Metropolitan Segregation: No Breakthrough in Sight

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Report Summary

The 2020 Census offers new information on changes in residential segregation in metropolitan regions across the country as they continue to become more diverse. We take a long view, assessing trends since 1980 and extrapolating to the future. These new data mostly reinforce patterns that were observed a decade ago: high but slowly declining black-white segregation, and less intense but hardly changing segregation of Hispanics and Asians from whites. Enough time has passed since the civil rights era of the 1960s and 1970s to draw this conclusion: segregation will continue to divide Americans well into the 21st Century.

Metropolitan Segregation: No Breakthrough in Sight

Residential segregation, especially between whites and blacks, is a durable feature of America's urban landscape. Segregation of African Americans rose to near-apartheid levels in many cities as early as 1940, and high levels persist today in much of the country. Segregation is at the heart of racial disparities that Americans have long been aware of, including inequalities in public education, health and safety. The events of the last several years have brought new attention to this pattern. Highly visible issues about policing and police violence have been joined by the realization that minority communities are especially vulnerable to the Covid-19 pandemic, and these aspects of systemic racism are also rooted in the hard boundaries between white and black neighborhoods.

Every decade since 1980, urban scholars have awaited the publication of new census data in the hope that it would show a breakthrough in efforts to desegregate American neighborhoods. The 2020 data suggest there will be no breakthrough. Figure 1 reports the overall trends from 1980-2020 in terms of the Index of Dissimilarity (D), a measure of what percentage of a minority group's members live in neighborhoods where they are over-concentrated compared to whites. Asians have long been the least segregated group, steadily at an average around the country of 40. Scholars describe this as a "moderate" level of segregation, but it means that 40% of Asians live in neighborhoods where they are over-represented. However it is quite "moderate" in contrast to African Americans, whose segregation reached near-apartheid level of 79 in the 1960's and 1970's, and for whom the average in 1980 was still 77.

Figure 1. Trajectories of segregation from whites (D): 1980-2020 and projections through 2050
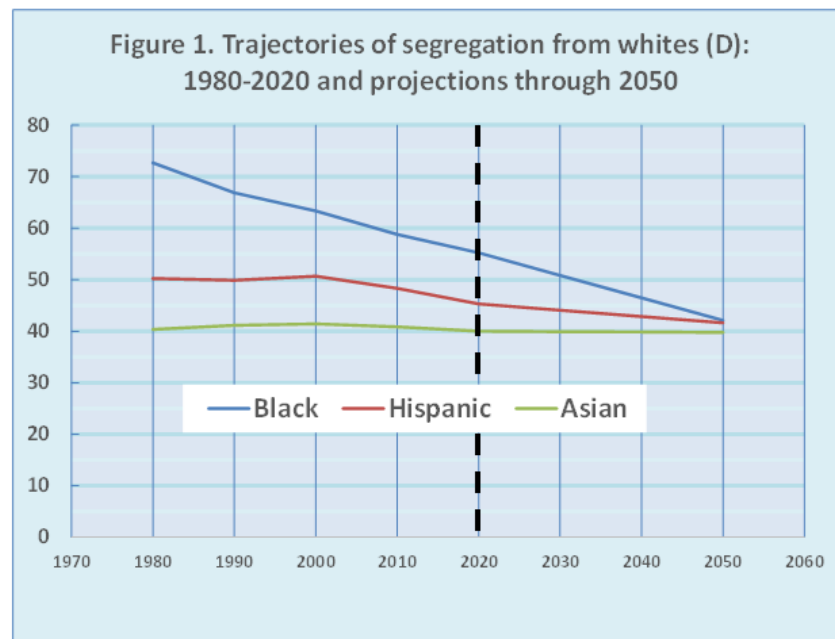
Since that time, change has been steady, reaching 55 in 2020. At the rate of decline that now seems firmly entrenched, one can project that segregation of African Americans could converge with that of Hispanics and Asians in the year 2050. If America's neighborhoods are well past the apartheid stage, the most optimistic future scenario is for black-white segregation to fall to the level experienced by other minority groups, and that is thirty years into the future.

The patterns in 2020

The rapid growth of the nation's Hispanic and Asian populations has created an increasingly complex pattern of racial/ethnic diversity. In the last decade the non-Hispanic white population fell by 2.6%, while there was a small gain in the black total (5.6%). In the same period, the Hispanic population jumped by 23% and Asians by 35%. Segregation is an important aspect of the experience of these groups also. Their segregation is less extreme, but continued high rates of immigration fed the growth of their barrios and ethnic enclaves in the 1980-2020 decades. Hispanics have shared many of the disparities experienced by African Americans, often living in the same neighborhoods. Asians have been less segregated, more likely to have white neighbors and to live in more advantaged places. Yet for them also, the persistence of their separation from whites raises the question of whether the social boundaries between whites and Asians will ever diminish.

These are the main findings from the 2020 Census:

- Declines in residential segregation between blacks and whites in the last decade continued at a slow pace. Segregation peaked around 1960 or 1970. After that time there were reasons to expect a potential breakthrough, due to civil rights legislation, changing white attitudes, and a growing share of middle class African Americans. The new data show not a breakthrough but a steady rate of change.

- Hispanics and Asians are considerably less segregated than African Americans, and their segregation levels have remained nearly unchanged since 1980. In addition, since both these groups are growing, there is a tendency for their ethnic enclaves to become more homogeneous. As a result these groups live in moderately more isolated settings now than they did when they were smaller in number.

- The average non-Hispanic white person continued to live in a neighborhood that is very different racially from those neighborhoods where the average black, Hispanic, and Asian live. The average white person in metropolitan American lives in a neighborhood that is 69% white, but contact with other groups is increasing decade by decade.

The Typical Neighborhood: Continued Separation between Groups

Based on national metropolitan averages, the graph in Figure 2 illustrates typical neighborhood diversity as experienced by the different groups in 2020. Stark contrasts are readily apparent between the typical experiences of whites versus that of each minority group. In metropolitan areas across the U.S., the typical white lives in a neighborhood that is 69% white, 9% black, 12% Hispanic, and 6% Asian. This represents a notable change since 1980, when the average whites' neighborhood was 88% white and even since 2010 when it was 75% white, but it is very different from the makeup of the metropolis as a whole.

The experience of minorities is very different and not much changed from a decade ago. For example, the typical black lives in a neighborhood that is 41% black, 34% white, 17% Hispanic, and 6% Asian. The typical Hispanic lives in a neighborhood that is 45% Hispanic, 34% white, 12% black and 8% Asian. The typical Asian lives in a neighborhood that is 25% Asian, 44% white, 10% black, and 19% Hispanic.

