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Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity

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"Recent migration patterns have created new patterns of minority suburbanization, which play out differently in different kinds of metropolitan areas."

Findings

An analysis of race and ethnicity changes in the 102 most populous Metropolitan Statistical Areas, using 2000 census data, indicates that:

- **Racial and ethnic diversity in suburban areas rose substantially in the last decade.** Racial and ethnic minorities make up more than a quarter (27 percent) of suburban populations, up from 19 percent in 1990.
- **"Melting pot metros" such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington D.C., Houston, and New York have the highest minority suburban populations.** By contrast, suburbs in slow-growing northern metropolitan areas have low minority populations.
- **Minorities were responsible for the bulk of suburban population gains in a majority of the metro areas studied.** Minority population gains were most pronounced in the 35 diverse melting pot metros, and in areas in the South where black and Hispanic populations increased. Many of the melting pot metros had drops in the white suburban population in the 1990s.
- **Asians are more likely to live in major metropolitan suburbs than in cities.** Almost half of Hispanics and 39 percent of blacks in the metropolitan areas surveyed live in the suburbs.
- **People who identified themselves as belonging to "two or more races" show different suburbanization patterns than single-race identifiers.** For example, 56 percent of people who identified themselves as both white and black live in the suburbs. This number is squarely between the share of whites who live in the suburbs (73 percent) and the share of blacks who live in the suburbs (39 percent).

I. Introduction

This study of Census 2000 data reveals that racial and ethnic diversity is rising substantially in America's suburbs. Among the nation's 102 largest metropolitan areas, with populations exceeding half a million, minorities comprised more than a quarter (27.3 percent) of the suburban populations in 2000, up from 19.3 percent in 1990. Almost half (47 percent) of the minorities in the large metropolitan areas in this study lived in the suburbs in 2000, compared to just over 40 percent a decade ago.

Of course, these overall statistics mask variations across metropolitan areas and variations in the residential patterns of different racial and ethnic groups. The 1990-2000 surge in minority suburbanization at the national level reflects disproportionate gains in the suburbs of 35 metropolitan areas, which we describe below as "melting pot metros." These areas have experienced large, immigrant-driven Hispanic and Asian population growth in their cities and suburbs in recent decades. The national numbers also are influenced, although to a lesser extent, by metropolitan areas in the South and West that have seen increases in their black suburban populations.[1] In metros located in the slow-growing North, the pace of minority suburbanization lags far behind that of the nation as a whole.

This report also outlines the variation in minority suburbanization patterns between blacks, Hispanics, and Asians for 102 metropolitan areas, and includes new findings on the residential patterns of people who identify themselves as belonging to more than one racial group, a new option in the 2000 census.

II. Methodology

Metropolitan Area Definitions This study evaluates 1990-2000 minority suburbanization patterns for the largest 102 metropolitan areas, with populations exceeding 500,000 as reported in Census 2000. The metropolitan areas are defined on the basis of Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs) and, in the New England states, New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMAs).

Central City Definition The central cities and suburbs (defined as the portion of metropolitan area located outside of central cities) for these areas are based on Office of Management and Budget (OMB) standards in effect for the 2000 census. These standards are consistently applied to both the 1990 and 2000 census data. It should be noted that OMB's roster of "central cities" often includes places in an MSA in addition to the largest or best-known central city. For example, the central cities of the Detroit PMSA include Detroit, Dearborn, Pontiac, and Port Huron. These central cities satisfy criteria associated with city size, density, and employment concentration that are uniformly applied across all metropolitan areas. Use of this broad central city definition means that our comparison of suburban populations consistently excludes not only the major central city, but also the most urbanized municipalities in each area.

Race-Hispanic Categories The use of race categories in this study requires a decision on how to apply the new Census 2000 race question, which is not strictly comparable to the race question in the 1990 census. The change allows respondents to identify more than one racial category if they desire; and also decouples the 1990 race category Asian and Pacific Islander into two categories, Asian and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander.[2] Consistent with other studies in the Brookings Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy Census 2000 series, this study will consider whites and blacks to be those who identified themselves as white only or black only on the 2000 census. Similarly, this study classifies Asians as those who identified themselves to be Asian only on the 2000 census, but, to maintain comparability with the 1990 census, this study also considers those who defined themselves as Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander to be Asian.

Those persons who selected more than one race in 2000 can be placed in a separate category of two or more races. This category did not exist in 1990, which leads to a potential understatement of 2000 "single race" categories in comparison with their counterpart races in 1990. However, the numbers of two or more race responses are relatively small. Among non-Hispanics only 3.8 percent of the population chose more than one race in 2000, and only 1.8 percent of whites did.

This study follows earlier research[3] by combining the Hispanic origin and race items into a single classification scheme, although the two are technically separate classifications. All persons identifying themselves as Hispanic constitute one category, and the remaining non-Hispanic persons are classified by their race (i.e. non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, etc). For ease of exposition, this survey will use the terms whites, blacks, Asians, etc. with the understanding that these categories pertain to non-Hispanic members of these race groups.

Measures of Minority Suburbanization This study employs several measures to assess minority suburbanization levels and change between 1990 and 2000. The bulk of the study will focus on minority suburbanization at the metropolitan area level. It compares metropolitan areas or groups

of metropolitan areas with respect to minority representation within their suburbs in 2000 and the change in minority representation between 1990 and 2000. This involves comparing the minority share (for all minorities combined, or individual groups) of the total suburban population across areas and also assessing 1990-2000 changes in this share.

The study also examines the extent to which a minority group is disproportionately concentrated in the central city or the suburbs using the city-suburb dissimilarity index. Positive values of this index range from zero (indicating that the minority group is distributed between the central cities and suburbs exactly the same as whites) and 100 (indicating that all members of the minority group reside in the central cities and all whites reside in the suburbs). The index value indicates the percentage of all minority group members that would have to relocate to the suburbs to be distributed exactly like whites.[4] A negative value on the index indicates that the minority group is disproportionately concentrated in the suburbs in comparison to the white population. In this case, the index value indicates the percent of the minority group's population that would have to relocate to the central cities to be distributed exactly like whites.

The study also examines a minority group's contribution to 1990–2000 suburban population change, defined as the group's 1990–2000 suburban population change as a percentage of the total suburban population change. This measure is employed to show how minority growth patterns are affecting overall suburban population changes in the 1990s.

III. Findings

A. Levels of suburban diversity vary sharply across U.S. regions. Melting pot metros such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington D.C., Houston, and New York have the most diverse suburban populations.

For decades, discussions of race and space in urban America revolved around black migration to central cities and "white flight" to the suburbs. Yet recent migration patterns of several minority groups have created new patterns of minority suburbanization, which play out differently within different kinds of metropolitan areas, described below.[5] (See Appendix A for a list of metro areas by category.)

