to be increasingly dependent on both national and local economic conditions.⁴ The North-to-South population shift continues, as many “Rust Belt” metropolitan areas (e.g., Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Youngstown) lose residents, while fast-growing “Sun Belt” areas (e.g., Las Vegas, Phoenix, Orlando) show consistent gains. Many saw the 1990s as a boom period for large metropolitan areas, especially those with diversified economies and high-tech or knowledge-based industries. After 2000, however, the economy slowed which, along with the bursting of the “dot-com” bubble and continued house price appreciation, rendered coastal metropolitan areas unaffordable to many workers and made interior, low-cost communities more attractive.

In the past, minorities have not necessarily followed these broad popula-

tion shifts. For immigrant minorities, especially, friendship and family networks have drawn them to traditional ports of entry, even during times when labor market considerations would suggest they move elsewhere.⁵ Blacks, as well, have tended to follow well-worn paths, initially out of the South and, later, to a network of cities across the North and West.⁶ Whites, because they are less dependent on social ties and generally face little resistance in destination communities, have responded more readily to the economic “pushes and pulls” of the labor market and have led population gains in the most economically prosperous parts of the country.⁷

Studies based on Census 2000 results indicate that minorities have begun to disperse away from traditional port-of-entry metropolises.⁸ This is especially the case for longer-term and native-born Hispanic and Asian residents who comprise increasingly larger shares of the population.⁹ Many lower-skilled Hispanic migrants are moving to fast-growing areas of the country, in response to retail, service, and construction job growth, while higher-skilled minority migrants are following the same professional opportunities that have attracted whites.

Yet the geographic dispersal of minorities observed in Census 2000 reflects just the tip of the iceberg, as these patterns are likely to carry over to younger minority populations. The resulting entry of minorities into formerly white areas creates challenges and opportunities for both the newcomers and established residents. At the same time, established “melting pot” metropolitan areas are becoming even more diverse, as new immigrants continue to arrive, and as long-term minority residents have children.

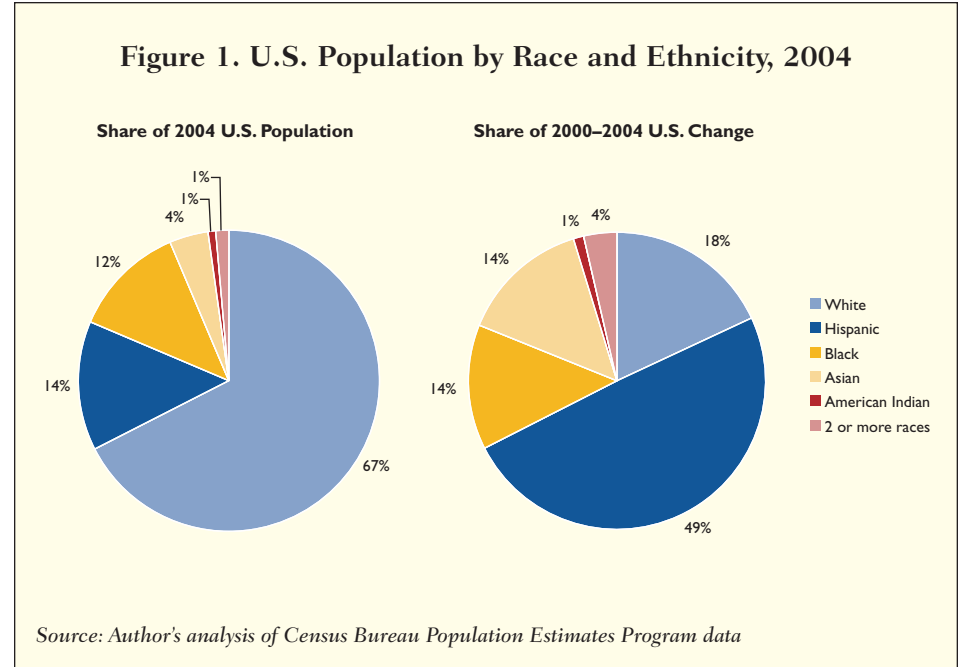
This survey examines continuing shifts in the nation’s metropolitan areas by race and ethnicity during the first part of the current decade. Following a discussion of methodology, it

examines the largest population centers for Hispanics, Asians, and blacks, and how they have changed in the 1990-to-2004 period. Next, it reviews the fastest-growing areas for each minority group in order to assess future directions of minority dispersal, and contrasts their geographic shifts with those for whites. The survey then measures the degree to which minorities contribute to population increases in the fastest-growing metropolitan areas, and in inner and outer counties within metropolitan areas. Lastly, the survey examines the continued emergence of “melting pot” metropolitan areas and the rise of “majority minority” youth populations in many of these areas, and concludes with a discussion of the social and economic implications of these changing settlement patterns.

Methodology

This survey differs from most analyses conducted immediately after Census 2000 by utilizing new metropolitan area definitions announced by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 2003.¹⁰ These new definitions do not merely revise earlier classifications, but rather, fundamentally reframe the metropolitan area concept. All of the statistics shown in this report are consistent with these new definitions.

The primary geographic units of analysis for this study are the 361 metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) defined according to these standards. Different parts of this analysis will focus on the 88 “large metropolitan areas” that had populations exceeding 500,000 in 2000, “small metropolitan areas” (the remaining 273 MSAs), micropolitan areas, and other non-metropolitan territory. Still other parts of the study will focus on selected counties located within metropolitan areas.



The data for this study are drawn from county population estimates produced by the U.S. Census Bureau's Population Estimates Program for July 1990, July 2000, and July 2004 for race and ethnic groups.¹¹ They take into account the results of Census 2000 and information from a host of administrative data sources, including vital records, housing construction permits, tax returns, and Medicare records, among others. Unlike an actual enumeration like that conducted for the decennial census, the estimates also incorporate several underlying assumptions. The estimates for July 1990 come from the Census Bureau's archival estimate files and are based on the 1990 decennial enumeration.¹² For most of the analysis, county statistics are aggregated to form metropolitan areas, micropolitan areas and nonmetropolitan areas and other nonmetropolitan territory.

The Population Estimates Program provides annual estimates of basic demographic indicators for all U.S. counties, including population, race and ethnicity, age, and components of population change (births, deaths, internal migration, and international

migration). These estimates are intended to measure the total resident population in the United States, including undocumented immigrants and people in group quarters (e.g., dormitories, prisons, nursing homes). Still, like all estimates, the data presented here are subject to some degree of error, the magnitude of which may vary across counties according to the particular demographic forces contributing to their growth or decline.

The classification of racial and ethnic groups underlying this analysis differs slightly from that in Census 2000. This survey draws from the “modified race” classification in the Population Estimates Program. In order to utilize administrative records from a variety of government agencies in the estimation process, the modified race classification eliminates the “some other race” category used in the decennial census, and allocates its members to one of the other race groups.¹³ Further, to provide some consistency with the 1990 race classification, this survey combines the category “Asians” with “Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders” to form a single category, “Asians and Pacific Islanders.”

Because the Census Bureau treats Hispanic origin separately from race, all race categories (including persons of two or more races) refer to non-Hispanic members of that group, while “Hispanics” refers to all persons of Hispanic origin regardless of race. Most of the study, however, focuses only on four main groups: whites, blacks, Asians, and Hispanics.¹⁴

Findings

A. Hispanics and Asian populations are spreading out from their traditional metropolitan centers, while the shift of blacks toward the South is accelerating.

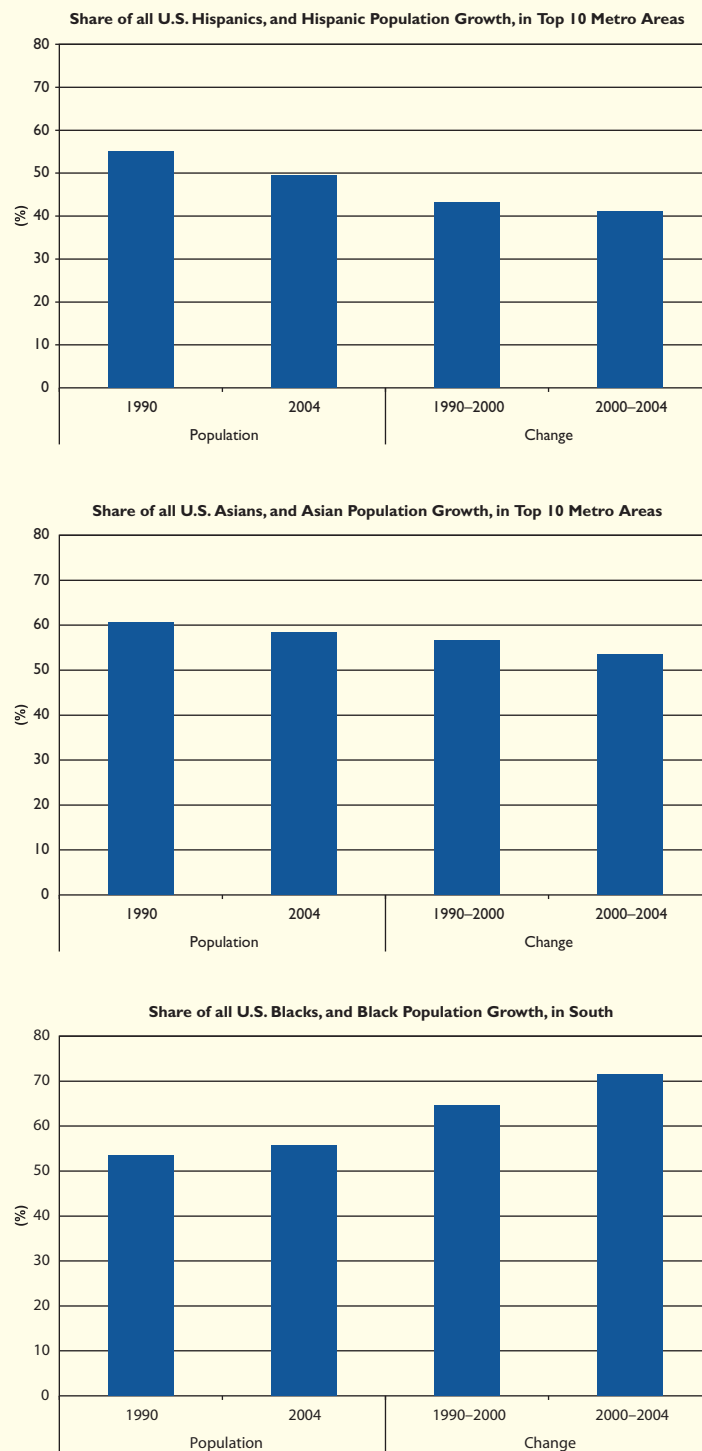
An uneasy tension has long existed between notions of the American “melting pot” and the geographic clustering of its minority groups. For Hispanic and Asian groups, that clustering is explained by their initial settlement in a handful of “port of entry” metropolitan areas. For blacks, who have lived in the United States for generations, that clustering reflects their initial forced settlement in the “Old South,” and their later migration to cities in the Northeast and Midwest, and on the West Coast.