Figure 2. Diversity Experienced in Each Group's Typical Neighborhood - National Metropolitan Average, 2020 Census
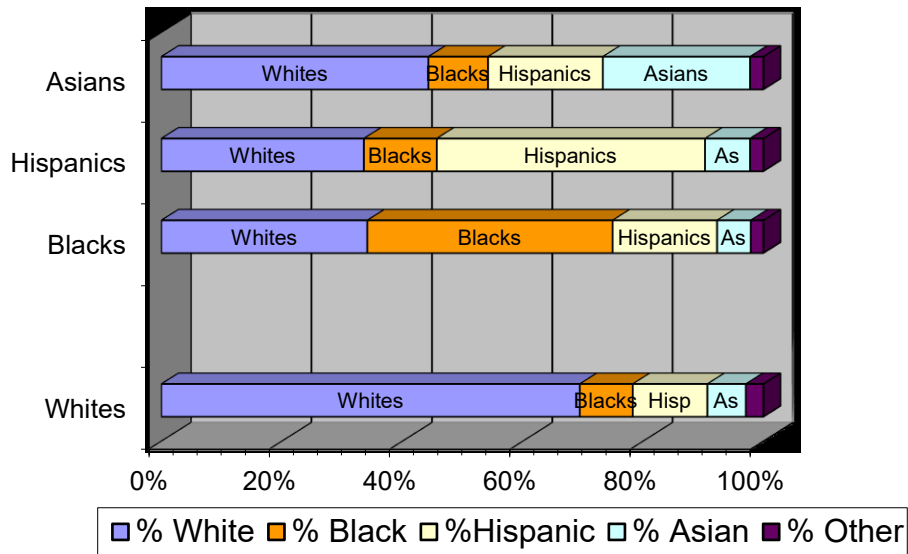
Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

The basic message here is that whites live in neighborhoods with low minority representation, but much more in 2020 than was the case 40 years ago. From the perspective of an average white resident, the nation's increasing diversity is reflected in their own neighborhood. Blacks and Hispanics live in neighborhoods with high minority representation, and relatively few white neighbors. Asians, with a much smaller population in most metropolitan regions, nevertheless live in neighborhoods where they are disproportionately represented. However, unlike blacks and Hispanics, the largest share of Asians' neighbors is non-Hispanic white.

The trend is clearly toward increasing diversity for whites and blacks in their neighborhoods because of the growing share of Hispanics and Asians in the overall population. The average white person now lives in a neighborhood with considerably larger shares of Hispanics and Asians, but only small increases of African Americans since 1980. African Americans now have more Hispanic and Asian neighbors, as well as a small increase in co-residence with whites. On the other hand, reflecting the continued rapid growth of Hispanic and Asian populations through immigration and increasing numbers born in the U.S., these groups have become on average more isolated (see Table 4 for details).

Metropolitan-level segregation

a. Black-White Segregation and Isolation

Black-white segregation remains very high, but the national average level dropped 12 points from the peak between 1970 and 1990, and another 12 points between 1990 and 2020. By another measure, the average black exposure to whites, there has been less change. In 1940 the average black resident in the metropolitan regions for which tract data are available lived in a tract that was 40% white. That level has not been reached again for two reasons. During the 1940s and the immediate postwar period, segregation increased. And after 1970, when segregation had begun to decline, there was an influx of Hispanics and Asians into U.S. metropolitan regions, and the overall white share of the metro population was dropping. (Note also that Hispanics were counted separately by 1980.) There has been almost no change in the share of white neighbors for the average African American in this whole period.

We turn now to a more detailed analysis of trends in the last forty years. Figure 3 shows that progress during the 1980s and 1990s was greatest in the metropolitan areas with the smallest black populations. Black-white segregation has historically been lowest in metro areas with less than 5% black population, and it has declined the most since 1980 in these places (22 points, from 56 to 34). Segregation remains much higher in metros with a large black share. In metros with a greater than 20% share of African American residents, the average value of D was 70 in 1980 (just under the national average), but it declined 3 points in the 1990s, 4 points during 2000-2010, and only 2 points in the last decade.

Figure 3. Black-White Segregation, 1980 to 2020
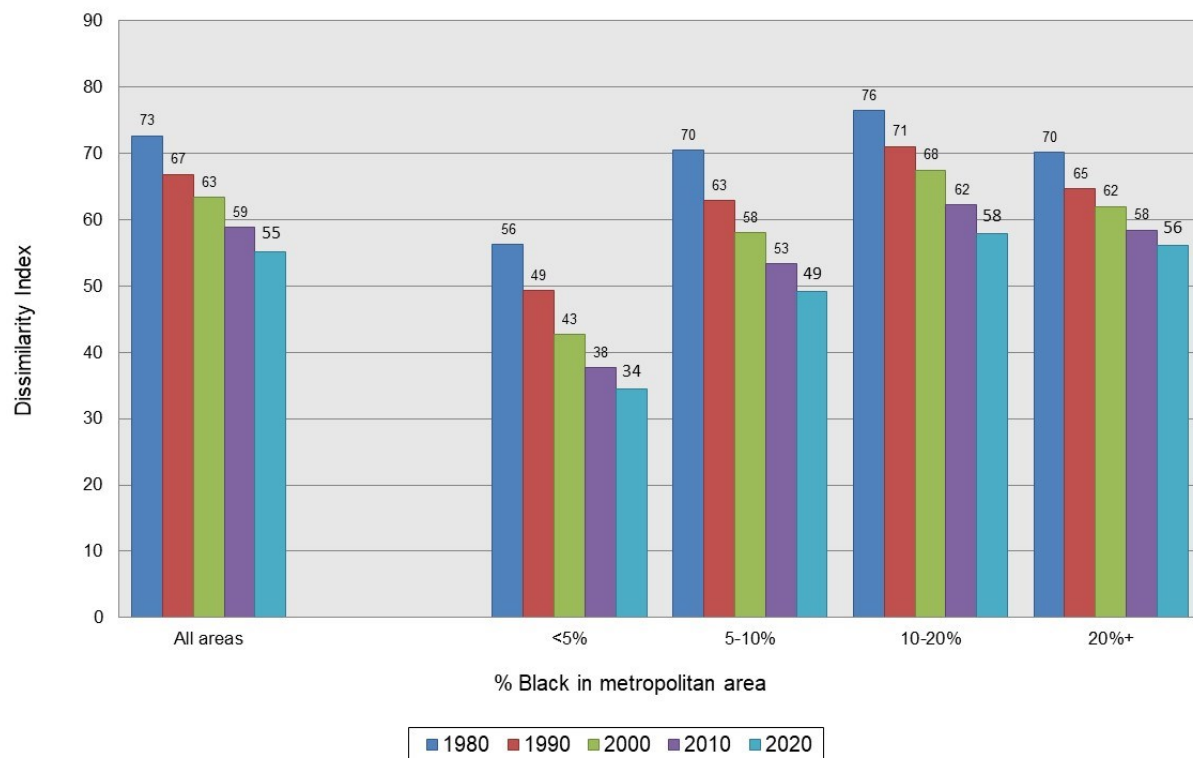
Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