Melting Pot Metros

Thirty-five of the 102 metropolitan areas in this survey are classified as melting pot metros because of their large proportion of Hispanics, Asians, American Indians/Native Alaskans, other races, and multi-racial populations.[6] These metropolitan areas are also where the impact of rising Hispanic and Asian populations (composed of both immigrants and their American-born descendants) is most evident.[7] Melting pot metros are found, not surprisingly, primarily in the high immigration zones of the U.S. They include well-known immigrant magnets such as the New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, and Chicago metropolitan areas, as well as smaller places like El Paso and Bakersfield.

Southern and Western Metropolitan Areas

Largely White-Black Metro Areas-South Most of the 19 largely white-black metro areas in the South are destinations for increasing numbers of black domestic migrants.[8] These metro areas also attract whites, and, recently, some Hispanics and Asians. Examples include Atlanta, Nashville, Baltimore, and Little Rock.

Largely White Metro Areas-South and West There are 13 largely white metros in the South and West, including places like Seattle, Colorado Springs, and Tampa. Unlike melting pot metros, most of these areas are adding white residents who are migrating from other communities in the U.S. However, many of these areas are registering noticeable Hispanic gains.

Northern Metropolitan Areas

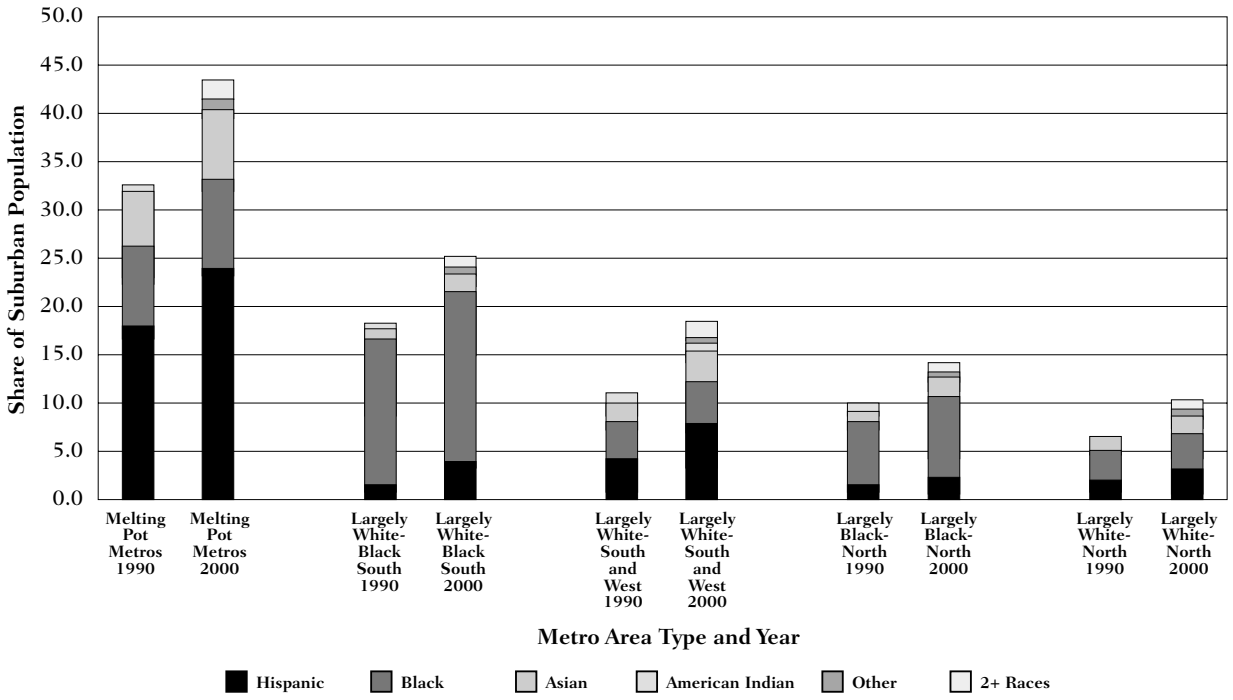
Largely White-Black Metro Areas-North This category includes six slow-growing metropolitan areas in the North (Northeast and Midwest Census Regions) with significant black populations, such as Philadelphia and Detroit. Most of these metropolitan areas were destinations for the black South-to-North migration of earlier decades, but have experienced only modest increases in their minority populations in the 1990s.

Largely White Metro Areas-North There are 29 largely white metros in the North that register slow to modest overall population growth and suburban development. Boston, Minneapolis, and Cincinnati are among the metropolitan areas in this category.

Metro Differences in Suburban Minority Profiles

The 2000 census reveals sharp disparities in suburban minority representation across the categories just defined. The suburbs of the melting pot metros have significantly higher percentages of minorities than those in any other category. (See Figure 1.) In the melting pot metros overall, more than two out of five (43.2 percent) suburban residents are minorities. In ten melting pot metros, minorities comprise over half the suburban population. Table 1 lists the 20 metro areas with the highest percentages of suburban residents—all of which are melting pot metros.

Figure 1: Minority Composition of Suburbs by Metro Area Type, 1990 and 2000. Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000



Southern and western metropolitan areas represent a second echelon of significant suburban minority representation. The minority suburban population share is 25.1 percent for the largely white-black metros in the South and 19.5 percent for largely white metros in the South and West. The areas with the lowest percentages of minority suburbanites are in the North—14.3 percent for largely white-black metros and 10.4 percent for largely white metros. Most of the metropolitan areas with small minority suburban populations have relatively small percentages of minority residents in the metropolitan area overall. For example, Scranton-Wilkes Barre-Hazelton, with the lowest suburban minority share of 2.8 percent, is only 8 percent minority at the metropolitan level.

As Figure 1 also shows, different types of metropolitan areas have different mixes of minority suburban residents. Hispanics are by far the largest minority in melting pot metro suburbs (at 23.7 percent), although both black and Asian populations are sizable. Hispanics are also the largest minority (at 7.8 percent) in the suburbs of largely white metro areas in the South and West. In other types of metropolitan areas, blacks are the dominant suburban minority.

City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index

A high positive value on the city-suburb dissimilarity index indicates that minorities are disproportionately concentrated in the central city portions of a metropolitan area compared to whites. A low positive value or zero indicates that minorities are distributed between the central cities and suburbs much like whites are. A negative value indicates an over-representation of minorities in the suburbs. (See Table 2).

Most metro areas with high minority suburbanization levels also have low levels of city-suburb dissimilarity. The metropolitan areas with lowest city-suburb dissimilarity numbers are primarily melting pot metros and largely white metros in the South and West. Many of these western metropolises have low-density suburban-style development patterns, and do not have sharp city-suburb differences in social class, housing attributes, and race.[9] The large metro areas of Los Angeles-Long Beach and Ft. Lauderdale have zero dissimilarity values, indicating that minorities and whites are similarly distributed between cities and suburbs.