Yet these longstanding concentration patterns show noticeable changes in the 2000s. This section reviews the changing metropolitan location of the nation’s three largest minority groups—Hispanics, Asians, and blacks—in turn.

Hispanics

As recently as the 1990 Census, taken 25 years after the 1965 Immigration Act paved the way for increased arrivals of Latin American Hispanics, this group was still relatively clustered within the United States. At that time, the 10 metropolitan areas with the largest Hispanic populations were home to fully 55 percent of all U.S. Hispanics. Moreover, the top two, Los Angeles and New York, housed nearly

Figure 2. Concentration of Population and Population Growth by Race and Ethnicity, 1990–2004



Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

Table 1. Metro Areas with Largest 2004 Populations: Hispanics, Asians, and Blacks

Rank			Metro area	Population	Share of metro area
2004	2000	1990		2004	population (%)
Hispanics					
1	1	1	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	5,587,692	43.2
2	2	2	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	3,882,817	20.8
3	3	3	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	1,982,641	37.0
4	4	4	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	1,725,685	18.4
5	5	5	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	1,637,992	31.6
6	6	6	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1,580,457	41.7
7	7	8	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1,423,020	25.0
8	9	12	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	1,056,145	28.4
9	8	7	San Antonio, TX	965,745	52.1
10	10	10	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	849,771	29.0
Asians					
1	1	1	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	1,712,127	13.2
2	2	2	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	1,616,489	8.6
3	3	3	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	879,495	21.2
4	4	5	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	491,876	28.2
5	6	6	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	454,300	4.8
6	5	4	Honolulu, HI	413,015	45.9
7	7	7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	405,859	7.9
8	8	9	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	308,600	9.7
9	9	8	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	283,037	9.7
10	10	10	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	281,894	5.4
Blacks					
1	1	1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	3,202,808	17.1
2	2	2	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	1,694,518	18.0
3	4	7	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	1,406,290	29.9
4	3	3	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1,335,823	26.0
5	5	4	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1,162,847	20.0
6	8	8	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	1,044,406	19.5
7	6	6	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	1,026,048	22.8
8	7	5	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	947,351	7.3
9	9	9	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	848,221	16.4
10	10	11	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	789,807	13.9

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

three in 10 Hispanics nationwide. Although this group has since dispersed to different parts of the nation, about half of all Hispanics (49 percent) still live in these 10 areas (Figure 2, top chart). Indeed, the top 10 metropolitan areas housing Hispanics are largely the same as in 1990, with the exception of eighth-ranked

Phoenix, which displaced now-number 11 San Francisco (Table 1). Within the top 10, the top six, led by Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Chicago, have not changed places in the past 14 years.

Nonetheless, the original Hispanic settlement areas are slowly losing their grip on this population group.

Although the 10 largest Hispanic destinations in 1990 today house about half of all Hispanics, they garnered only 43 percent of the increase in U.S. Hispanic population during the 1990s, and a somewhat lower share (41 percent) of growth in the first part of the 2000s.

While the top Hispanic-gaining

Table 2. Metro Areas with Largest Population Gains 2000–2004: Hispanics, Asians, and Blacks

Rank			
2000– 2004	1990– 2000	Metro area	Population change 2000–2004
Hispanics			
1	1	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	435,674
2	7	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	333,527
3	4	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	290,599
4	2	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	288,325
5	5	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	268,834
6	6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	261,354
7	8	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	226,472
8	3	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	217,047
9	14	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	114,039
10	12	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	112,362
Asians			
1	1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	201,543
2	2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	164,474
3	3	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	71,326
4	6	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	67,099
5	5	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	58,283
6	4	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	54,218
7	8	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	49,881
8	7	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	46,557
9	9	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	43,738
10	18	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	42,515
Blacks			
1	1	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	183,817
2	3	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	96,934
3	5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	74,562
4	4	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	64,439
5	7	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	56,694
6	8	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	42,997
7	11	Orlando, FL	41,729
8	14	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	40,703
9	9	Baltimore-Towson, MD	38,759
10	15	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	35,292

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

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metro areas overlap largely with the most populous ones, significant shifts occurred in the most recent period. The Riverside-San Bernardino area's ranking moved up by five, reflecting the redistribution of Hispanics from

the Los Angeles area to this more "suburban" metropolitan area (Table 2). New to the top 10 gainers over the 2000–2004 period are Washington and Atlanta, whose strong employment markets attracted new Hispanic immi-

grants and longer-term residents from other parts of the United States.

Outside the top ten, Orlando gained the 12th-largest number of Hispanics from 2000 to 2004, moving up in rank from 17 during the 1990s. Central California metro areas have also emerged as major Hispanic destinations, including Stockton (ranked 22nd, up from 38th) and Modesto (ranked 28th, up from 37th). This suggests that Hispanics within California are following general movement inward towards the state's central regions.¹⁵

Asians

The Asian population continues to cluster in traditional immigrant magnet areas to a somewhat greater degree than the Hispanic population. Indeed, the 10 metro areas with the largest Asian populations are the same in 2004 as in 1990 (Table 1). Led by Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco, these 10 metro areas were home to 57 percent of the nation's Asian population in 2004, down from 61 percent in 1990 (Figure 2, middle chart).

These areas' share of recent Asian population gains has dropped noticeably, however. From 2000 to 2004, they drew less than half (47 percent) of increased Asian population nationally, compared with 53 percent in the 1990s. Moreover, Dallas and Riverside, two metro areas that do not rank among those with the largest number of Asians, rank seventh and 10th respectively among the greatest gainers in 2000–2004 (Table 2). The jump in Riverside's rank from 18th during the 1990s to eighth in the 2000s reflects the same coastal "spillover" effect witnessed for Hispanics. This pattern also appears below the top 10, in Sacramento (from 16th to 11th) and Stockton (from 53rd to 19th). Honolulu, with one of the largest Asian populations, now ranks 27th in its recent increase, compared to the 1990s when it sustained an Asian population loss.

Blacks

The historic pattern of black settlement in the United States can be measured more easily in centuries than in decades. The most prominent shifts occurred during the first half of the 20th century with the “Great Migration” out of the South, first to cities in the North and Midwest, and then to the West. Still, up through the 1960s, the South housed more than half of the nation’s black population. The migration trend began to reverse in the early 1970s, when African Americans followed white population growth back into the South. Since then, and especially during the 1990s, blacks have moved to the South in increasing numbers—though less to historic “Old South” states such as Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, and more to “New South” growth centers such as Texas, North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.¹⁶

In the 2000–2004 period, black movement toward the South not only continued, but expanded. The bottom chart in Figure 2 indicates a continued and gradual increase in the South’s share of U.S. black population, from 54 percent in 1990 to 56 percent in 2004. More impressive still is the increased share of the nation’s black population growth now occurring in the South, from 65 percent in the 1990s to 72 percent in the first four years of the 2000s. A new development in the 2000–2004 period is that the majority (58 percent) of the nation’s black population gain occurred in large Southern metropolitan areas, those with populations greater than 500,000.

The metropolitan areas with the largest black populations cleave between northern destinations for blacks during the Great Migration and both old and new areas in the South. The New York and Chicago areas still count the largest African American populations in the United States in absolute terms (Table 1). While the metropolitan areas included in the top

10 have not changed significantly since 1990 (Dallas succeeded Baltimore at number 10), significant shifts occurred near the top. Atlanta rose from having the seventh-largest black population in 1990 to having the third-largest in 2004, more than doubling its black population during that time. Meanwhile, Miami rose from eighth to sixth on this measure in the four years from 2000 to 2004. Other metro areas, including Washington, Los Angeles, and Detroit declined in rank during this period.

Among large metropolitan areas, Atlanta led all others in its black population gains during both the 1990s and the 2000–2004 period. Its large black middle class, along with its diversified and growing economy, provides a continued draw for African Americans from across the United States. The region will soon overtake Chicago in total black population if current growth rates persist. Overall, the New South dominates the list of metro areas with the largest recent gains in black population (Table 2). Six of the top eight areas are located there, with Orlando and Charlotte emerging relatively recently. Philadelphia and Baltimore rank among the areas with the largest black gains due largely to natural increase (births minus deaths), rather than in-migration. And blacks, like Hispanics and Asians, are migrating to the Riverside area in increasing numbers, as that area ranked 10th over the 2000–2004 period.

With a few metro areas moving into the top 10 gainers list between the 1990s and the 2000s, a few dropped off the list as well. The New York metropolitan area ranked second in overall black population increase in the 1990s, but experienced a modest decline during the early 2000s. Chicago’s rank slipped from sixth to 28th, and Detroit’s from 13th to 29th. On the Pacific Coast, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Jose experienced continued declines in black population this decade, and San Diego

began to lose blacks after gaining them in the 1990s.

B. The fastest growing metro areas for each minority group in 2000–2004 are no longer unique, but closely parallel the fastest growing areas in the nation.