We provide details for individual metropolitan regions in appendix tables in order to report the variation that is not shown in these average values. Appendix Tables 1-2 list the 50 metropolitan regions in the country with the largest black populations in 2020. Appendix Table 1 lists values of the Index of Dissimilarity. Of these, the 10 with the highest levels of segregation include: Newark, NJ; Milwaukee, WI; Detroit, MI; New York, NY; Chicago, IL; Miami, FL; Philadelphia, PA; Cleveland, OH; St. Louis, MO_IL; and Nassau-Suffolk, NY. These mainly Rustbelt metro areas represent the regions of the country where black-white segregation has been most resistant to change. There have been moderate declines in some of these areas, but 4 of the 10 declined by 5 points or less in nearly three decades.

The inclusion of Nassau-Suffolk is surprising because these are entirely suburban counties on Long Island, which tend to be less segregated than central cities. However, Nassau-Suffolk has consistently had high segregation, as high as 76.9 in 1980 and still above 65.

Black-white segregation has been falling in all these cases, typically by a small amount each decade but reaching a substantial cumulative decline over forty years. An unusual case is Kansas City, where segregation plummeted by nearly 11 points between 2000 and 2010 and another 7 points by 2020. This case demonstrates that while rare, large positive changes are possible within a decade.

The nine least segregated metros in this list are in the South and West, and the five most segregated are in the Northeast and Midwest. However Miami (# 6), Birmingham (#12), Washington DC (#13) and New Orleans (#15) show that there is considerable variation within these regions.

Another way to assess segregation is by level of isolation (i.e., the % minority in the neighborhood where the average minority group member lives). These are reported in Appendix Table 2. The Detroit metropolis, #3 on the Index of Dissimilarity, is highest in the Isolation Index despite the region's overall loss of black residents in the last two decades. The average black person in the Detroit metro area lives in a tract that is three-quarters black. Some other Rustbelt metro areas are also among the top ten in isolation (Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, and Milwaukee). Southern metro areas tend to rank high in isolation despite their typically more moderate segregation because their black populations are often very large. Jackson, Memphis, Birmingham, and New Orleans also are in the top ten in isolation.

What is most striking about these figures is that with very few exceptions, the Isolation Index is above 40 in the largest metro regions. African Americans live in neighborhoods where they are an absolute majority, or a near majority, in most of these places.

b. The Ghetto Belt

The persistence of very high black-white segregation in a few major Northeastern and Midwestern metropolitan areas has been a striking feature of recent decades. These areas were home to about one in six African Americans in 1980, when they had extreme values of the Dissimilarity Index (as shown in Table 1). The 2020 data provide an update on this region that could well be described as America's Ghetto Belt.

Six metropolitan areas with segregation indices above 80 in 1980 still have values in the low to mid-70s today, much above the average metro. They are particularly important to the black

experience because such a large share of African Americans in metropolitan areas live in these places, especially New York, Chicago, and Detroit. There are signs of improvement in the 2010-2020 decade, when several of these metros had declines of 4-5 points. Another positive development in this respect is that the total black population in these metros has remained about the same between 1980 and 2020, while the black population in all other metros combined nearly doubled. This means that a smaller share of African Americans is exposed to these highly segregated conditions.

Table 1. Ghetto Belt: Large metropolitan regions with the highest persistent levels of segregation of African Americans															
	1980			**1990**			**2000**			**2010**			**2020**		
Metropolitan Region	**D**	**N of blacks**		**D**	**N of blacks**		**D**	**N of blacks**		**D**	**N of blacks**		**D**	**N of blacks**	
New York, NY	81.7	1,970,070		82.0	2,152,062		81.2	2,406,332		79.1	2,288,352		74.3	2,296,103	
Chicago, IL	89.1	1,375,126		85.2	1,354,369		81.5	1,499,619		77.1	1,426,030		73.8	1,383,626	
Detroit, MI	83.0	824,876		85.6	845,314		85.9	880,557		79.6	753,330		74.5	702,766	
Newark, NJ	82.9	401,150		82.7	407,580		80.3	457,057		78.0	457,649		76.6	491,765	
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	83.9	149,520		82.8	195,247		82.2	240,859		79.6	270,518		75.1	272,794	
Gary, IN	90.8	125,343		90.2	115,910		84.6	125,268		76.8	135,097		72.2	137,040	
Blacks: these 6 regions		4,846,085			5,070,482			5,609,692			5,330,976			5,284,094	
Blacks: national total		21,744,904			25,945,032			31,711,477			36,273,539			40,472,563	

c. Hispanic-White Segregation and Isolation

For Hispanics, the period since 1980 brought little appreciable change in segregation. Figure 4 summarizes the trends in the Index of Dissimilarity. Overall Hispanic segregation stayed right around 50 for four decades, and only in the last decade was there as much as a 2-3 point decline. The Figure also shows that segregation levels are substantially greater in the metropolitan areas with the biggest Hispanic populations, a phenomenon that was also seen for African Americans. In areas with a smaller Hispanic presence, many of which are the "new destinations" that have become very visible around the country, segregation from whites is lower and not increasing.

Appendix Table 3 lists segregation levels in the 50 metropolitan regions with the most Hispanic residents. Of these, the most segregated are Salinas, CA; Newark, NJ; Los Angeles, CA; Philadelphia, PA; New York, NY; Chicago, IL; Cambridge, MA; Bakersfield, CA; Oxnard, CA; and Anaheim-Santa Ana- Irvine, CA. Hispanic segregation increased in 4 of these 10 since 1980, but stability rather than change is the more apt way to characterize Hispanic segregation.