Among the 20 metropolitan areas with the highest dissimilarity indices, 17 are located in the North (the others are Birmingham, Memphis, and Baltimore). These northern areas are typically slow-growing metros, such as Detroit, Gary, and Buffalo, where blacks are the dominant minority and have, historically, been concentrated in the central cities.[10]

Table 1: Highest and Lowest Suburban Minority Shares in 2000 Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

Highest Suburban Minority Percentages			Lowest Suburban Minority Percentages	
Rank	Metro Area	Percent	Metro Area	Percent
1	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	92.2	Scranton—Wilkes-Barre—Hazleton, PA MSA	2.8
2	El Paso, TX MSA	89.6	Fort Wayne, IN MSA	4.0
3	Honolulu, HI MSA	79.0	Knoxville, TN MSA	4.9
4	Miami, FL PMSA	78.5	Syracuse, NY MSA	5.2
5	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	68.8	Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	5.5
6	Jersey City, NJ PMSA	62.5	Indianapolis, IN MSA	5.6
7	Albuquerque, NM MSA	55.9	Akron, OH PMSA	5.6
8	Fresno, CA MSA	54.7	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	6.0
9	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	53.0	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	6.1
10	Bakersfield, CA MSA	51.5	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	6.1
11	Oakland, CA PMSA	47.6	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	6.4
12	Ventura, CA PMSA	45.0	Toledo, OH MSA	7.0
13	San Jose, CA PMSA	44.3	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	7.3
14	San Francisco, CA PMSA	42.7	Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	8.0
15	Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	42.1	Rochester, NY MSA	8.3
16	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	41.9	Columbus, OH MSA	8.3
17	San Antonio, TX MSA	41.6	Omaha, NE-IA MSA	8.4
18	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	40.5	Springfield, MA NECMA	8.5
19	Orange County, CA PMSA	40.2	Wichita, KS MSA	8.6
20	San Diego, CA MSA	40.2	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	8.6

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

B. Minorities were responsible for the bulk of suburban population gains in a majority of the metro areas studied.

Minority Suburban Growth

During the 1990s minorities were responsible for the bulk of suburban (as well as central city) population gains for 65 of the nation's 102 large metro areas. This phenomenon is most pronounced in the melting pot areas.

Table 3 lists the 20 metropolitan areas with the greatest percentage gains in suburban minority populations. Fort Lauderdale, which increased its suburban minority percentage from 23.7 percent to 41.9 percent over the 1990s, tops the list. The list is composed of melting pot metros, with the exception of Atlanta. Twenty of the 35 melting pot metros increased their suburban minority shares by 10 percent or more over the 1990s. Only two of the 67 metros in other categories (Atlanta and Seattle) showed minority suburban increases of this magnitude.

In the 1990s, melting pot metros not only had strong gains in their suburban minority population shares, but also depended on minorities for most of their suburban population growth. The suburbs of melting pot metros grew by 20.9 percent overall. Whites contributed to only 5 percent of this growth, whereas Hispanics were responsible for over half (52 percent). In 14 melting pot metros, minorities contributed to more than half of the suburban population growth of the past decade. There were also 18 melting pot metro areas with white suburban losses, meaning that minorities were responsible for all of the suburban population gains there.

Minorities contributed to more than half of the past decade's suburban population gains in 33 metropolitan areas in other categories. For example, whites accounted for only 35 percent of the modest suburban growth in St. Louis, while blacks accounted for most of the rest. In West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, whites accounted for 44 percent, Hispanics 29 percent, and blacks 13 percent of suburban growth.

White Suburban Loss

White suburban loss is not new to the 1990s,[11] but its magnitude and pervasiveness in that decade—especially in melting pot metros—is noteworthy. The largest white suburban losses were in the melting pot metros. The suburbs of Los Angeles-Long Beach lost 381,000 whites over the 1990s, and the suburbs of Riverside-San Bernardino, Oakland, and Bergen-Passaic each lost more than 70,000 whites. In Honolulu, Los Angeles-Long Beach, San Francisco, Miami,

Table 2: Highest and Lowest City-Suburb Dissimilarity Indices* for Minority vs. White Populations in 2000 Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

	Highest City-Suburb Dissimilarity		Lowest City-Suburb Dissimilarity	
Rank	Metro Area	Index	Metro Area	Index
1	Detroit, MI PMSA	61	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	-18
2	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	58	El Paso, TX MSA	-8
3	Gary, IN PMSA	56	Ventura, CA PMSA	-6
4	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	56	Albuquerque, NM MSA	-5
5	Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	54	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	-3
6	Rochester, NY MSA	52	Bakersfield, CA MSA	-2
7	Birmingham, AL MSA	51	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	-1
8	Syracuse, NY MSA	49	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	0
9	Fort Wayne, IN MSA	48	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	0
10	Akron, OH PMSA	47	Colorado Springs, CO MSA	3
11	Bridgeport, CT NECMA	47	Honolulu, HI MSA	4
12	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	45	Miami, FL PMSA	4
13	Springfield, MA NECMA	44	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	4
14	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	44	Jersey City, NJ PMSA	5
15	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	44	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	7
16	Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	44	Orlando, FL MSA	7
17	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	43	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	7
18	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	43	Fresno, CA MSA	9
19	Indianapolis, IN MSA	42	San Diego, CA MSA	10
20	Baltimore, MD PMSA	41	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	11

** Index measures the percentage of a metropolitan area's minority population that would need to relocate to achieve a city-suburb distribution similar to whites. A negative score indicates a larger concentration of minorities in the suburbs than in the city.*
Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

Riverside-San Bernardino, and Bakersfield, the rate of white loss in the suburbs exceeded that in the central cities. To be sure, not all melting pot suburbs lost whites. Phoenix, Las Vegas, Austin, Tucson, and Dallas all had double-digit rates of white suburban population growth.

Table 4 lists 24 large metros that experienced white suburban losses in the 1990s. Eighteen of these are melting pot metros, and one is adjacent to a melting pot metro. The remaining five areas that lost white suburbanites are largely white metros in the North that were less prosperous than other parts of the country in the 1990s.

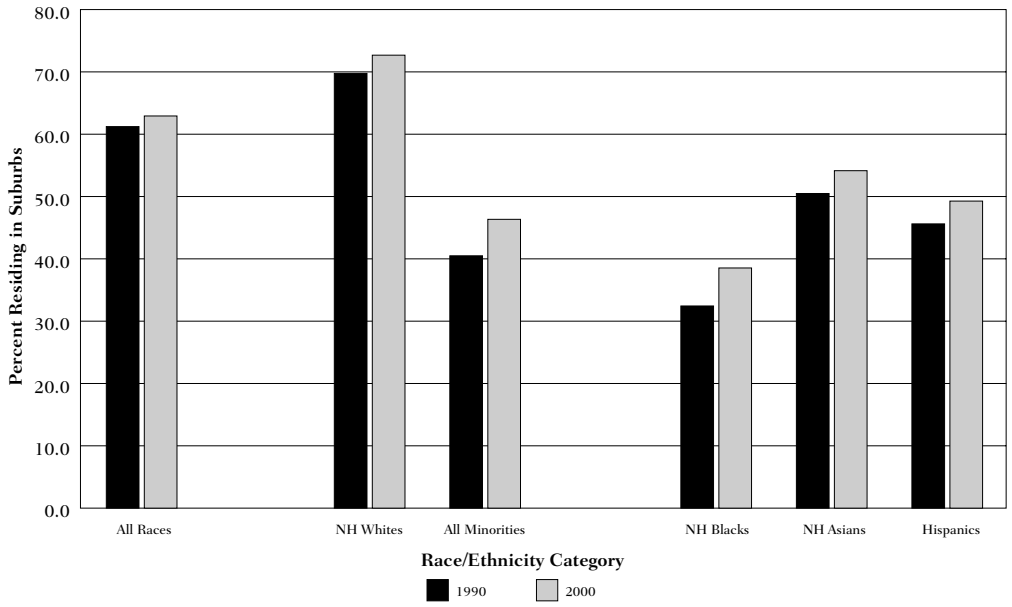
It might be tempting to use the term "white flight" to characterize the white population losses (suburban and overall) in melting pot metros. Yet previous research on white domestic out-migration from high immigration areas suggests that economic and amenity factors are more important than immigration and race in accounting for most of this movement.[12] White out-flows from these areas contribute to the white gains registered for largely white-black metros and largely white metros in the South and West.