Recent analyses of migration from Census 2000 show that metropolitan areas serving as new destinations for Hispanics and Asians are attracting not only new immigrants, but also first- and second-generation domestic migrants leaving more traditional ports-of-entry.¹⁷ Similarly, over the 1990s, African Americans exhibited high growth rates to new destinations that were off the beaten path. More recently, however, fast-growing areas for each minority group have begun to parallel those experiencing the fastest total population growth.

This section examines the metropolitan areas exhibiting the highest growth rates in recent years for each minority group. These are not necessarily the same areas as those in the previous section, which experienced the greatest absolute population change. Growth rates provide a measure of where the newest gains in population are taking place, often in places undergoing significant in-migration.¹⁸

Hispanics

Overall the Hispanic population grew by 16 percent nationally during the 2000–2004 period. Well over half (53) of the 92 metropolitan areas with more than 50,000 Hispanics registered Hispanic population growth faster than this rate. Most of these metro areas are located in growing parts of the West and South.

Among the 10 fastest-growing metropolitan areas for Hispanics over 2000–2004, those in the Southeast—especially in Florida—dominate (Table 3). The Cape Coral–Ft. Myers, FL metro area rose in rank from number eight in the 1990s to number one in 2000–2004. Also in Florida, the Lake-

**Table 3. Metro Areas with Highest Growth Rates, 2000–2004 and 1990–2000:
Hispanics, Asians and Blacks***

Rank	Metro area	Population Change 2000–2004 (%)	Rank	Metro area	Population change 1990–2000 (%)
Hispanics 2000–2004			Hispanics 1990–2000		
1	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	55.4	1	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	605.9
2	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	49.8	2	Raleigh-Cary, NC	541.7
3	Raleigh-Cary, NC	46.7	3	Nashville-Davidson—Murfreesboro, TN	422.5
4	Nashville-Davidson—Murfreesboro, TN	44.9	4	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	355.0
5	Indianapolis, IN	44.3	5	Indianapolis, IN	263.3
6	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	41.0	6	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	259.1
7	Naples-Marco Island, FL	38.7	7	Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	178.7
8	Lakeland, FL	38.3	8	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	173.7
9	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	38.0	9	Lakeland, FL	172.1
10	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	35.1	10	Orlando, FL	165.3
Asians 2000–2004			Asians 1990–2000		
1	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	38.5	1	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	191.2
2	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	31.1	2	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	169.4
3	Orlando, FL	30.2	3	Austin-Round Rock, TX	140.8
4	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	28.5	4	Orlando, FL	125.3
5	Stockton, CA	28.4	5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	108.7
6	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	28.4	6	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	103.2
7	Austin-Round Rock, TX	28.2	7	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	93.4
8	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	27.0	8	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	92.3
9	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	25.6	9	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	87.3
10	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	24.8	10	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	81.9
Blacks 2000–2004			Blacks 1990–2000		
1	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	22.7	1	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	80.3
2	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	19.2	2	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	75.6
3	Orlando, FL	18.4	3	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	57.1
4	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	16.2	4	Orlando, FL	55.2
5	Raleigh-Cary, NC	15.2	5	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	53.5
6	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	15.0	6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	41.6
7	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	14.4	7	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	41.3
8	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	14.3	8	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	37.4
9	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	14.0	9	Raleigh-Cary, NC	35.7
10	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	13.7	10	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	35.2

* for metropolitan areas where end-of-period group population exceeds 50,000

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

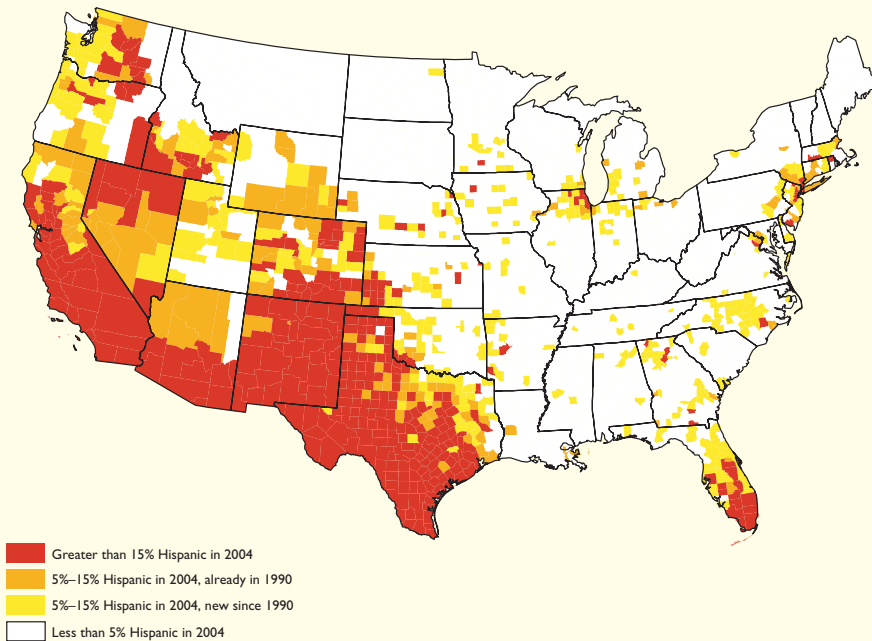
land area moved up a notch, while Naples and Sarasota advanced into the top 10. Other Florida metro areas outside the top 10 have fast-growing Hispanic populations, including Jacksonville (from 32nd in the 1990s to 12th in the 2000s) and Tampa-St. Petersburg (from 39th to 18th).

The Orlando area dropped out of the top 10, but still ranks 11th with a 2000–2004 Hispanic growth rate of 35 percent.

Other fast-rising Hispanic destinations include several that serve as magnets for overall population growth. California metro areas such as River-

side (from 40th in the 1990s to 23rd in 2000–2004), Stockton (from 59th to 24th), and Modesto (from 42nd to 26th) point to the movement of Hispanics inward from coastal California. The high rankings of the Charlotte and Raleigh metropolitan areas in North Carolina, and those of Atlanta and Las

Map 1. Shifts in Hispanic Population by County, 1990–2004



Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

Vegas, testify to the appeal of southeastern and interior western states.

Map 1 shows a further way of depicting the geography of Hispanic growth over the last 14 years, by identifying the 369 counties in which Hispanics passed the 5-percent-of-population threshold between 1990 and 2004. More than ever, the new destinations for Hispanic populations overlap with growth centers for overall U.S. population.

Asians

Similar to the nation's Hispanic population, the U.S. Asian population has grown by 15 percent over the 2000–2004 period. Today, 30 metropolitan areas are home to more than 50,000 Asians, and 21 of those have seen their Asian populations grow faster than the national average.

Metropolitan areas experiencing rapid growth in Asian population are

not the traditional magnets housing the largest numbers of Asians, however. As in the 1990s, Las Vegas ranks first in Asian growth from 2000 to 2004. New since 2000 is the Asian population growth occurring in the interior California metropolitan areas of Riverside, Stockton, and Sacramento, which all moved into the top ten. The Stockton metro area, notably, experienced 14 percent growth in Asian population during the 1990s, and saw that percentage double during the first four years of the 2000s. The growth of Asians in the California interior contrasts significantly with the fall-off in their growth rates in the large coastal metro areas of San Francisco and San José, a by-product of the “dot-com” bubble bursting, and high prevailing house prices. Other metro areas with a strong high-tech presence, including Minneapolis-St. Paul, Denver, and Boston underwent similar

post-2000 slowdowns in Asian population growth.

Because Asians comprise a much smaller share of the U.S. population (4 percent) than Hispanics (14 percent), far fewer places nationwide have relatively large Asian populations. Nonetheless, the 89 counties with Asian population shares of at least 5 percent in 2004—up from 44 in 1990—provide evidence that the population continues to spread out.

Blacks

Unlike the other two minority groups, black population grew only slightly faster (5 percent) than the U.S. population as a whole (4 percent) from 2000 to 2004. Many of the areas that have registered the fastest growth in this group's population are located in the South, but they can also be found in other parts of the country that have experienced significant overall population increases.

To wit: The metro areas with the fastest-growing black populations from 2000 to 2004 are Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Orlando. These are among the fastest-growing metro areas in the nation overall, and the jobs being created there—both low-skill and high-skill—appear to be attracting African American in-migrants.¹⁹ Still, the South retains a significant hold on black population increase, as the region contains five of the 10 metro areas experiencing the fastest black population growth in recent years.

Blacks also appear to be moving away from large metropolitan areas to nearby smaller areas such as Sacramento in the West, and Providence, New Haven, and Hartford in the Northeast. These gains may reflect housing affordability spillovers, wherein expensive metropolitan areas like Boston and San Francisco have become less attractive to blacks. Indeed, the San Francisco metro area showed the largest decline among large metros in black population (-6 percent) between 2000 and 2004.

The black population is somewhat less clustered across counties than the other two minorities. In 2004, 1,112 U.S. counties had populations that were at least 5 percent black, up slightly from 1,078 in 1990. Most are located in the South and in large urban areas in other regions. Suburban and other fast-growing parts of the country show the most significant growth in black population from 1990 to 2004 (Map 2).

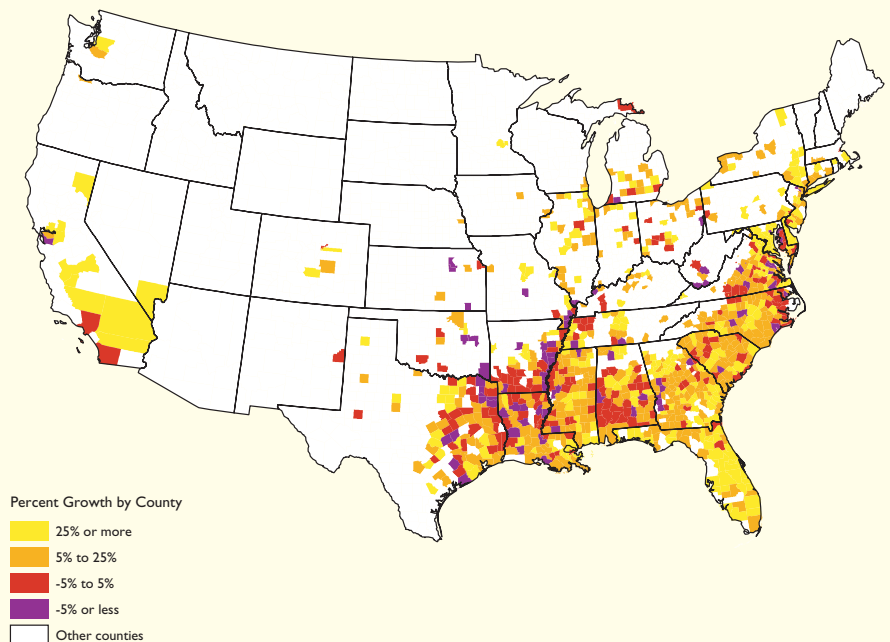
Although the populations of each major race group show distinctly different metropolitan clustering patterns, the recent growth rates of all three groups portray their movement toward areas with the fastest overall population growth, largely in the Southeast and West.