Laredo, TX, has the lowest level of segregation among these areas, but it is an outlier in another way: its population is predominantly Hispanic (over 95%). At the low end of segregation are Sunbelt metros including Fort Lauderdale, Stockton, Modesto, and Albuquerque, and Northwestern metros including Seattle and Portland. Las Vegas, Orlando, and Washington DC – metro areas that initially had quite low values of segregation in 1980 – also experienced sharply increasing segregation as their Hispanic populations grew, but have remained stable in the last two decades.

Figure 4. Hispanic-White Segregation, 1980 to 2020
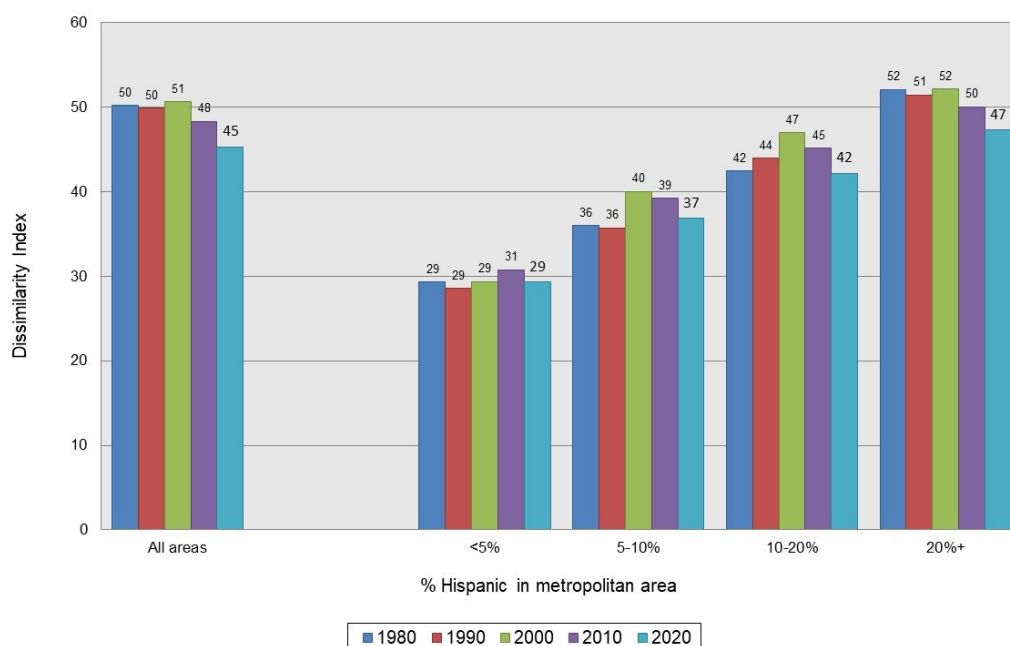
Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Appendix Table 4 provides comparable data on Hispanic isolation, which mostly reflects the size of the Hispanic population. For Hispanics, isolation from non-Hispanic whites is by far the highest (above 80) in four Texas border regions that are largely Mexican (Laredo, McAllen, Brownsville, and El Paso). But beyond these extreme cases, isolation increased in virtually all of the 50 regions on the list, often by 15-20 points, since 1980. This reflects Hispanic population growth and immigration into mostly established enclaves. In these metros, too, there has been little change in the last two decades. Patterns have become established and are being maintained.

d. Regional shifts affect Hispanic segregation

Inter-regional population shifts play an important role for Hispanic segregation. Table 2 shows that well over one-half of the Hispanic population (55.3%) in 1980 lived in metro areas with Hispanic-white segregation of 50 and above. In Table 2, metros remain classified according to the 1980 segregation level in 1980, so it is possible to chart the movement of Hispanics across regions. Only 37.4% of Hispanics live in these same areas in 2010, which is a substantial drop. At the same time, the share of Hispanics living in the least segregated metro areas in 1980 was 20.2%; these same metropolitan areas account for 35.1% of Hispanics in 2010. Clearly there was a substantial movement away from regions of high segregation.

The Hispanic population grew more rapidly in the last three decades in metro areas with lower levels of segregation at the start than in areas with high levels of segregation. Because the Hispanic population more than tripled during these years, the shift does not necessarily reflect migration. It also could be caused by some combination of selective immigration from abroad and differential fertility. Whatever the demographic source, however, geographic shifts tended to reduce the average Hispanic segregation at a national level, even as segregation remained mostly stable in recent years in individual metros.

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This tendency, however, was counterbalanced by increasing segregation within those regions that were gaining a larger share of Hispanics. The least segregated regions (D < 40) had a weighted average segregation of 32.4 in 1980; the same regions averaged 38.1 in 2020. At the same time, segregation declined slightly in the most segregated regions. Thus the apparent lack of change in Hispanic segregation that we report as a national average masks two opposing tendencies: a movement of the Hispanic population toward areas of low segregation, and increasing segregation in those destinations.

Table 2. Distribution of Hispanics across metropolitan regions with varying levels of segregation in 1980				
1980 Metro Segregation	Year	N of Hispanics	% of Total	Mean Segregation
<40	1980	2,653,948	20.2%	32.4
40-44.9		1,546,139	11.8%	42.4
45-49.9		1,666,980	12.7%	47.3
50+		7,270,227	55.3%	59.0
Total		13,137,294	100.0%	50.2
<40	1990	4,493,736	21.7%	33.8
40-44.9		2,501,755	12.1%	43.8
45-49.9		2,817,979	13.6%	47.4
50+		10,883,795	52.6%	58.8
Total		20,697,265	100.0%	50.0
<40	2000	8,708,642	26.7%	39.5
40-44.9		3,878,241	11.9%	47.0
45-49.9		4,964,229	15.2%	50.8
50+		15,027,396	46.1%	58.4
Total		32,578,508	100.0%	50.8
<40	2010	14,916,522	32.1%	39.7
40-44.9		5,297,498	11.4%	45.4
45-49.9		7,520,932	16.2%	48.8
50+		18,785,015	40.4%	56.3
Total		46,519,967	100.0%	48.5
<40	2020	20,125,803	35.1%	38.1
40-44.9		6,191,575	10.8%	42.6
45-49.9		9,544,308	16.7%	46.0
50+		21,423,471	37.4%	53.0
Total		57,285,157	100.0%	45.5

e. Asian-White Segregation and Isolation

Asian-white segregation has historically been in the moderate range, averaging just above 40, and as illustrated in Figure 5 it remained unchanged between 1980 and 2020. These figures include all metropolitan regions, weighted by the number of Asians living in them. Segregation is somewhat higher in metropolitan regions with a larger share of Asian residents, as we saw also for other groups, but the differences are small.