C. Asians are more likely to live in the suburbs of major metropolitan areas than in cities.

Of the three large minority groups, only Asians are more likely to reside in the suburbs than in the central cities of the large metropolitan areas surveyed. Over half (54.6 percent) of Asians in these areas live in the suburbs. Almost half (49.6 percent) of Hispanics in these metro areas reside in the suburbs, along with 38.8 percent of the blacks. Blacks have shown the greatest increase in suburban living across these three broad groups; in 1990, less than one in three blacks lived in the suburbs of these metro areas.

These changes are also reflected in the groups' representation in the suburban population. (See Figure 2.) Looking at trends over the decade, Hispanics had the sharpest rise in suburbanization: they constitute 12.1 percent of the suburban population in large metropolitan areas, up from 8.5 percent in 1990. Blacks are 8.4 percent of suburbanites, up from 7.1 percent in 1990, and the Asian

Figure 2: Percentage of Population Residing in Suburbs by Race/Ethnicity 1990 and 2000, Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000



share of the suburban population has risen to 4.4 percent from 3.2 percent in 1990. The combined Hispanic and Asian population is more than double that of the black population, which reflects both the greater tendency of Hispanics and Asians to locate in the suburbs, as well as the fact that these minority groups posted larger population gains in the 1990s than did blacks.[13] However, the large-scale suburbanization of these two groups is heavily skewed toward a subset of metros.

The variation in minority suburban location patterns reflects a variety of conditions that differ across metropolitan areas including: city-suburb disparities in housing availability, costs and discrimination; the relative mix and socioeconomic status of an area's minority groups; and the historic development of minority communities shaped by race-specific migration flows and residential patterns in the area.[14]

Asians Asians constitute a smaller percentage of the combined populations of large metropolitan areas (5.1 percent) than either Hispanics

Table 3: Largest Gains in Suburban Minority Share, 1990–2000 Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

Rank	Metro Area	2000	1990	Gain
1	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	41.9	23.7	18.2
2	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	53.0	37.1	15.8
3	Oakland, CA PMSA	47.6	33.1	14.6
4	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	34.7	20.2	14.4
5	Atlanta, GA MSA	36.9	22.8	14.2
6	Orlando, FL MSA	33.1	19.6	13.5
7	San Jose, CA PMSA	44.3	31.4	12.9
8	Bakersfield, CA MSA	51.5	38.8	12.7
9	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	31.8	19.2	12.6
10	Houston, TX PMSA	40.2	27.7	12.5
11	Orange County, CA PMSA	40.2	27.9	12.3
12	Honolulu, HI MSA	79.0	66.8	12.2
13	Miami, FL PMSA	78.5	66.5	12.0
14	Dallas, TX PMSA	31.0	19.4	11.6
15	Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	42.1	30.9	11.2
16	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	40.5	29.4	11.0
17	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	35.1	24.4	10.7
18	San Diego, CA MSA	40.2	29.5	10.7
19	Jersey City, NJ PMSA	62.5	51.8	10.7
20	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	68.8	58.2	10.7

Percentages may not sum due to rounding.

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

Table 4: Suburban White Losses, 1990–2000, Among Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000 By Metro Area Type and Suburban White Loss

	White Percent Change 1990–2000		Minority Percent Change 1990–2000		White Percent of Total Population					
					Suburbs			City		
	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	2000	1990	Change	2000	1990	Change
MELTING POT METROS										
Honolulu, HI MSA	-32.2	-25.3	26.7	11.0	21	33	-12	19	25	-7
Miami, FL PMSA	-22.2	-10.9	43.2	2.4	21	33	-12	18	20	-2
El Paso, TX MSA	-20.9	-24.0	70.4	21.3	10	20	-10	18	26	-8
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	-19.3	-16.9	28.1	21.7	31	42	-11	31	40	-9
San Jose, CA PMSA	-11.7	-15.8	53.5	48.4	56	69	-13	40	54	-14
Bakersfield, CA MSA	-10.9	9.5	49.4	102.7	48	61	-13	51	66	-15
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	-9.1	-26.1	40.7	30.5	38	48	-11	33	47	-14
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	-7.8	***	54.7	***	65	76	-11	***	***	***
Oakland, CA PMSA	-7.2	-12.3	71.1	14.7	52	67	-15	33	39	-6
San Francisco, CA PMSA	-6.8	0.5	39.2	13.2	57	67	-9	44	47	-3
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	-5.6	-0.7	80.0	62.0	47	63	-16	49	61	-12
New York, NY PMSA	-5.2	-11.4	45.2	25.2	68	77	-8	35	43	-8
Newark, NJ PMSA	-4.6	-14.1	40.8	2.1	66	74	-8	14	16	-2
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	-3.2	***	90.2	***	68	81	-13	***	***	***
San Diego, CA MSA	-2.9	-7.8	55.8	39.2	60	70	-11	50	60	-10
Orange County, CA PMSA	-2.9	-19.7	68.7	53.4	60	72	-12	30	45	-15
Ventura, CA PMSA	-2.7	-4.2	41.4	54.2	55	64	-9	68	77	-9
Fresno, CA MSA	-0.2	-8.7	47.9	52.6	45	55	-10	36	49	-12
LARGELY WHITE METROS—NORTH										
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	-4.1	***	56.4	***	76	84	-8	***	***	***
Hartford, CT NECMA	-2.9	-29.7	81.8	5.3	85	91	-6	33	43	-10
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	-2.1	-15.4	37.6	5.2	93	95	-2	67	72	-5
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre—Hazleton, PA MSA	-2.0	-11.7	72.6	101.8	97	98	-1	92	96	-4
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	-0.8	-13.4	46.9	5.9	89	92	-3	63	67	-5
Syracuse, NY MSA	-0.4	-21.6	65.0	28.1	95	97	-2	66	76	-10

*** *Metro Areas with no central cities*

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

(15.6 percent) or blacks (13.8 percent). Therefore, the share of suburban residents that are Asian is typically much smaller than the share that are Hispanic or black. However, as previously noted, the share of the Asian metropolitan population that lives in the suburbs is higher than that of the other two groups. Asians tend to live in melting pot metros, as can be seen in Table 5, which lists the metro areas with the largest suburban percentages of each major minority group.