C. Of the nation's 361 metropolitan areas, 111 registered declines in white population from 2000 to 2004, with the largest absolute losses occurring in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

At 67 percent of the nation's population, whites are more evenly distributed across the four U.S. regions, and are less concentrated in large metropolitan areas (Table 4). Seven out of 10 blacks, nearly eight out of 10 Hispanics, and almost nine out of 10 Asians live in large metropolitan areas, but fewer than six in ten whites do.

Though they make up two-thirds of U.S. population, 2,448 of the nation's 3,141 counties (78 percent) have a white population share exceeding the national average; and more than half (1,775) are at least 85 percent white (Map 3). Those with the highest proportions are located largely in the Northeast and Midwest, regions that have not received as many immigrant minorities over the past several decades as the West and South. The over-representation of whites in so many U.S. counties reflects their predominance in small rural counties that characterize much of the Midwest and South.

Map 2. Growth in Black Population by County, 1990–2004



Among counties with more than 2,000 black population and at least 5% black
Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

Whites are redistributing themselves across metropolitan areas in quite different ways from minorities. The lower fertility rate of the white population compared to Hispanic and Asian populations leaves its overall growth rate—1 percent from 2000 to 2004—far short of growth rates for minority populations. Moreover, immigration does not add to the U.S. white population nearly to the degree it does Hispanic, Asian, and increasingly, black populations. As a consequence, white population growth and decline across metropolitan areas largely reflects domestic migration patterns. In addition to the economic forces that shape white migration flows (discussed in the Introduction), whites are somewhat older in their age structure than minority groups. Hence, they tend to dominate retirement migration towards high-amenity Sun Belt areas.²⁰

Metropolitan areas showing the

largest absolute gains in white population from 2000 to 2004 include growing “New Sun Belt” destinations in the South and West, including such staples as Phoenix, Atlanta, Las Vegas, and Dallas (Table 5). The ascendancy of the interior California metro areas of Riverside and Sacramento is also evident, as are increased flows to the Washington, D.C. area, an economically prosperous part of the country in recent years. These metropolitan areas contrast somewhat with those gaining the largest numbers of Hispanics and Asians in recent years (Table 2); traditional immigrant gateways such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Miami, and San Francisco continue to stand out for growth in those groups. Indeed, the list of metropolitan areas sustaining the largest white population losses over the 2000–2004 period features these traditional gateways.

White population declines in these

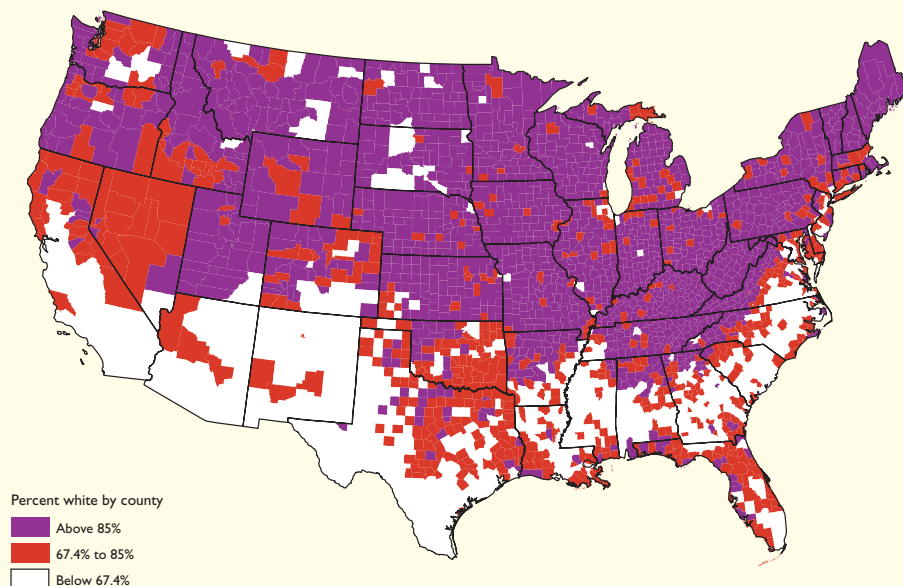
**Table 4. Population Distribution and Change by Region and Area Type, 2000–2004:
Hispanics, Asians, Blacks, and Whites**

	2004 population distribution (%)				Population change 2000–2004			
	Hispanics	Asians	Blacks	Whites	Hispanics	Asians	Blacks	Whites
Region								
Northeast	14.2	21.2	16.9	19.9	572,846	357,632	126,823	-231,580
Midwest	9.0	11.8	18.6	26.7	551,206	201,076	188,130	193,634
South	33.9	19.7	55.8	34.2	2,312,533	413,320	1,110,392	1,361,914
West	42.9	47.3	8.7	19.2	2,238,151	638,413	125,555	747,401
Area type								
Large metro areas	78.5	87.5	71.7	57.0	4,417,245	1,412,602	1,253,848	892,963
Small metro areas	14.2	9.1	16.7	22.5	886,455	153,309	257,034	885,115
Micropolitan areas	5.0	2.7	7.1	12.3	261,952	31,292	40,043	263,095
Other nonmetro	2.3	0.6	4.5	8.2	109,084	13,238	-25	30,196
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	5,674,736	1,610,441	1,550,900	2,071,369

**Large metro areas include metropolitan areas with populations greater than 500,000 in 2000; small metro areas include the remaining metropolitan areas; micropolitan areas are based on 2003 Office of Management and Budget (OMB) definitions; and other non-metro areas include those lying outside metropolitan and micropolitan areas.*

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

Map 3. Percent White Population by County, 2004



Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

immigrant magnet areas reflect the broader domestic out-migration affecting such areas, as people move away from largely expensive and congested metro areas toward areas with more affordable housing and greater job growth.²¹ Hispanics and blacks have joined in this out-migration since the mid-1990s, but their population continues to grow in the gateway metro areas via immigration and births.

Overall, almost one-third (111) of the nation's 361 metropolitan areas lost white population over the first four years of the 2000s. Large coastal metro areas lead the list, and most others are located in economically stagnating parts of the Midwest, Northeast, and interior South. The list also includes areas that took economic hits in the early 2000s. Metropolitan Boston, for instance, lost 69,000 whites from 2000 to 2004, versus just 12,000 during the entire 1990s.

As they leave these larger metropolitan areas, whites are heading for small

metropolitan areas and “micropolitan areas” to a much greater degree than blacks, Hispanics, or Asians (Table 4). These destinations may offer greater affordability and a more “suburban” lifestyle. Regionally, they continue to locate in the Sun Belt, with the South and West regions gaining far more whites than the Northeast and the Midwest.

The bulk of U.S. counties with the fastest-growing white population are located in the interior West and Southeast United States, particularly in the large metropolitan suburbs, smaller metropolitan areas, and micropolitan areas of these regions (Map 4). The contrast between these areas, and those where whites make up most of the population (Map 3), is striking. The metropolitan areas with the fastest white population growth in the 2000–2004 period are small ones in the West, led by St. George, UT, along with a number of smaller areas in Florida (Table 5). Whites moving to these areas are undoubtedly a mixture of young families seeking a small-town lifestyle, empty nesters, and retirees. Though whites’ destinations within these broad regions may differ from those for Hispanics, Asians, and blacks, the groups share an overall gravitation toward the Southeast and interior West.

D. Minorities contributed the majority of population gains in the nation’s fastest-growing metropolitan areas and central metropolitan counties from 2000 to 2004.

The 2000–2004 period saw exceptional growth in large Sun Belt metropolitan areas, in affordable “spillover” metropolitan areas close to coastal megalopolises, and in “exurban” parts of the United States.²² Though the white population has tended to dominate growth in these areas, the increasing dispersion of minority populations gives those groups an increasingly prominent role in these demographic transitions.