Figure 6. Asian-White Segregation, 1980 to 2020

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University
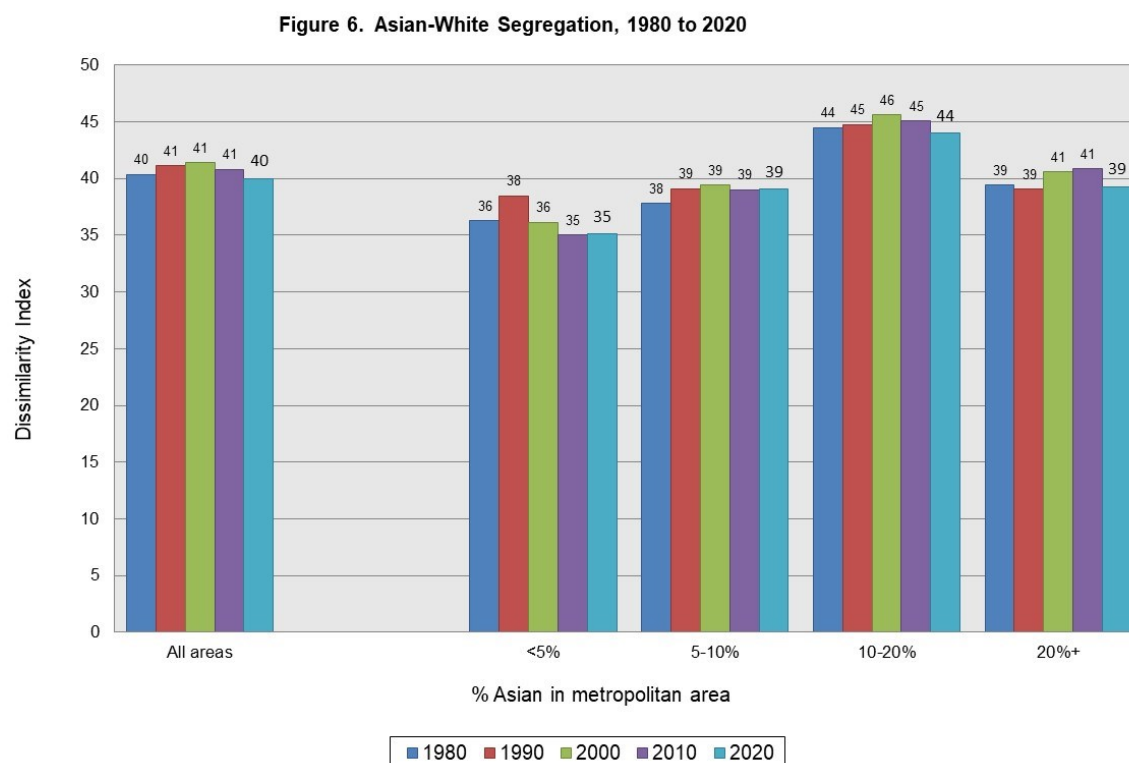
Appendix Tables 5 and 6 list the dissimilarity and isolation index values for the 40 metro regions with the most Asians. The 10 most highly segregated metro areas are New Brunswick, NJ; Raleigh, NC; Atlanta, GA; New York, NY; Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI; Houston, TX; Dallas, TX; Los Angeles, CA; Boston, MA; and Stockton, CA. Some of these metros experienced growing segregation of Asians since 1980, and there were increases in the last decade in New Brunswick and Raleigh. Much lower segregation is found in places like Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Denver.

Asian isolation, like that of Hispanics, is closely related to the group's population size (Appendix Table 6). Honolulu is an unusual case because the Asian population is especially large. Only eight other metros have Asian populations that on average live in tracts that are 30% or more Asian. The highest of these are in California: San Jose, San Francisco, and Oakland (over 40%), and Anaheim-Santa Ana- Irvine. Others are New Brunswick NJ; New York NY; and Los Angeles, CA. The increases are often dramatic: from 10% in 1980 to 51% in 2020 for San Jose, from 12% to 43% for Oakland, from 6% to 36% for Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine. Despite being

only moderately segregated (most often D < 50 in these metros), recent Asian population growth has apparently spurred the creation of large Asian residential enclaves in these regions.

Like the case among Hispanics, the Asian population has shifted away from areas that were highly segregated in 1980. Nearly 60% of Asians lived in areas with a value of D greater than 40 in 1980. For 2010, only 44.2% of Asians live in the same set of metro areas in 2020.

Table 3. Distribution of Asians across metropolitan regions with varying levels of segregation in 1980				
1980 Metro Segregation	**Year**	**N of Asians**	**% of Total**	**Mean Segregation**
<30	1980	357,206	11.5%	27.0
30-34.9		370,983	12.0%	31.9
35-39.9		521,828	16.8%	37.7
40+		1,850,618	59.7%	45.4
Total		3,100,635	100.0%	40.4
<30	1990	1,007,797	15.1%	32.7
30-34.9		938,831	14.1%	36.9
35-39.9		1,194,814	17.9%	38.7
40+		3,524,912	52.9%	45.5
Total		6,666,354	100.0%	41.1
<30	2000	1,938,137	17.0%	33.9
30-34.9		1,812,348	15.9%	38.1
35-39.9		2,245,648	19.7%	39.4
40+		5,414,593	47.5%	46.2
Total		11,410,726	100.0%	41.5
<30	2010	3,042,598	18.5%	33.9
30-34.9		2,802,429	17.1%	38.1
35-39.9		3,440,438	20.9%	39.8
40+		7,140,630	43.5%	45.5
Total		16,426,095	100.0%	40.9
<30	2020	4,243,959	18.7%	33.5
30-34.9		4,038,847	17.8%	37.9
35-39.9		5,093,031	22.4%	39.9
40+		9,311,532	41.0%	44.2
Total		22,687,369	100.0%	40.1

Source: American Communities Project, Brown University

Discussion

This report uses new census data to provide important information about trends in racial residential segregation over the 1980 to 2020 period. As a summary, the main findings are

brought together in Table 4. The main points with the 2020 data are quite similar to those from a decade ago:

- The average white, black, Hispanic, and Asian Americans live in very different neighborhood environments. Whites continue to live in predominantly white neighborhoods, although their declining numbers nationally and the growth of Hispanic and Asian populations has made these neighborhoods more diverse than they once were. Non-whites, too, live in neighborhoods where their co-ethnics are disproportionately represented.
- African Americans remain highly segregated, but there has been a continuing slow decline in the degree of separation. The large Northeastern and Midwestern metros that received the largest shares of black migration before 1980 – the Ghetto Belt – still have extreme levels of segregation. Nevertheless, they, too, are showing improvement.
- Hispanics and Asians are less segregated from whites than are African Americans, but in their case there has been little change in recent years. Their ethnic neighborhoods seems to be solidly entrenched as their numbers increase through both immigration and fertility.