After Honolulu, where almost half of the suburban population is Asian, the greatest suburban Asian representation occurs in San Jose, Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles-Long Beach, and Orange County. These, along with Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon in New Jersey, are the only metropolitan areas where Asians make up more than 10 percent of suburbanites. Asian representation is at least 4 percent in the suburbs of 25 of the 102 large metros, including Seattle, Washington D.C., Las Vegas, Chicago, New York, Dallas, Riverside-San Bernardino, and Portland. Metros in which the Asian suburban population grew the most (in percentage terms) during the 1990s were mostly melting pot metros.

Metros with more substantial and growing Asian populations tend to have low or negative levels of Asian

Table 5: Highest Suburban Shares 2000, and 1990-2000 Gains in Shares Non-Hispanic Blacks, Non-Hispanic Asians, and Hispanics Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

HIGHEST SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE

ASIANS		HISPANICS		BLACKS	
Metro Area	Percent	Metro Area	Percent	Metro Area	Percent
Honolulu, HI MSA	47.7	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	91.5	Columbia, SC MSA	28.0
San Jose, CA PMSA	23.3	El Paso, TX MSA	86.0	Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	25.9
Oakland, CA PMSA	17.0	Miami, FL PMSA	55.8	Atlanta, GA MSA	25.0
San Francisco, CA PMSA	16.9	Jersey City, NJ PMSA	53.1	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	22.0
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	13.7	Fresno, CA MSA	45.7	Baton Rouge, LA MSA	20.9
Orange County, CA PMSA	13.7	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	44.7	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	20.8
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	11.2	Albuquerque, NM MSA	44.4	New Orleans, LA MSA	20.8
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	8.2	Bakersfield, CA MSA	41.9	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	20.6
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	8.1	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	38.3	Miami, FL PMSA	19.5
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	7.3	Ventura, CA PMSA	34.8	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	19.2

GREATEST GAINS IN SUBURBAN PERCENTAGE

ASIANS		HISPANICS		BLACKS	
Metro Area	Percent Gain	Metro Area	Percent Gain	Metro Area	Percent Gain
San Jose, CA PMSA	9.0	El Paso, TX MSA	12.7	Atlanta, GA MSA	6.3
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	5.8	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	11.8	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	6.0
Oakland, CA PMSA	5.4	Bakersfield, CA MSA	10.4	Baltimore, MD PMSA	3.9
Orange County, CA PMSA	3.9	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	9.7	Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD PMSA	3.7
San Francisco, CA PMSA	3.8	Miami, FL PMSA	9.6	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	3.2
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	3.4	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	8.7	New Orleans, LA MSA	3.1
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	3.1	Orlando, FL MSA	8.3	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	2.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	2.7	Houston, TX PMSA	7.9	Gary, IN PMSA	2.6
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	2.2	Ventura, CA PMSA	6.9	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	2.5
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	2.0	San Diego, CA MSA	6.7	Orlando, FL MSA	2.3

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

Table 6: Highest and Lowest City-Suburb Dissimilarity Indices Non-Hispanic Blacks, Non-Hispanic Asians, and Hispanics Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

HIGHEST CITY-SUBURB DISSIMILARITY INDICES

ASIANS		HISPANICS		BLACKS	
Metro Area	Index	Metro Area	Index	Metro Area	Index
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	45	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	55	Gary, IN PMSA	76
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	39	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	52	Detroit, MI PMSA	72
Greensboro—Winston-Salem—High Point, NC MSA	39	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	52	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	67
Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	37	Bridgeport, CT NECMA	51	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	66
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	32	Springfield, MA NECMA	49	Rochester, NY MSA	65
Nashville, TN MSA	32	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	48	Syracuse, NY MSA	64
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	32	Rochester, NY MSA	48	Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	64
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	31	Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA NECMA	45	Fort Wayne, IN MSA	60
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	31	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	44	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	58
Sacramento, CA PMSA	31	Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	43	Akron, OH PMSA	56

LOWEST CITY-SUBURB DISSIMILARITY INDICES

ASIANS		HISPANICS		BLACKS	
Metro Area	Index	Metro Area	Index	Metro Area	Index
Ventura, CA PMSA	-9	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	-19	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	-10
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	-7	Jersey City, NJ PMSA	-14	Honolulu, HI MSA	-10
Miami, FL PMSA	-6	Honolulu, HI MSA	-12	Ventura, CA PMSA	-7
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	-5	El Paso, TX MSA	-8	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	-6
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	-2	Bakersfield, CA MSA	-7	El Paso, TX MSA	-5
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	-1	Ventura, CA PMSA	-6	Miami, FL PMSA	1
Gary, IN PMSA	0	Albuquerque, NM MSA	-5	Colorado Springs, CO MSA	1
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	1	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	-4	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	2
Atlanta, GA MSA	1	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	-2	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	4
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	1	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	-2	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	6

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

Table 7: Percent Residing in Suburbs for Selected Race-Group Combinations, 2000 Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

	Population (1000s)	Percent in Suburbs
Selected Single Non-Hispanic Race Groups & All Hispanics		
White	112,256	73.0
Black	24,443	38.8
Asian*	9,183	54.6
Hispanic (any race)	27,783	49.6
Selected Multiple Non-Hispanic Race Groups		
White & Black	473	55.9
White & Asian	693	63.6
White & Black & Asian	16	57.7
Two or More Races	3,283	56.4
Two or More Races excluding Black	2,206	59.4
Two or More Races including Black	1,077	50.2
Additional Non-Hispanic Groups		
American Indians/Native Alaskans	738	59.9
Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders	263	62.4
Other Races	374	48.4
Total	178,060	63.3

** Includes Asians and Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders*
Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

city-suburb dissimilarity. (See Table 6.) These areas include larger metros such as Los Angeles-Long Beach and Washington D.C. Two-thirds (66) of the 102 large metro areas have Asian city-suburb dissimilarity indices below 20. These include most of the melting pot and other West Coast metros where the Asian presence is strong. One exception is San Francisco, home of one of the nation's oldest and largest Asian settlements, which has a higher-than-average Asian city-suburb dissimilarity index of 22. Metropolitan areas where dissimilarity is highest tend to be either college towns (for example, Ann Arbor) or areas where Asians have a small, new presence (such as Greensboro and Little Rock)

Hispanics More than a third (36) of the nation's 102 large metros have suburban populations that are more than 10 percent Hispanic. Hispanics make up more than 80 percent of the suburban population in two Texas border metros, 55.6 percent of suburbanites in the large immigrant magnet metro of Miami, and 44.7 percent of suburbanites in Los Angeles. Most of the areas in which Hispanics are more than 10 percent of suburbanites are melting pot metros. Denver (14.2 percent) and West Palm Beach-Boca Raton (12.3 percent) are exceptions.