Table 5. White Population Change in Metro Areas, 2000–2004

Rank	Metro area	2000–2004
Greatest white gains		Change
1	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	151,363
2	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	86,654
3	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	80,062
4	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	79,909
5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	76,069
6	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	73,118
7	Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	62,812
8	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	59,172
9	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	58,123
10	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	58,033
Greatest white losses		Change
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	-162,114
2	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	-94,650
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	-83,786
4	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	-69,564
5	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	-64,243
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	-50,205
7	Pittsburgh, PA	-39,648
8	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	-27,773
9	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	-27,521
10	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	-27,191
Highest white growth rates		Change (%)
1	St. George, UT	19.0
2	Greeley, CO	18.5
3	Bend, OR	13.7
4	Coeur d’Alene, ID	11.0
5	Prescott, AZ	10.5
6	Wilmington, NC	10.5
7	Boise City-Nampa, ID	10.4
8	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	10.1
9	Naples-Marco Island, FL	9.9
10	Ocala, FL	9.9

Source: Author’s analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

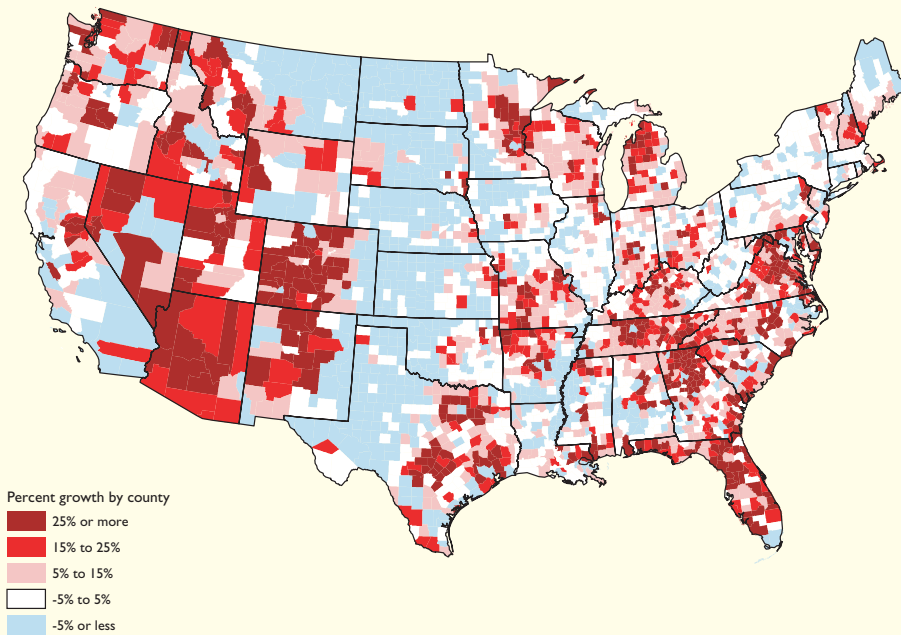
Fast-growing metropolitan areas

Table 6 lists the fastest growing metropolitan areas over the 2000–2004 period. Metropolitan areas with populations over one-half million are led by Las Vegas, which grew by almost one-fifth in the first four years of the 2000s. In California’s interior, Riverside, Stockton, Sacramento, and Bakersfield all make the list, as do the

Southern metropolitan areas of Raleigh-Carey, Orlando, Atlanta, and Dallas. Whites account for more than half of the new growth in only one of the 15 fastest-growing metro areas (Sarasota).

Hispanics comprise a significant share of growth in all 15 metro areas, especially in the West and Texas. In Phoenix, for example, Hispanics

Map 4. Growth in White Population by County, 1990–2004



Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

accounted for 52 percent of that metro area's considerable growth from 2000 to 2004. Because of additional contributions by blacks, Asians, and other race groups, whites contributed just one-third of the Phoenix area's recent growth. The area's total population is still 62-percent white (see Appendix A for racial compositions of all large metropolitan areas), but the increased Hispanic contribution to recent gains will further lower that proportion in the future.

Race- and ethnic-group contributions to population change in the interior California metropolitan areas are also noteworthy. Three of these metropolitan areas—Riverside, Stockton, and Bakersfield—actually lost whites during the 1990s due in large part to the economic downturn in the early part of that decade. White population there has grown in the 2000s, but the group's contribution to 2000–2004 population gains was minimal, reflect-

ing significant increases in Hispanic population and, in the case of Stockton, Asian and black populations. Job losses and house-price pressures in the San Francisco Bay area during this time seem to have caused spillover migration of all racial and ethnic groups toward Stockton and Sacramento.

With their continued migration to the South, blacks made a greater contribution to Atlanta's recent growth than any other group. Coupled with increased movement of Hispanics and Asians to that area, whites accounted for less than one-fifth of 2000–2004 growth in the Atlanta area's population. Black contributions were also high in the Charlotte, Raleigh, and Orlando metro areas. Among the 15 fastest-growing metropolitan areas, Orlando experienced the most racially and ethnically diverse increase in its population in the early part of this decade.

In contrast to the nation's fastest-growing large metropolitan areas, its fastest-growing smaller metro areas derived much of their growth from white in-migration. Ten of the 15 fastest-growing of these areas saw whites contribute at least half of their recent population gains. In the interior West, metro areas such as St. George, UT; Bend, OR; and Boise, ID are growing rapidly due largely to white in-migration. These patterns echo the finding that white population gains are more dispersed across smaller-sized metropolitan and micropolitan areas.

Fast-growing suburban counties

The fastest-growing counties in the U.S. lie mostly in the "exurban" periphery of major metropolitan areas that are expanding rapidly out from the center. Most of these counties are in the South and West, but some are located in growing Northeast and Midwest areas such as Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN and Columbus, OH. The 15 fastest-growing suburban counties in large metropolitan areas are led by Loudoun County, VA, which grew by almost 40 percent during the first four years of this decade (Table 7).

These counties still attract mostly white populations, but less so in this decade than last. In Loudoun County, for example, whites have contributed barely half of recent growth, compared to almost three-quarters during the 1990s. Asians, Hispanics, and blacks are now major players in the growth of this expansive outer suburban county. Similar sharp declines in white contributions to growth appear in Henry and Newton counties of suburban Atlanta, where blacks have made inroads, and Collin County outside of Dallas, where all groups have made recent gains. Even modest declines in the white share of recent growth in suburban Minneapolis and Columbus suggest a shift afoot in the racial and ethnic composition of these areas.

Though recent data on the family type, income, and educational charac-

Table 6. Distribution of Population Increase by Race/Ethnicity, Fastest-Growing Metro Areas, 2000–2004

		Change 2000–	Population share of change (%)*					
Rank	Metro area	2004 (%)	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other**	Total
Large metros***								
1	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	18.5	31	11	42	11	5	100
2	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	15.7	17	7	65	8	3	100
3	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	14.7	5	1	93	1	0	100
4	Stockton, CA	14.4	4	12	57	23	5	100
5	Raleigh-Cary, NC	13.7	49	22	20	7	3	100
6	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	13.3	35	5	52	4	4	100
7	Orlando, FL	12.4	23	20	47	7	3	100
8	Austin-Round Rock, TX	11.7	36	5	48	9	2	100
9	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	11.5	35	7	31	20	6	100
10	Bakersfield, CA	10.7	9	5	78	6	2	100
11	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	10.1	36	30	26	6	2	100
12	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	10.0	62	8	25	3	2	100
13	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	10.0	19	43	26	9	2	100
14	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	9.7	15	15	58	10	3	100
15	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	9.3	13	13	61	11	2	100
Small metros***								
1	St. George, UT	20.5	85	1	11	1	3	100
2	Greeley, CO	19.7	66	1	30	1	2	100
3	Naples-Marco Island, FL	16.8	44	8	46	2	1	100
4	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	15.9	52	10	34	2	2	100
5	Bend, OR	15.3	83	1	11	1	3	100
6	Gainesville, GA	14.2	39	4	54	2	1	100
7	Port St. Lucie-Fort Pierce, FL	13.8	54	14	26	3	3	100
8	Prescott, AZ	12.8	71	1	23	1	3	100
9	Laredo, TX	12.7	0	1	99	0	0	100
10	Madera, CA	12.4	22	3	70	3	2	100
11	Merced, CA	12.0	4	3	89	2	1	100
12	Boise City-Nampa, ID	12.0	75	1	19	2	2	100
13	Ocala, FL	11.9	67	10	18	3	2	100
14	Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR-MO	11.9	51	3	37	5	4	100
15	Kennewick-Richland-Pasco, WA	11.8	50	2	42	3	3	100

^{*}Group accounting for majority of metro population gain indicated in bold (where applicable)

^{**}Includes American Indian/Alaska Natives and people of two or more races

^{***}Large metros had 2000 populations greater than 500,000; Small metros had populations below 500,000

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

teristics of these migrants are not available, anecdotal evidence suggests that new minority populations in these outer suburban counties represent a mix of stereotypical middle-class families aspiring to the suburban lifestyle,

and lower-skilled minority service workers who benefit from new employment growth occurring in these areas.

Large central counties

As minorities make increasing contributions to the fastest-growing parts of the United States, their presence becomes even more vital to the large central counties in major metropolitan

Table 7. Distribution of Population Change by Race/Ethnicity in Fastest-Growing Large Metro Area Counties, 2000–2004

Rank	County*	Metro area	Change 2000– 2004 (%)	Population share of change (%)**					Total	White share of change 1990– 2000 (%)
				White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other***		
1	Loudoun, VA	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	37.5	51	7	16	21	4	100	72
2	Rockwall, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	32.8	68	8	18	3	2	100	73
3	Douglas, CO	Denver-Aurora, CO	31.9	79	2	10	5	3	100	87
4	Kendall, IL	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	31.4	65	6	24	3	2	100	77
5	Forsyth, GA	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	31.2	73	5	12	8	2	100	88
6	Henry, GA	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	31.1	30	55	8	5	2	100	72
7	Newton, GA	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	29.6	35	55	7	2	1	100	70
8	Delaware, OH	Columbus, OH	27.5	78	6	3	9	3	100	89
9	Paulding, GA	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	27.5	59	28	9	1	2	100	84
10	Osceola, FL	Orlando, FL	26.0	21	13	61	3	2	100	24
11	Scott, MN	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	26.0	74	4	6	12	4	100	84
12	Collin, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	25.6	48	13	20	17	3	100	65
13	Hamilton, IN	Indianapolis, IN	25.0	77	8	5	7	3	100	87
14	Williamson, TX	Austin-Round Rock, TX	24.7	54	9	27	7	2	100	66
15	Spencer, KY	Louisville, KY-IN	23.4	92	4	1	0	3	100	95

*Counties located within metropolitan areas of at least 500,000 people in 2000

**Group accounting for majority of county population gain indicated in bold (where applicable)

***Includes American Indian/Alaska Natives and people of two or more races

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

areas seeking to stem population loss. For decades, “white flight” to the suburbs caused many older cities and inner counties to look to blacks as a source of population gain and/or stability. In many of the nation’s most populous counties, Hispanics and Asians now serve a similar role.