Table 4. Total Metropolitan Segregation and Isolation, Weighted Averages, 1980 to 2020

	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020			1980	1990	2000	2010	2020
Whites							**Hispanics**					
Dissimilarity with Blacks	68.0	61.9	57.4	53.0	49.7		Dissimilarity with Whites	50.2	49.9	50.6	48.3	45.3
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	40.2	39.8	43.4	42.5	40.0		Dissimilarity with Blacks	59.6	52.9	48.1	43.0	39.0
Dissimilarity with Asians	37.3	39.1	38.0	37.2	36.9		Dissimilarity with Asians	50.9	49.1	48.7	47.6	45.5
The average white lives							The average Hispanic lives					
in a neighborhood with:							in a neighborhood with:					
a % white of	88.3	85.3	80.4	75.6	69.4		a % white of	47.5	42.3	37.2	35.3	33.6
a % black of	5.0	5.9	6.9	7.9	8.8		a % black of	10.1	10.2	10.7	11.3	12.1
a % Hispanic of	4.6	5.8	7.7	10.4	12.4		a % Hispanic of	38.2	42.0	44.9	45.8	44.6
a % Asian of	1.4	2.5	3.8	5.0	6.4		a % Asian of	2.8	4.8	5.8	6.5	7.5
Blacks							**Asians**					
Dissimilarity with Whites	72.7	66.8	63.3	58.8	55.2		Dissimilarity with Whites	40.4	41.1	41.4	40.8	40.0
Dissimilarity with Hispanics	60.3	57.4	51.7	45.8	40.9		Dissimilarity with Blacks	64.4	57.9	53.2	50.3	47.9
Dissimilarity with Asians	72.1	66.7	60.9	56.7	53.1		Dissimilarity with Hispanics	43.5	44.0	45.4	45.7	44.5
The average black lives							The average Asian lives					
in a neighborhood with:							in a neighborhood with:					
a % white of	31.3	34.8	34.4	35.1	34.2		a % white of	61.3	58.1	52.2	48.8	44.3
a % black of	60.8	54.6	50.3	45.1	40.8		a % black of	7.0	7.8	8.8	9.2	9.9
a % Hispanic of	6.1	8.2	11.1	14.7	17.4		a % Hispanic of	11.9	15.0	16.7	18.4	19.1
a % Asian of	1.0	2.0	3.2	4.2	5.6		a % Asian of	18.0	18.5	20.9	22.5	24.5

A longstanding question about black-white segregation has been why it declines so slowly, despite other social changes that would seem to suggest that its bases have been so eroded in the last decades. These changes include the growth of a black middle class that has many affordable choices of where to live, the passage of fair housing legislation at the national level and in some states and cities, and evidence from surveys that show increasing white openness

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to live in more diverse neighborhoods. The nation even elected an African American President. Part of the answer is that systematic discrimination in the housing market has not ended, and for the most part it is not prosecuted. Fair housing laws by and large are enforced only when minority home seekers can document discrimination and pursue a civil court case without assistance from public officials. Americans do not want to believe that discrimination still exists. Yet studies that track the experience of minority persons in the rental or homeowner market continue to find that they are treated differently than comparable whites.

Another part of the answer is urban history. The U.S. reached extreme levels of black-white segregation in the 1940s and 1950s as African Americans moved in large numbers from the South to major industrial cities in the North. It was very clear where blacks were allowed to live, and the new population was shoehorned into existing ghettos that expanded as whites left adjacent areas. Segregation in this form has been on the decline since the 1960s and is lower now than at any time in the last seven decades. This is partly because the Great Migration and the process of creating new black ghettos ended years ago. Changes have been greater in metropolitan areas with historically fewer black residents, but very slow in the old Ghetto Belt – places like New York, Chicago, Newark and Detroit. The U.S. is far from becoming a post-racial society even if the old mechanisms of redlining and exclusion are disappearing. In most metropolitan regions the average levels of black-white segregation remain high, examples of white flight from neighborhoods with growth in minority population are still common, and analyses through 2000 show that whites rarely move into minority neighborhoods. Formerly all-white neighborhoods are becoming more diverse as new groups move into them. There are many cases like this, but they are countered by growing segregation between other neighborhoods.

Yet another factor is the difference in the quality of collective resources in neighborhoods with predominantly minority populations. It is especially true for African Americans and Hispanics that their neighborhoods are often served by the worst performing schools, suffer the highest crime rates, and have the least valuable housing stock in the metropolis. Few whites will choose to move back into these neighborhoods as long as they suffer such problems. At this time it appears that integration of neighborhoods rarely results from white in-migration, but in fact is mostly conditional upon the ability of minorities to move into previously all-white areas. This is happening, but all too often it results in white flight from those places.

The situation for Hispanics and Asians is quite distinct in several ways. Except in a few cities with a long history of Puerto Rican and Mexican settlement, these groups have experienced less discrimination and have been less segregated than blacks in recent decades. There is also strong evidence that individual success (gaining more education, learning English, living longer in the U.S.) results in considerable mobility out of their ethnic neighborhoods, which is much less the case for African Americans. Yet because their numbers are growing rapidly and because there has been very little change in their residential pattern, Hispanics and Asians are increasingly isolated from other groups. The rate of mobility out of ethnic neighborhoods is not sufficient to overcome the inflow into them.

Hispanics and Asians have been moving toward new destinations since the 1980s, and this represents movement toward areas where they are less segregated. Yet in the process, their arrival has been met with increasing segregation. As a result their dispersion around the country has not had much net impact on the extent to which they are separated from whites.

The political implications of these trends are great. Majority black electoral districts tend to be maintained over time, but more majority Hispanic (and in some parts of the country, Asian) districts will emerge, especially for state and local positions. The extent of change will depend heavily on how districts are drawn at every level – city council districts, legislative districts, and Congressional Districts. For this reason, the settlement patterns that we study here are only one of the inputs into a largely political process.

At the Congressional level the actual impact is also limited by several factors. Hispanics and Asians include a very large share of young citizens under the age of 18 and non-citizen immigrants; they are less likely to register and vote than are whites and blacks; and Hispanic population growth is concentrated in areas that already have large Hispanic constituencies. The widely documented movement of Hispanics and Asians to new areas is very visible, but their share of the electorate in these places is still too small to be felt. Hispanics and Asians are a growing political presence in American politics, but with a delayed effect.