Thirty metros increased their suburban Hispanic representation by at least 4 percentage points, with noticeable gains in Riverside-San Bernardino, Las Vegas, Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Orlando, Houston, and San Diego. These trends are especially significant in metros where Hispanic representation is relatively new. In Atlanta, the suburban Hispanic share increased from 2 percent to 6.8 percent, and in Salt Lake City, it increased from 4 percent to 8.5 percent. Only one metropolitan area (Honolulu) registered a decline in the percentage of suburban residents who are Hispanic.

As Table 6 shows, areas with highest Hispanic city-suburb dissimilarity are typically in the North, led by Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton at 55. Milwaukee, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Philadelphia are large northern metros with 40-plus dissimilarity indices for Hispanics. Only 12 of the nation's 102 large metros have Hispanic dissimilarity indices this high; 32 metros have

indices of less than ten. The latter are primarily melting pot metros, and other southern or western metros with growing Hispanic populations. Larger metros such as San Francisco, Riverside-San Bernardino, and Ft. Lauderdale register negative city-suburb dissimilarity indices, indicating a suburban concentration of Hispanics. The index for Los Angeles is zero, indicating that whites and Hispanics are distributed similarly between the city and suburbs.

Blacks The highest suburban black shares tend to be in the largely white-black metros in the South, such as Columbia and Charleston in South Carolina, and Atlanta, where blacks constitute more than a quarter of suburban populations. Other large metros with large suburban black representation include the melting pot metros of Washington D.C., Miami, and Ft. Lauderdale, where the suburban black percentage exceeds 19 percent. Overall, black suburban representation is not high. It exceeds 10 percent in only 24 of the 102 large metro areas.

During the 1990s, increases in the percentage of suburban residents who are black were not large. Atlanta and Ft. Lauderdale lead all metros with six percentage point increases in their suburban black shares. Black representation grew by 2 percent or more in the suburbs of only 13 metros in the 1990s. Moreover, the black share of the suburban population fell in 20 metros during the 1990s, due to greater levels of suburbanization among whites or other minority groups. This is the case for several largely white-black metro areas in the South, such as Memphis, Greensboro, Charleston, and Raleigh-Durham, which experienced high levels of white suburbanization along with black gains.

Many southern metros that are gaining blacks now exhibit black city-suburb dissimilarity indices well below those of northern metros. Black city-suburb dissimilarity is highest for northern areas in this survey. Gary, Detroit, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Rochester, and Syracuse have black dissimilarity indices well above 60. Thirty-two large metro areas, mostly in the North, show dissimilarity indices above 40. By contrast, the index values for Atlanta, Washington D.C., Houston, Norfolk, Columbia, Charleston, and Greenville are in the 14-19 range. At the lowest end of the spectrum are a mix of metros, many with small but rising black populations such as Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, and West Palm Beach.

D. People who identified themselves as belonging to "two or more races" have different suburbanization patterns than single-race identifiers. This section provides an overall metropolitan analysis of the suburban location patterns of people who selected race group combinations for Census 2000, and for small race groups that were not included in the analysis above. Unless otherwise specified, we are examining the non-Hispanic members of these groups. The "two or more race" category is made up of 57 different sub-categories, most of which consist of very few people, and which are not easily incorporated into the metropolitan area typology used in the previous sections' analysis.

Because whites, blacks, and Asians are considered racial groups, it is possible to examine the suburban location rates for different combinations of these groups. As Table 7 shows, persons identifying as either white and black or white and Asian have suburban location patterns that lie between the values of the individual groups. The percentage of white and black census respondents who live in the suburbs—55.9—lies almost squarely in-between the rates for white (73.0) and black (38.8) single-race identifiers. A similar "average" value of 63.6 percent is also observed for the white and Asian group. (As noted above, 54.6 percent of Asians in major metropolitan areas live in the suburbs.) Of the 16,000 large metro residents who identified themselves as white, black, and Asian, 57.7 percent live in the suburbs. This is also an "average" level, although it is slightly closer to the rate of the white and black group than the white and Asian group.

This analysis suggests that the same preferences and constraints associated with locating in the suburbs for whites, or blacks, or Asians work in combination for residents who identify (and are identified by others) with two or more of these racial groups. It also suggests that, at least for studies of race-related residential location, it might be advisable to examine multi-racial groups separately rather than simply adding them to single-race groups.

If one looks at all individuals in large metropolitan areas who choose one of the 57 possible two or more race combinations, one finds that, overall, 56.4 percent of them live in the suburbs. This is below the rate for the total population (63.3 percent) but above the rates for those identifying as blacks alone or Asians alone—again an "average" level.

If the two or more race group is divided into two subgroups—those in which blacks did not constitute one of the races and those that did include blacks—these two groups differ in predictable ways. Multi-racial, non-black combinations had a higher percentage of suburban residents (59.4 percent) than the multi-racial, black combinations (50.2 percent).

Suburban location percentages for three smaller race groups that were not explicitly included in the earlier analysis are as follows: American Indians/Alaska Natives, 59.9 percent; Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders, 62.4 percent; other races, 48.4 percent.

IV. Conclusion

Minority suburbanization increased markedly during the 1990s, and minorities now constitute more than a quarter (27.3 percent) of suburban populations in the nation's largest metropolitan areas, up from 19.3 percent in 1990. Yet these national statistics belie the range of minority suburbanization patterns in the country's largest metropolitan areas, and among different minority groups.

Melting pot metro areas, and the Hispanics locating within them, are the major drivers of national minority suburbanization trends. The new suburban diversity patterns, particularly the fact that minorities are dominating suburban growth in more than half of the nation's largest metropolitan areas, raise many questions about "race and space" in America's metropolitan areas. Does the suburban experience for today's minorities represent the same upward mobility transition as it did for whites in earlier decades? Are minorities re-segregated in separate communities within the suburbs? Is the economic and social status selectivity associated with suburban movers more diluted than in the past? We plan to address these questions in future Brookings studies.

Endnotes

1 Frey, 2000, 2001a.

2 U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001.

3 Massey and Denton, 1987; Denton and Massey, 1991; Frey, 1992; Frey and Fielding, 1995; Frey and Farley, 1996.

4 The City-Suburb Dissimilarity Index measures the dissimilarity between a minority group's city-suburb distribution and the white population's city-suburb distribution. (see Frey and Speare, 1988; p. 260). It is calculated as: [(white suburb population/white metro area population)-(minority suburb population/minority metro area population)] x 100. A positive value, ranging from zero to 100, indicates an overrepresentation of the minority group in the cities, and denotes the percent of the metro area's minority population that would have to relocate to be distributed like the white population. A negative value indicates an overrepresentation of the minority group in the suburbs.

5 Frey and Geverdt, 1998; Frey, 2000.

6 Melting pot metros denote metropolitan areas where non-Hispanic whites compose no more than 69 percent of the 2000 population (the percentage of non-Hispanic whites nationwide is 69.1), and where the combined populations of Hispanics, non-Hispanic Asians, Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and Native Alaskans, other races and multi-racial individuals exceeds 18 percent of the population (the sum of these groups is 18 percent of the national population). See footnote to Appendix A for definitions of other categories in the metropolitan typology.

7 Frey, 2001b.

8 Frey, 2001a.

9 Frey and Speare, 1988.

10 Frey, 1992.

11 see Frey, 1992.