Twelve of the 15 largest counties in the nation lost whites, and six lost blacks, during the first four years of this decade (Table 8). Yet all but two of these counties gained population during that time, owing to expanded Hispanic and Asian growth. A dramatic example is Dallas County, Texas, which lost 96,000 whites over the 2000–2004 period, but gained 69,000 people overall due to a significant expansion in its Hispanic population. The large counties witnessing the

greatest population gains are those that continue to experience considerable immigration, including “magnet” counties like Los Angeles and Miami-Dade, as well as the suburban-like gateway of Orange County, California.

There were two large central counties in which minorities could not overcome white and black population losses to bring about overall gains: Cook County, which contains the city of Chicago, and Wayne County, which contains the city of Detroit. These counties embody very different growth histories. Cook County has anchored the “continuous gateway” of Chicago, and during the 1990s it showed an overall population gain despite a significant loss of whites.²³ During the first four years of the 2000s, however, continued in-migration of Hispanics

and some Asians from abroad, and births to these and other families, were not sufficient to counter Cook’s still-substantial white and now black population declines.

The Detroit area, by contrast, is a “former gateway” for immigrants whose city has sustained white population losses for many decades. A greater infusion of immigrant minorities to Wayne County in recent years has not served to turn around this decline. Other central counties suffering the same recent fate include the former gateways of Allegheny County in Pittsburgh, Cuyahoga County in Cleveland, Milwaukee County, and St. Louis and Philadelphia counties (whose borders coincide with those of their respective cities).

Table 8. Distribution of Population Change by Race/Ethnicity, Most Populous Counties, 2000–2004

Rank	County	Metro area	Population Change		Distribution of population change*				
			2004 (1000s)	2000– 20004	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other**
1	Los Angeles, CA	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	9,938	391,910	-64,928	-10,865	356,192	102,077	9,434
2	Cook, IL	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	5,328	-49,690	-144,842	-15,262	89,903	17,421	3,090
3	Harris, TX	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	3,644	229,404	-23,511	27,716	205,162	16,757	3,280
4	Maricopa, AZ	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	3,501	404,525	133,014	20,669	215,784	17,788	17,270
5	Orange, CA	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	2,988	130,603	-18,858	2,252	79,482	62,397	5,330
6	San Diego, CA	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	2,932	107,123	-14,017	-8,066	91,208	31,897	6,101
7	Kings, NY	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	2,475	8,540	-3,058	-14,718	4,430	19,544	2,342
8	Miami-Dade, FL	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	2,364	103,324	-21,596	3,746	119,209	910	1,055
9	Dallas, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	2,295	69,366	-96,095	17,577	139,433	7,320	1,131
10	Queens, NY	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	2,237	5,955	-44,452	-10,922	22,340	36,897	2,092
11	Wayne, MI	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	2,016	-43,081	-37,884	-24,741	11,710	6,238	1,596
12	San Bernardino, CA	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1,921	202,024	866	17,955	158,533	18,514	6,156
13	Riverside, CA	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1,872	311,988	85,788	17,337	174,994	24,001	9,868
14	King, WA	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1,777	38,273	-20,945	5,312	18,683	29,079	6,144
15	Broward, FL	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	1,755	122,230	-51,480	65,769	92,925	10,598	4,418

*Population losses indicated in bold

**Includes American Indian/Alaska Natives and people of two or more races

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

E. A strong multi-minority presence characterizes 18 large “melting pot” metro areas, and 27 large metro areas now have “majority minority” child populations.

Notwithstanding the popular narrative of America as a “melting pot” nation, a more precise rendering of its racial and ethnic landscape tends to confine melting pot status to a smaller part of the country. This section updates prior research to identify metropolitan areas that qualify statistically as melting pots in 2004.²⁴

“Melting pot” metro areas

To identify these “melting pot metros,” all 88 metropolitan areas with populations greater than one-half million are examined. A metro area where more than one minority group is overrepresented—that is, the group’s share of population in that metro area exceeds its share of population nationally—is considered to be a melting pot metro.²⁵ The metro area must also have a white

population share lower than the national share of 67.4 percent.

Using this definition, 18 of the nation’s 88 large metropolitan areas qualify as melting pots (Table 9; Map 5). They tilt heavily towards the West, especially California, which contains eight of the 18. Only Florida and Texas also contain more than one melting pot metro area, and the rest—outside of Chicago and New York—are located elsewhere in the South and West. Although each of these melting pots has at least two minority groups overrepresented, only three metropolitan areas have disproportionate shares of three minority groups. In New York and Houston, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians all account for shares of the population exceeding their share nationally. Honolulu boasts perhaps the most unique racial composition, with a large over-representation of Asians, American Indian/Alaska Natives, and persons who claim two or more races.

The most common type of melting pot metro area features disproportionate shares of both Hispanics and Asians. Eight of nine such areas are located in California, and the ninth is close by in Las Vegas. The Miami, Dallas, Chicago, and Orlando areas qualify for melting pot status by virtue of their large black and Hispanic populations. The other two unique combinations include Albuquerque, where Hispanics and American Indians are over-represented; and Washington, D.C., where blacks and Asians account for more than their share of population nationally.

“Majority minority” child populations

Alongside the rise of multiethnic metro areas, an even larger number of areas have developed “majority-minority” populations among children. Immigrant minorities, who are typically younger and thus exhibit higher fertility rates, contribute significantly

Table 9. Large Melting Pot Metro Areas,* 2004

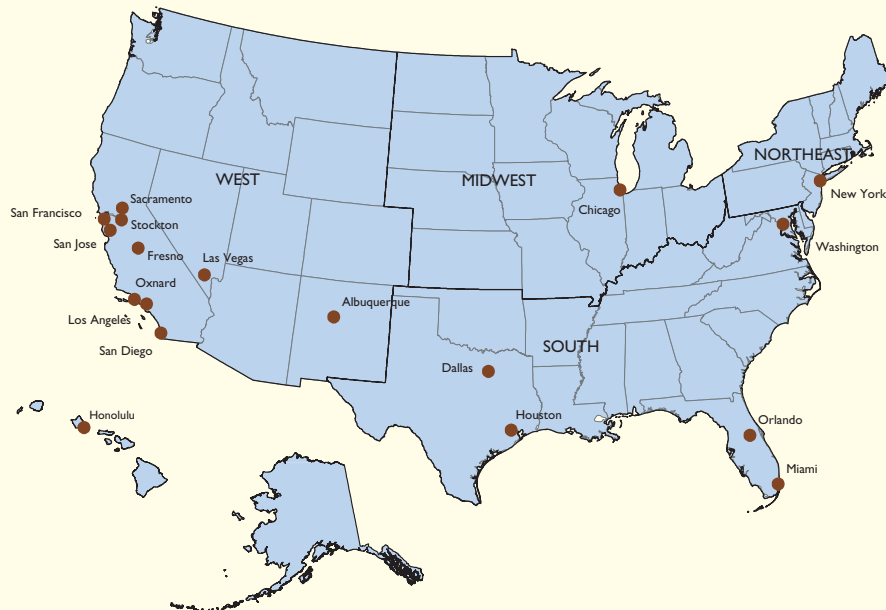
Rank	Metro area	Population 2004 (1000s)	Share of population (%)**						Total
			White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	AIAN	2+Races	
1	Honolulu, HI	876	20	3	7	46	8	16	100
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	12,366	34	7	43	13	1	1	100
3	Fresno, CA	799	38	5	46	9	1	1	100
4	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	5,008	41	19	37	2	0	1	100
5	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,736	41	2	25	28	1	2	100
6	Stockton, CA	564	42	7	34	13	1	3	100
7	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	4,715	45	16	32	5	0	1	100
8	Albuquerque, NM	730	46	2	43	2	5	1	100
9	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	4,124	47	9	19	21	1	3	100
10	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	18,323	52	17	21	9	0	1	100
11	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	2,814	53	5	29	10	1	2	100
12	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	4,796	53	26	11	8	0	2	100
13	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	753	54	2	35	6	1	2	100
14	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	5,162	55	14	25	4	0	1	100
15	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1,376	56	9	25	6	1	2	100
16	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	9,098	58	18	18	5	0	1	100
17	Orlando, FL	1,645	61	14	20	3	0	1	100
18	Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	1,797	61	7	17	10	1	3	100

* See text for definition

**“Overrepresented” minority groups indicated in bold (see text)

Source: Author’s analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

Map 5. Location of Melting Pot Metro Areas, 2004



Source: Author’s analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

to this phenomenon. In nearly one-third of the nation’s largest metropolitan areas, at least half of all people under age 15 are racial and ethnic minorities. They include the usual multi-immigrant magnet and West Coast polyglot metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Miami, as well as a number of metropolitan areas that have typically been thought to be largely white, and which remain so in their overall populations.

Just making the list is metropolitan Atlanta, where 49.8 percent of children are white, over a third are black, 10 percent are Hispanic, and other racial groups account for the remainder. Phoenix, Washington, D.C., Las Vegas, and Tucson are other metropolitan areas which typically have a “white” image at the metropolitan level, yet have child populations in which minorities predominate. In the case of Phoenix, immigration and spillover

Table 10. Large Metro Areas with “Majority Minority” Child (Under Age 15) Populations, 2004*

Rank	Metro area	Share of population under age 15 (%)							White share (%)	
		White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	AIAN	2+Races	Total	Age 15+	Total
1	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	5	0	94	0	0	0	100	12	10
2	El Paso, TX	10	2	87	1	0	1	100	17	15
3	Honolulu, HI	14	3	12	44	0	26	100	21	20
4	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	23	7	57	10	0	2	100	38	34
5	Fresno, CA	25	6	57	9	1	2	100	42	38
6	San Antonio, TX	30	6	61	1	0	1	100	42	39
7	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	31	8	53	4	0	3	100	47	44
8	Stockton, CA	32	8	43	12	0	4	100	46	42
9	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	32	2	34	27	0	4	100	44	41
10	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	32	27	37	2	0	2	100	43	41
11	Bakersfield, CA	34	6	54	3	1	2	100	50	46
12	Albuquerque, NM	34	2	53	1	7	2	100	50	46
13	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	36	17	40	5	0	1	100	48	45
14	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	37	10	27	20	0	5	100	50	47
15	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	39	6	41	9	0	4	100	57	53
16	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	41	53	4	2	0	1	100	52	50
17	Tucson, AZ	42	3	47	2	4	2	100	63	59
18	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	43	11	36	5	1	4	100	60	56
19	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	43	2	47	5	0	3	100	58	54
20	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	44	47	5	2	0	1	100	56	54
21	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	45	19	25	8	0	2	100	54	52
22	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	46	15	33	4	0	2	100	58	55
23	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	47	29	13	7	0	4	100	55	53
24	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	48	21	25	4	0	2	100	60	58
25	Austin-Round Rock, TX	48	8	38	4	0	2	100	61	58
26	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	48	4	41	2	2	2	100	67	62
27	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	50	34	10	4	0	2	100	59	57

* figures rounded to nearest whole percentage

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

migration from California resulted in 41 percent of its children having Hispanic origin in 2004. Similar dynamics affect the Las Vegas area. In the Washington, D.C. region, African Americans make up the largest minority share among children, followed by Hispanics and Asians. And the greater New York metropolitan area—though still majority white overall—has a minority white child population.