Appendix on methodology

How Do We Measure Segregation?

The decennial census provides information on segregation at the level of census tracts, areas that typically have 3000-5000 residents. Tract boundaries change over time, but that does not affect the measures of segregation. We report segregation for metropolitan regions beginning in 1980, defined in every year using the Census 2020 boundaries of the metros, so the area studied is constant over time. same geographic boundaries in each year. In very large Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), the Census Bureau has identified separate Metropolitan Divisions, and w use these as our unit of analysis. We also compute segregation separately for the city and suburban portions of metros. We define the "city" portion to include the principal city (or in some cases, multiple principal cities) as defined in 2020, and the "suburban" portion to include the rest of the metro. For every year 1980-2020 we identify census tracts as city or suburb based on the boundaries of the principal city/cities in 2020.

The Supplementary Table at the end of the report provides a convenient summary of the trends described here.

Measuring race and Hispanic origin
The measurement of race is complicated by changes over time in the questions used by the Census Bureau to ask about race and the categories used in tabulations provided by the Census Bureau. Since 1980 two questions have been used: 1) is the person of Hispanic origin or not, and 2) what race does the person belong to? Beginning with the 2000 Census people have been allowed to list up to four different racial categories to describe themselves. Our goal is to create consistent categories similar to the way the federal government classifies minority groups for reporting purposes: Hispanic, non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander, and non-Hispanic Native Americans and other races. (For convenience, generally in the remainder of this report we will use shorthand terms for the non-Hispanic groups: white, black, Asian, and other race.)

In every year the Hispanic category simply includes all persons who self-identify as Hispanic regardless of their answer to the race question. It is more complicated to calculate the number of non-Hispanics in each race category.

1. Our approach for handling multiple race responses in 2000-2020 is to treat a person as black if they described themselves as black plus any other race; as Asian if they listed Asian plus any other race except black; and as Native American/other race for any other combination.

2. It would be preferable to be able to calculate the number of non-Hispanic persons in each race category by subtracting the Hispanics from the total in each category. This is easy for our non-Hispanic white category because it includes no multiple-race persons and the necessary tables are available for every year in our study. It is also possible for blacks, Asians, and Native American/other race in 1990-2020 because tables are available for detailed multi-race categories by Hispanic origin.

3. For 1980 some of the necessary tables are not available, so we use estimation procedures for non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians, and non-Hispanic other race. We can calculate non-Hispanic blacks by subtracting the number of Hispanic blacks from the black total. But in

1980 there is no table separating out Asians from other races in the non-Hispanic population. Our solution is to make an estimate of non-Hispanic Asians and non-Hispanic other race using tract-level data, assuming that the ratio of Asians to other races among non-Hispanics is the same as the ratio of Asians to other races in the total tract population (which is given).

Index of Dissimilarity
The standard measure of segregation is the Index of Dissimilarity (D), which captures the degree to which two groups are evenly spread among census tracts in a given city. Evenness is defined with respect to the racial composition of the city as a whole. With values ranging from 0 to 100, D gives the percentage of one group who would have to move to achieve an even residential pattern - one where every tract replicates the group composition of the city. A value of 60 or above is considered very high. For example, a D score of 60 for black-white segregation means that 60% of either group must move to a different tract for the two groups to become equally distributed. Values of 30 to 60 are usually considered moderate levels of segregation, while values of 30 or less are considered low.

Demographers typically interpret change either up or down in the following way:

- Change of 10 points and above in one decade - Very significant change
- Change of 5-10 points in one decade - Moderate change
- Below 5 points in one decade - Small change or no real change at all

Change can be cumulative, and small changes in a single decade – if they are repeated over several decades – can constitute a significant trend. Therefore we pay attention not only to what has happened since 2000 but also to the longer term trajectory for each group.

For smaller metropolitan regions, or for groups with small populations in a given metro, readers should interpret results with caution. In this report, the average values are weighted by the size of the group in a given year, and consequently less reliable measures for small areas introduce little error in these averages.

Exposure and Isolation Indices
Another widely used measure of segregation is a class of Exposure Indices (P*) that refers to the racial/ethnic composition of a tract where the average member of a given group lives. Exposure of a group to itself is called the Index of Isolation, while exposure of one group to other groups is called the Index of Exposure. Both range from 0 to 100. For example, an Isolation score of 80.2 for whites means that the average white lives in a neighborhood that is 80.2% white. An Exposure score of 6.7 for white-black exposure indicates that the average white lives in a neighborhood that is 6.7% black.

Even if segregation (measured by the Index of Dissimilarity) remains the same over time, growth in a minority population will tend to leave it more isolated - that is, leaving group members in neighborhoods where they are a larger share of the population. But at the same time the minority group's growth also tends to increase the exposure of non-Hispanic whites to that minority population. These are common phenomena in recent years when the white share of the typical metropolis is declining. Even if there were no change in the distribution of whites and minorities across census tracts (which is what we measure with D), there could be change in each one's exposure to the other (measured by P*).

Appendix Table 1. Black-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Area Name	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
1	Newark, NJ-PA	76.6	78.0	80.3	82.7	82.9
2	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	75.1	79.6	82.2	82.8	83.9
3	Detroit-Dearborn-Livonia, MI	74.5	79.6	85.9	85.6	83.0
4	New York-Jersey City-White Plains, NY-NJ	74.3	79.1	81.2	82.0	81.7
5	Chicago-Naperville-Evanston, IL	73.8	77.1	81.5	85.2	89.1
6	Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL	72.1	73.0	72.4	71.8	79.4
7	Philadelphia, PA	70.2	74.3	77.8	83.3	84.4
8	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	70.0	72.6	77.2	82.8	85.7
9	St. Louis, MO-IL	67.4	70.6	73.4	77.3	81.6
10	Nassau County-Suffolk County, NY	65.5	69.2	73.6	76.4	76.9
11	Boston, MA	64.2	67.8	71.3	73.7	79.9
12	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	61.4	65.0	69.0	70.6	72.8
13	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	61.2	63.9	65.5	67.8	71.2
14	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	60.6	66.9	72.6	76.0	78.2
15	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	60.2	62.9	68.6	68.1	70.1
16	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	59.9	64.3	67.6	71.4	74.4
17	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	59.8	64.2	70.6	74.7	78.8
18	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	59.7	65.0	67.3	73.0	81.1
19	Pittsburgh, PA	59.4	63.1	67.4	70.8	73.3
20	Columbus, OH	59.2	60.6	62.8	68.1	72.9
21	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	58.9	62.2	65.7	65.3	68.8
22	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	58.5	58.2	63.8	66.1	76.9
23	Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI	57.2	57.9	68.1	76.7	80.5
24	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	57.2	60.7	65.3	65.9	74.2
25	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL	56.5	57.3	65.2	75.3	83.3