12 Frey and Liaw, 1998.

13 Nationally, the Hispanic population grew by 58 percent between 1990 and 2000, compared with 52 percent for Asians and 3.4 percent for blacks.

14 Frey and Speare, 1988; Massey and Denton, 1988; Alba and Logan, 1991; Frey, 1992.

Appendix A: City and Suburb Minority Shares, 1990 and 2000 and 2000 Suburban Race Profiles Metro Areas with Populations Over 500,000, by Metro Area Type*

	Minority Shares				Share of Suburban Population 2000**					
	Suburb 2000	Change 1990–2000	City 2000	Change 1990–2000	White	Black	Asian	Hisp.	Am. Ind.	2+ Races
MELTING POT METROS										
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	68.8	10.7	69.0	8.7	31.2	7.7	13.7	44.7	0.3	2.2
New York, NY PMSA	31.8	8.5	64.9	8.2	68.2	11.9	4.4	13.3	0.1	1.7
Chicago, IL PMSA	26.1	10.6	65.0	6.6	73.9	8.5	4.9	11.3	0.1	1.2
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	40.5	11.0	60.8	0.5	59.5	22.0	7.3	8.5	0.2	2.2
Houston, TX PMSA	40.2	12.5	68.1	10.1	59.8	10.4	5.3	22.8	0.3	1.3
Dallas, TX PMSA	31.0	11.6	61.7	14.0	69.0	9.4	4.4	15.3	0.4	1.3
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	53.0	15.8	51.4	12.1	47.0	7.3	4.3	38.3	0.6	2.3
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	29.7	4.6	36.7	13.5	70.3	2.7	2.1	21.0	2.3	1.5
Orange County, CA PMSA	40.2	12.3	70.2	15.0	59.8	1.4	13.7	22.3	0.3	2.4
San Diego, CA MSA	40.2	10.7	49.9	10.2	59.8	4.0	5.6	27.0	0.7	2.7
Oakland, CA PMSA	47.6	14.6	67.2	6.2	52.4	7.7	17.0	18.6	0.4	3.7
Miami, FL PMSA	78.5	12.0	82.5	2.1	21.5	19.5	1.5	55.8	0.1	1.4
Newark, NJ PMSA	34.2	8.2	85.8	2.2	65.8	17.0	4.5	10.8	0.1	1.6
San Francisco, CA PMSA	42.7	9.4	56.4	2.9	57.3	3.2	16.9	19.1	0.2	3.1
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	19.4	7.4	48.9	13.5	80.6	4.2	2.5	10.7	0.5	1.3
San Jose, CA PMSA	44.3	12.9	60.0	14.0	55.7	1.8	23.3	15.8	0.3	2.9
Orlando, FL MSA	33.1	13.5	49.2	12.2	66.9	11.7	2.7	16.4	0.3	1.7
Sacramento, CA PMSA	27.8	9.2	59.5	12.8	72.2	4.9	6.6	12.0	0.7	3.4
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	41.9	18.2	42.5	7.0	58.1	19.2	2.4	17.5	0.2	2.3
San Antonio, TX MSA	41.6	6.5	67.2	4.2	58.4	6.3	1.4	32.1	0.3	1.4
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	34.7	14.4	42.0	14.1	65.3	6.8	5.0	19.3	0.8	2.6
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	35.1	10.7	***	***	64.9	7.6	8.2	17.3	0.1	1.7
Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	29.9	5.9	47.0	8.3	70.1	5.5	2.3	20.5	0.3	1.2
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	31.8	12.6	***	***	68.2	7.6	11.2	11.2	0.1	1.5
Fresno, CA MSA	54.7	9.8	63.8	12.5	45.3	2.0	3.8	45.7	0.9	2.0
Honolulu, HI MSA	79.0	12.2	81.3	6.8	21.0	2.8	47.7	8.4	0.2	19.7
Tucson, AZ MSA	28.6	4.3	45.8	9.2	71.4	1.2	1.5	20.6	3.9	1.2
Ventura, CA PMSA	45.0	9.0	31.9	9.4	55.0	1.9	5.8	34.8	0.4	2.0
Albuquerque, NM MSA	55.9	3.2	50.1	8.4	44.1	1.3	0.7	44.4	7.9	1.4
El Paso, TX MSA	89.6	9.6	81.7	8.0	10.4	2.5	0.3	86.0	0.4	0.3
Bakersfield, CA MSA	51.5	12.7	48.9	14.8	48.5	3.8	2.8	41.9	0.9	1.9
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	62.5	10.7	66.9	13.5	37.5	2.1	5.0	53.1	0.1	1.7
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	92.2	3.2	84.7	4.2	7.8	0.3	0.2	91.5	0.1	0.1
Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	42.1	11.2	61.9	12.2	57.9	3.6	4.9	29.4	0.7	3.1
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA PMSA	36.5	9.3	53.7	13.8	63.5	7.5	6.3	18.4	0.6	3.5

	Minority Shares				Share of Suburban Population 2000**					
	Suburb 2000	Change 1990–2000	City 2000	Change 1990–2000	White	Black	Asian	Hisp.	Am. Ind.	2+ Races
LARGELY WHITE-BLACK METROS —SOUTH										
Atlanta, GA MSA	36.9	14.2	68.7	-1.0	63.1	25.0	3.5	6.8	0.2	1.3
Baltimore, MD PMSA	21.2	7.1	67.6	7.3	78.8	14.3	3.1	2.0	0.2	1.3
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	26.1	2.0	43.5	7.9	73.9	20.6	1.8	1.9	0.3	1.3
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	16.4	4.2	41.2	8.1	83.6	10.7	1.0	3.4	0.4	0.7
New Orleans, LA MSA	29.7	5.3	70.7	6.2	70.3	20.8	2.1	5.2	0.4	1.1
Greensboro—Winston-Salem—High Point, NC MSA	14.3	4.1	45.3	9.1	85.7	8.6	0.7	3.9	0.3	0.7
Nashville, TN MSA	9.7	2.5	34.4	8.3	90.3	5.8	0.8	1.9	0.3	0.8
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	24.4	4.7	44.8	8.3	75.6	15.5	2.2	5.3	0.3	1.0
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	21.1	1.9	66.4	10.6	78.9	16.9	1.4	1.7	0.2	0.8
Jacksonville, FL MSA	12.9	1.6	37.8	8.1	87.1	6.7	1.4	3.2	0.3	1.2
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	27.2	6.2	65.2	5.5	72.8	20.8	2.3	2.3	0.4	1.1
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	19.3	4.3	43.7	3.5	80.7	14.3	1.2	2.8	0.2	0.8
Birmingham, AL MSA	18.3	4.5	76.5	12.3	81.7	14.5	0.9	1.9	0.3	0.7
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	24.5	2.9	55.3	8.1	75.5	20.9	0.8	1.8	0.3	0.7
Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD PMSA	20.5	8.4	52.8	5.9	79.5	12.5	2.5	4.1	0.2	1.2
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	11.3	0.8	39.4	9.4	88.7	7.7	0.5	1.5	0.5	1.0
Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	31.1	1.5	46.3	5.3	68.9	25.9	1.3	2.3	0.4	1.1
Mobile, AL MSA	20.4	-0.9	50.2	9.2	79.6	16.3	0.9	1.3	0.9	1.0
Columbia, SC MSA	33.0	4.1	51.8	4.7	67.0	28.0	1.4	2.2	0.3	1.0
LARGELY WHITE METROS—SOUTH AND WEST										
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	20.7	10.4	30.3	7.2	79.3	3.1	8.1	5.1	1.0	3.2
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	18.7	7.4	37.9	8.0	81.3	5.5	1.7	9.8	0.3	1.2
Denver, CO PMSA	23.0	8.3	48.1	9.5	77.0	3.4	3.1	14.2	0.5	1.7
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	15.9	8.4	23.1	6.7	84.1	1.0	4.0	7.8	0.7	2.3
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	14.1	6.6	28.7	11.3	85.9	0.8	2.7	8.5	0.6	1.4
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	28.4	9.0	35.8	6.4	71.6	12.7	1.5	12.3	0.1	1.6
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	19.6	5.1	32.5	7.7	80.4	6.8	1.4	3.8	4.2	3.3
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	11.4	3.8	34.6	6.3	88.6	7.5	1.0	1.5	0.2	1.0
Tulsa, OK MSA	19.6	6.3	32.9	10.9	80.4	2.4	0.7	2.5	8.9	5.0
Tacoma, WA PMSA	20.3	6.6	33.5	9.9	79.7	5.2	4.8	5.0	1.1	4.0
Knoxville, TN MSA	4.9	1.7	20.2	3.3	95.1	1.9	0.8	1.1	0.3	0.8
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	11.2	4.4	29.3	8.4	88.8	3.8	0.8	5.5	0.2	0.8
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	21.8	3.6	24.7	5.7	78.2	6.2	2.1	9.7	0.8	2.8