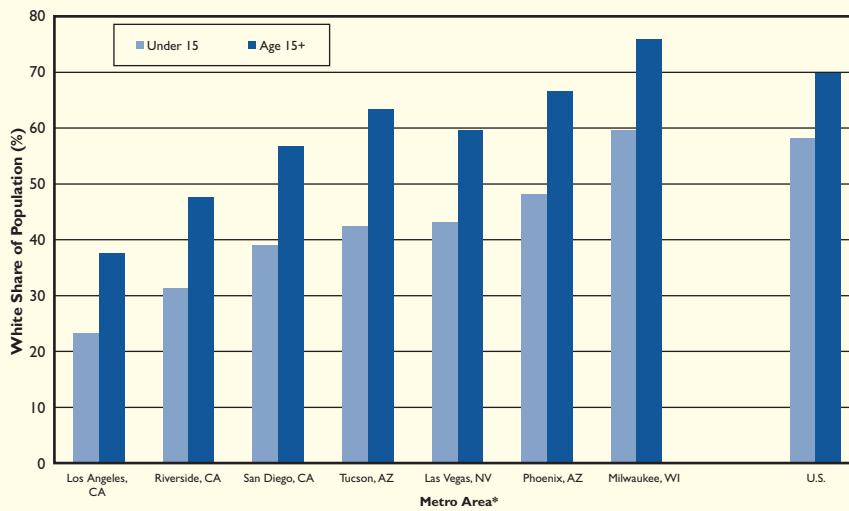
Among the 27 large metro areas with “majority-minority” child populations, there are 15 where the same can be said of their total populations. Yet the additional 12 areas, where only

children are minority white, reflect the wave of the future. More and more metro areas will take on this characteristic in coming years, including a few like Sacramento and Orlando, which are quite close today.

Racial generation gaps

Indeed, a “racial generation gap” within metro areas is emerging across the country. In 2004, both the adult and child populations nationally were predominantly white (Figure 3). In many large metropolitan areas, though, significant differences between the racial/ethnic profiles of adult and child

Figure 3. “Racial Generation Gap,” Selected Large Metro Areas, 2004



*Metro area names abbreviated, see text for full names

Source: Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

populations are already evident, and not only in those areas with “majority-minority” overall populations. In the Milwaukee metropolitan area, for example, a predominantly white adult population (76 percent) contrasts with a growing minority (59 percent white) child population. In the Riverside metropolitan area, the adult population is now more than half nonwhite or Hispanic, while fewer than one-third of the area’s children are white.

The increasing diversity of child compared to adult populations reflects a broader gap in these metropolitan areas, where white adults are often much older than minority adults with school-age children. At the extreme, the interests of mostly white senior citizens may very well diverge from those of Hispanic, Asian, and African American parents with respect to government expenditures, causing a competition for local resources. Nonetheless, the increasing diversity of the child population represents the future in these metropolitan areas, especially those that hope to achieve population stability or growth.

Conclusion

No more than a decade ago, it could be reasonably argued that America was not really the racially and ethnically diverse “melting pot” often portrayed in the media.²⁶ That is, although the nation’s demographic profile showed a significant share of blacks and growing numbers of Hispanics and Asians, the latter two groups, especially, were not spread very evenly across the country. In fact, most clustered in only a handful of metropolitan areas like New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Chicago. While clustering of these groups continues in select metro areas and regions, this survey makes plain that, especially since 2000, the spreading out of these minorities to large parts of the country is now well underway.

This is particularly the case for Hispanics, where 907 counties are at least 5 percent Hispanic in 2004, compared with just 538 in 1990. At the state level, 28 have reached the same threshold in 2004, up from 16 in

“In nearly one third of the nation’s largest metropolitan areas, at least half of all people under age 15 are racial and ethnic minorities.”

1990. These facts are not lost on national political parties, marketers, and state/local governments. While movement away from the classic metropolitan magnets for Hispanics and Asians has not yet reached tidal wave proportions, the post-2000 trends show that these gateway areas are losing the strong grip they once had. “Pull” factors like strong employment opportunities, affordable housing, and tolerance for fast growth have begun to tilt the migration balance towards new magnets in interior California, the interior West, and the Southeast. The shift of Hispanic and Asian growth toward more mainstream migrant destinations has made these groups significant contributors to gains in some of the nation’s fastest-growing areas, like Las Vegas, and to many peripheral counties in major metropolitan areas. Meanwhile, central metropolitan counties continue to depend on these groups to counter out-migration of white and, in some cases, black population.

This survey also demonstrates that the African American population shift to the South moved into high gear in the early years of this decade. Between 2000 and 2004, 72 percent of the nation’s black population growth occurred in the South. The bulk of this growth took place in large southern metropolitan areas like Atlanta, which is poised to overtake Chicago as the second-largest black metropolis in the United States by the end of the current decade. The significant draw that areas like Atlanta hold for blacks can be linked to the area’s continued strong economy, coupled with a “cultural comfort zone” many young, educated blacks feel in a community where they can network with other professional blacks and in a region where cultural roots run deeply.

The continued shift of black population toward the South is also complemented by the group’s movement to nontraditional areas outside the South. In fact, the two metro areas

with the highest rates of black population growth are Las Vegas and Phoenix. Their growth rates from small initial black populations do not translate to the large numeric gains exhibited for Southern metros like Atlanta, Dallas, or Washington D.C. Yet they indicate that some black movers, like their Hispanic and Asian counterparts, are increasingly part of broader economic migration trends.

Amid these ebbs and flows in minority population, shifts across regions and metropolitan areas in white population reflect sharper patterns of growth and decline. In coastal metropolitan areas like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, immigrant minorities and their children are “backfilling” significant decreases in white population in the current decade. Because whites exhibit lower fertility and migration levels, other growth components fail to compensate for their out-migration from these areas. Whites continue to move toward interior Western and Southern metropolitan areas such as Phoenix, Riverside, Atlanta, Las Vegas, and Dallas, which have experienced growing influxes of other racial/ethnic groups, too. Yet whites have recently displayed a greater proclivity than minority groups to locate in smaller-sized metropolitan areas, micropolitan areas, and more rural areas. Fast-growing metro areas such as St. George, UT; Greeley, CO; and Bend, OR, with lower costs of living, reduced congestion, and greater natural amenities illustrate the trend.

These emerging patterns of dispersal mean that, as of yet, the nation is not quite a “melting pot” with polyglot populations spreading from coast to coast. Among the 88 largest metropolitan areas, only 18 qualify as melting pot metro areas with overrepresentations of two or more minority groups. Most are located near the coastal west and south, with California claiming eight. At present, these 18 are the exception, as most metropolitan areas

cannot be considered melting pots using the modest criterion employed here.

Instead, the future of multi-ethnic America finds perhaps its best expression among the nearly one-third (27) of large metropolitan areas that have “majority minority” child populations. These include several that are not normally thought to be so diverse, such as Atlanta, Phoenix, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. In these and other areas, an emerging “racial generation gap” reflects the disparity in racial and ethnic profiles between the child and adult populations.

The metropolitan trends observed in this survey portray the population dynamics of a nation in which racial and ethnic minorities have accounted for 82 percent of recent growth. The simultaneous concentration and dispersion of these minority groups has created a great deal of variation in the profiles of metropolitan areas across the United States. Indeed, it is between the extremes of 18 “melting pot” metro areas on the one hand, and the vast, mostly white interior of the country on the other, where challenges to the continued social integration and economic incorporation of the country’s large and growing minority populations will assume great importance. These areas are just beginning to be populated by new immigrant minorities, even in small numbers, and are often undergoing the most significant cultural shifts.

The metropolitan mosaic painted here suggests that private, government, and nonprofit actors alike must be sensitive to the unique social and cultural contexts, and changes in those contexts, that characterize the communities they serve. For example, the challenges of providing quality public education differ markedly between Los Angeles County, with its churning Hispanic-dominant, multi-ethnic population, and Detroit, with a large but stagnant African American population. In fast-growing areas such

as Phoenix, Las Vegas, and Orlando, racial and ethnic shifts are occurring more rapidly than can easily be documented, making planning for new housing, new schools, and new commerce an even more daunting task.

In sum, the makeup of America’s regions and communities is changing at a pace that the nation has not seen for many decades. How these changes will affect economics, politics, and interethnic relations, from the national to the neighborhood scale, deserves our continued attention.

“The simultaneous concentration and dispersion of these minority groups has created a great deal of variation in the profiles of metropolitan areas across the United States.”

Appendix Table A. Share of Population by Race/Ethnicity, Large Metropolitan Areas, 2004

Metro areas by region and population	Population	Share of total population (%)							White share (%)	
	2004	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	AIAN	2+Races	2000	1990	
Northeast										
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	18,710	52	17	21	9	0	1	54	62	
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	5,801	69	20	6	4	0	1	71	76	
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	4,425	79	6	7	6	0	1	81	87	
Pittsburgh, PA	2,402	89	8	1	1	0	1	89	91	
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	1,629	84	4	8	2	0	1	86	91	
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	1,185	76	10	10	3	0	1	78	83	
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	1,154	82	12	3	2	1	1	83	86	
Rochester, NY	1,041	81	11	5	2	0	1	82	86	
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	903	71	10	14	4	0	1	74	80	
New Haven-Milford, CT	846	73	11	12	3	0	1	75	82	
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	845	87	7	3	3	0	1	88	92	
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	780	85	3	9	2	0	1	88	93	
Worcester, MA	779	85	3	8	3	0	1	87	92	
Springfield, MA	688	79	6	12	2	0	1	80	86	
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	664	76	9	11	2	0	1	79	85	
Syracuse, NY	654	87	7	2	2	1	1	88	91	
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre, PA	552	95	2	2	1	0	0	96	98	
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	519	84	9	3	2	0	1	85	89	
Northeast—Total	43,576	67	13	13	6	0	1	69	75	
Midwest										
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	9,392	58	18	18	5	0	1	60	67	
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	4,493	69	23	3	3	0	1	70	74	
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	3,116	83	6	4	5	1	2	85	92	
St. Louis, MO-IL	2,764	77	18	2	2	0	1	78	81	
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	2,137	74	19	4	2	0	1	75	79	
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	2,058	84	12	1	1	0	1	85	88	
Kansas City, MO-KS	1,925	78	12	6	2	1	1	79	83	
Columbus, OH	1,694	79	14	2	3	0	2	81	86	
Indianapolis, IN	1,622	79	14	4	2	0	1	81	85	
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	1,516	73	16	7	2	1	1	74	81	
Dayton, OH	846	81	15	1	2	0	1	82	85	
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	804	82	8	7	2	1	1	84	89	
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	768	82	7	7	2	1	1	83	89	
Akron, OH	702	85	11	1	2	0	1	86	88	
Toledo, OH	658	80	12	5	1	0	1	81	85	
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	590	86	11	2	0	0	1	86	88	
Wichita, KS	585	78	7	8	3	1	2	80	86	
Madison, WI	532	87	4	4	4	0	1	89	94	
Midwest—Total	36,201	73	15	8	3	0	1	74	79	

Appendix Table A. (continued)

Metro areas by region and population	Population	Share of total population (%)						White share (%)	
	2004	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	AIAN	2+Races	2000	1990
South									
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	5,700	55	14	25	4	0	1	59	70
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	5,362	41	19	37	2	0	1	44	54
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	5,180	45	16	32	5	0	1	48	58
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	5,140	53	26	11	8	0	2	56	64
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	4,708	57	30	8	4	0	1	61	71
Baltimore-Towson, MD	2,639	65	28	3	3	0	1	66	71
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2,588	73	11	13	2	0	1	76	83
Orlando, FL	1,862	61	14	20	3	0	1	65	78
San Antonio, TX	1,854	39	6	52	1	0	1	41	46
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1,644	60	31	4	3	0	2	61	67
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	1,475	66	23	7	2	0	1	69	76
Austin-Round Rock, TX	1,412	58	7	29	4	0	1	61	67
Nashville-Davidson—Murfreesboro, TN	1,396	77	15	4	2	0	1	79	83
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	1,320	54	38	5	2	0	1	55	60
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1,250	50	45	3	2	0	1	52	57
Jacksonville, FL	1,225	69	22	5	3	0	1	71	76
Louisville, KY-IN	1,201	82	13	2	1	0	1	83	86
Richmond, VA	1,154	63	30	3	2	0	1	64	68
Oklahoma City, OK	1,144	72	11	8	3	4	3	73	80
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1,082	68	28	2	1	0	1	69	73
Raleigh-Cary, NC	915	68	20	7	3	0	1	70	76
Tulsa, OK	882	73	9	6	1	7	4	74	82
Baton Rouge, LA	729	61	35	2	1	0	1	62	65
El Paso, TX	713	15	2	81	1	0	0	17	25
Columbia, SC	679	61	33	3	1	0	1	62	66
Greensboro-High Point, NC	668	67	24	6	2	0	1	70	77
McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	658	10	0	89	1	0	0	10	14
Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	652	84	6	8	1	0	1	86	90
Knoxville, TN	647	89	6	2	1	0	1	90	92
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	637	73	22	3	1	0	1	74	79
Greenville, SC	584	76	17	4	1	0	1	78	81
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	583	64	30	3	1	0	1	64	67
South—Total	57,684	57	20	18	3	1	1	60	67
West									
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	12,925	34	7	43	13	1	1	36	46
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	4,154	47	9	19	21	1	3	50	58
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	3,793	44	7	42	5	1	2	48	62
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	3,715	62	4	28	2	2	1	66	76
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3,167	74	5	6	10	2	3	76	85
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	2,932	53	5	29	10	1	2	55	65
Denver-Aurora, CO	2,330	68	5	21	3	1	2	71	79
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	2,064	80	3	9	5	1	2	82	90
Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	2,017	61	7	17	10	1	3	64	72
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,741	41	2	25	28	1	2	45	58

Appendix Table A. (continued)

Metro areas by region and population	Population 2004	Share of total population (%)							White share (%)	
		White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	AIAN	2+Races		2000	1990
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1,651	56	9	25	6	1	2		61	75
Salt Lake City, UT	1,019	79	1	14	3	2	1		82	90
Tucson, AZ	907	59	3	32	2	3	1		62	68
Honolulu, HI	900	20	3	7	46	8	16		20	30
Fresno, CA	867	38	5	46	9	1	1		40	51
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	798	54	2	35	6	1	2		57	66
Albuquerque, NM	781	46	2	43	2	5	1		48	55
Bakersfield, CA	735	46	6	42	4	1	2		50	63
Stockton, CA	650	42	7	34	13	1	3		48	59
Colorado Springs, CO	576	76	6	12	3	1	3		77	82
West—Total	47,722	50	6	29	11	1	2		53	63

Author's analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates Program data

New Orleans and Katrina

Because Hurricane Katrina exerted a devastating impact on the demography of the New Orleans metropolitan area and city, this table provides estimates of the 2004 population by race and ethnicity for areas that were subsequently flooded compared with those that stayed dry.^a These statistics make plain that the black population within New Orleans city was disproportionately located in flood-impacted areas, including neighborhoods such as the Lower Ninth Ward. At the time of this writing, approximately six months after the hurricane, New Orleans' city population is less than half of that shown for 2004.^b

Although surveys and demographic attributes of the displaced New Orleans population suggest a strong sentiment for returning, much depends on the nature of the rehabilitation plans which are still being formulated by city, state, and federal agencies.^c

Estimated 2004 Population by Race/Ethnicity, Flooded vs. Dry Areas, New Orleans

	Metro New Orleans		New Orleans city	
	Flooded	Dry	Flooded	Dry
Total	584,588	735,001	336,538	125,731
White	240,649	467,815	65,799	56,089
Black	292,111	206,309	250,268	59,665
Other	51,828	60,877	20,471	9,977
% White	41.2	63.6	19.6	44.6
% Black	50.0	28.1	74.4	47.5

a. These estimates update those based on Census 2000 counts that appear in the publication, "New Orleans After the Storm: Lessons from the Past, a Plan for the Future" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2005). That report shows the 2000 demographic attributes of flooded areas designated by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) on September 10, 2005. The 2004 parish-level populations by race and ethnicity were allocated to flooded and dry portions of the metro area and city by pro-rating race-specific populations according to their Census 2000 proportions in those areas.

b. Estimates put New Orleans city population at approximately 160,000 as of February 2006, compared with the 2004 population of 462,269. Ongoing updates on New Orleans recovery measures can be found in the Brookings Institution's Katrina Index, located at: www.brookings.edu/metro/katrina.htm

c. See William H. Frey, "City can lure back its reluctant migrants." *The Times-Picayune*, November 30, 2005. A February 2006 poll of New Orleans residents indicates that 80 percent want to stay in the city. Susan Page and William Risher, "In New Orleans, 4 of 5 want to stay." *USA Today*, February 28, 2006.

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12. U.S. Census Bureau, "Estimates of the Population of Counties by Age, Sex, Race and Hispanic Origin: 1990 to 1999" (www.census.gov/popest/archives/methodology/90s-co-meth.txt [March 2006]).
13. In Census 2000, 5.5 percent of Americans indicated their only race as "some other race."

"Especially since 2000, the spreading out of racial and ethnic minorities to large parts of the country is now well underway."

14. The 1990 population estimates do not classify persons by more than one race, hence comparisons of whites, blacks and Asians between 1990 and 2000 or 2004 may overestimate the 1990 population if some members of that group would have identified themselves as being of more than one race, given the opportunity.
15. Frey, "Metro America in the New Century."
16. Long, *Migration and Residential Mobility in the United States*; Frey, "The New Great Migration."
17. Frey, "Immigration and Domestic Migration in U.S. Metro Areas."
18. Population estimates available for this study do not permit us to examine separately the components of immigration, domestic migration, and natural increase associated with a minority group's growth. However, when an area exhibits a substantially high growth rate it is usually safe to assume that either immigration or domestic migration contributes to a substantial part of this growth.
19. On metropolitan growth, see Frey, "Metro America in the New Century."
20. William H. Frey, "Gaining Seniors." *American Demographics*, November 2001, pp. 18–21.
21. Frey, "Immigration and Domestic Migration in U.S. Metro Areas."
22. Frey, "Metro America in the New Century." A forthcoming analysis from the Metropolitan Policy Program will better define and analyze the characteristics of "exurbs" and their residents.
23. On "continuous gateways," see Audrey Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways." In A. Berube, B. Katz and R. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000*, vol. 2 (Brookings, 2005).
24. William H. Frey, "The Diversity Myth." *American Demographics*, June 1998, pp. 38–43; Frey, "Melting Pot Suburbs."
25. For Hispanics and blacks, the national group shares are, respectively, 14.1 percent and 12.1 percent in 2004. For Asians, American Indian/Alaska Natives, and other race groups, this paper considers having at least 5 percent of population in a metro area as indicative of "over-representation."
26. Frey, "The Diversity Myth."

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