	Minority Shares				Share of Suburban Population 2000**					
	Suburb 2000	Change 1990–2000	City 2000	Change 1990–2000	White	Black	Asian	Hisp.	Am. Ind.	2+ Races
LARGELY WHITE-BLACK METROS—NORTH										
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	16.3	4.7	59.3	9.4	83.7	9.2	2.9	2.8	0.1	1.1
Detroit, MI PMSA	13.1	5.3	79.7	9.3	86.9	6.2	2.8	2.1	0.3	1.6
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	16.3	4.4	46.7	4.5	83.7	12.1	1.4	1.4	0.2	1.0
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	13.5	3.3	54.8	8.3	86.5	9.3	1.4	1.5	0.1	1.1
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	6.0	3.0	50.6	13.9	94.0	1.3	1.5	2.1	0.3	0.8
Gary, IN PMSA	16.5	7.4	89.4	4.6	83.5	5.2	1.0	9.0	0.2	1.1
LARGELY WHITE METROS—NORTH										
Boston, MA-NH NECMA	9.4	4.0	34.2	10.2	90.6	1.7	3.0	2.9	0.1	1.2
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	9.0	4.9	36.8	15.5	91.0	2.4	2.8	2.1	0.4	1.3
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	23.6	7.7	***	***	76.4	8.1	3.5	10.3	0.2	1.3
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	7.3	2.0	33.1	4.6	92.7	4.9	0.8	0.6	0.1	0.7
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	9.5	4.2	39.6	7.2	90.5	3.3	1.5	2.9	0.4	1.3
Bridgeport, CT NECMA	10.7	4.1	48.0	12.2	89.3	3.4	2.3	3.7	0.1	1.0
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	8.6	2.8	47.3	7.5	91.4	5.4	1.1	1.0	0.2	0.9
Indianapolis, IN MSA	5.6	2.8	31.6	7.5	94.4	2.0	1.1	1.5	0.2	0.7
Columbus, OH MSA	8.3	3.6	30.2	6.6	91.7	4.0	1.6	1.3	0.2	1.1
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	6.1	2.2	44.5	10.5	93.9	2.1	1.3	1.3	0.5	0.7
Hartford, CT NECMA	15.3	6.5	66.5	9.5	84.7	5.7	2.4	5.7	0.1	1.2
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	15.7	3.6	9.6	4.7	84.3	5.9	2.8	5.8	0.1	1.1
Rochester, NY MSA	8.3	2.8	55.7	14.0	91.7	3.1	1.7	2.2	0.2	1.0
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	10.2	4.2	37.2	11.9	89.8	3.0	1.5	4.0	0.4	1.1
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA NECMA	8.7	3.8	34.7	14.4	91.3	1.6	1.5	3.5	0.3	1.3
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	11.2	3.3	37.1	4.6	88.8	7.2	1.4	1.1	0.2	1.2
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	6.1	2.4	28.1	10.6	93.9	1.6	1.5	1.9	0.2	0.8
Syracuse, NY MSA	5.2	2.0	33.5	9.9	94.8	1.5	1.0	1.2	0.6	0.9
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	8.4	2.2	22.4	6.6	91.6	2.5	1.4	2.9	0.3	1.2
Akron, OH PMSA	5.6	2.2	31.2	6.4	94.4	2.7	1.1	0.7	0.2	0.9
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	6.4	3.0	31.4	13.8	93.6	1.6	1.4	2.5	0.1	0.7
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	8.0	3.7	46.3	9.8	92.0	3.7	1.5	1.8	0.1	0.9
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre—Hazleton, PA MSA	2.8	1.2	8.0	4.3	97.2	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.1	0.4
Toledo, OH MSA	7.0	2.1	30.2	6.7	93.0	1.5	1.2	3.3	0.2	0.9
Springfield, MA NECMA	8.5	3.5	39.4	10.6	91.5	1.5	1.9	3.8	0.1	1.1
Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	5.5	2.2	42.9	7.5	94.5	2.8	0.4	1.3	0.1	0.7
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	13.6	3.4	27.2	7.6	86.4	6.9	1.8	3.0	0.4	1.4
Wichita, KS MSA	8.6	3.1	28.3	8.5	91.4	1.7	1.0	3.6	0.8	1.5
Fort Wayne, IN MSA	4.0	1.7	26.9	6.2	96.0	0.7	0.7	1.6	0.3	0.7

**Melting Pot Metros denote those where non-Hispanic whites comprise no more than 69 percent of the 2000 population and where the combined populations of Hispanics, non-Hispanic Asians, Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders, Native Americans and Native Alaskans, other race and two or more races, exceed 18 percent of the population. Largely White-Black Metros denote remaining areas, in their respective regions, where blacks comprise at least 16 percent of the population; and Largely White Metros denote the residual areas in each region. "South and West" pertains to metros located in the South and West census regions. "North" pertains to metros located in the Northeast and Midwest census regions.*

***Race categories do not sum to 100% because the "other" race category is omitted. Races pertain to non-Hispanic members of those races. Asians include Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders. Races pertain to single race responses to the 2000 census question on race identification.*

****Metro area with no central city*

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

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