Appendix Table 1 (cont). Black-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas
with Largest Black Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Area Name	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
26	Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Sunrise, FL	56.0	57.6	61.4	68.9	83.7
27	Jackson, MS	54.9	56.2	56.7	60.8	69.0
28	Baton Rouge, LA	54.1	56.8	59.9	59.5	68.2
29	Fort Worth-Arlington-Grapevine, TX	53.1	56.3	59.5	62.1	78.0
30	Jacksonville, FL	52.8	52.1	53.4	57.8	67.7
31	Oakland-Berkeley-Livermore, CA	52.1	56.6	62.2	68.0	74.0
32	Greensboro-High Point, NC	52.0	54.1	53.8	54.7	59.1
33	Kansas City, MO-KS	51.6	58.6	69.2	72.8	77.6
34	Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX	50.9	55.1	59.1	62.9	78.1
35	Richmond, VA	50.4	53.5	55.6	58.0	63.6
36	Camden, NJ	49.7	52.3	56.2	59.5	60.1
37	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	49.7	52.4	51.7	51.3	53.6
38	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	49.6	54.3	63.4	69.6	78.2
39	Columbia, SC	49.0	48.3	48.0	50.5	57.4
40	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	49.0	54.0	56.2	59.7	65.1
41	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	47.7	50.5	58.0	62.5	67.7
42	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	47.3	49.3	55.1	59.0	71.0
43	Frederick-Gaithersburg-Rockville, MD	47.0	47.9	46.2	42.3	42.9
44	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	45.6	46.4	45.7	49.2	59.5
45	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	44.1	44.1	43.1	42.9	46.8
46	Seattle-Bellevue-Kent, WA	43.7	46.6	49.2	56.1	67.7
47	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	41.8	44.0	45.5	43.8	52.7
48	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	41.1	41.3	43.3	50.1	61.4
49	Raleigh-Cary, NC	38.8	41.4	40.5	41.9	46.2
50	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	37.4	35.9	39.2	49.1	62.9

Appendix Table 2. Black Isolation in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Black Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
1	Detroit-Dearborn-Livonia, MI	75.7	80.9	85.7	85.2	81.5
2	Jackson, MS	67.2	68.7	68.4	70.0	73.7
3	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	67.1	69.1	71.3	72.1	73.6
4	Philadelphia, PA	65.2	70.1	74.5	79.3	79.5
5	Chicago-Naperville-Evanston, IL	62.8	68.6	74.9	79.3	84.5
6	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	60.7	64.7	70.9	76.6	77.5
7	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	60.5	65.5	67.2	69.1	69.4
8	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	59.9	63.3	68.0	68.8	70.7
9	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	59.6	62.8	70.1	68.6	69.4
10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	58.1	58.0	61.2	63.1	71.8
11	Baton Rouge, LA	57.9	60.6	61.8	60.4	63.2
12	St. Louis, MO-IL	57.6	62.1	64.5	68.6	73.1
13	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	57.3	62.4	65.8	69.4	72.5
14	Newark, NJ-PA	56.3	60.5	66.4	69.2	70.0
15	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	54.3	58.9	63.1	65.6	70.6
16	Columbia, SC	51.4	52.3	53.4	54.6	58.4
17	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	51.2	51.4	51.2	49.1	50.4
18	Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Sunrise, FL	49.3	50.8	52.3	54.9	70.6
19	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	48.7	50.7	51.7	53.6	60.6
20	Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL	48.2	56.6	60.7	61.1	65.1
21	Richmond, VA	48.1	53.3	56.9	58.5	63.5
22	New York-Jersey City-White Plains, NY-NJ	47.7	53.9	58.7	60.7	62.1
23	Greensboro-High Point, NC	46.3	48.2	49.5	52.0	55.5
24	Jacksonville, FL	45.3	47.2	50.7	55.0	64.2
25	Columbus, OH	42.0	44.0	46.8	51.1	56.4

Appendix Table 2 (cont). Black Isolation in 50 Metro Areas
with Largest Black Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
26	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	41.9	48.2	54.1	58.2	61.3
27	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	39.9	44.8	52.3	58.8	64.4
28	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL	38.9	41.3	48.4	57.6	67.5
29	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	38.4	41.7	43.5	47.3	49.8
30	Boston, MA	38.3	40.7	45.7	52.3	59.7
31	Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI	38.0	38.0	41.8	42.2	45.6
32	Pittsburgh, PA	36.7	40.7	46.9	50.7	54.4
33	Kansas City, MO-KS	34.3	43.4	53.2	59.7	67.5
34	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	33.3	37.3	45.2	52.0	63.6
35	Camden, NJ	33.1	35.4	37.7	38.5	38.3
36	Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX	33.0	37.1	42.0	50.3	67.6
37	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	32.5	35.7	38.9	44.8	56.8
38	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	32.1	39.2	44.3	50.3	55.6
39	Raleigh-Cary, NC	29.9	34.2	36.1	41.5	47.0
40	Nassau County-Suffolk County, NY	29.4	33.5	40.6	45.3	48.1
41	Fort Worth-Arlington-Grapevine, TX	29.2	29.8	34.6	44.0	62.2
42	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	28.7	34.3	41.3	47.3	57.2
43	Frederick-Gaithersburg-Rockville, MD	27.9	26.3	24.4	19.9	18.1
44	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	24.2	29.1	34.3	42.0	60.2
45	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	22.9	21.5	23.3	24.7	29.7
46	Oakland-Berkeley-Livermore, CA	19.6	25.2	34.4	45.6	55.7
47	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	19.5	16.9	19.2	33.6	50.3
48	Seattle-Bellevue-Kent, WA	13.7	13.7	14.5	21.1	29.1
49	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	12.0	12.6	14.1	13.2	17.4
50	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	10.3	8.8	8.6	13.1	22.6

Appendix Table 3. Hispanic-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas

with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
1	Salinas, CA	61.3	60.9	58.8	56.9	55.1
2	Newark, NJ-PA	61.1	62.6	64.9	67.0	67.0
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	61.0	63.4	63.1	61.1	57.3
4	Philadelphia, PA	60.0	64.4	66.7	70.0	70.2
5	New York-Jersey City-White Plains, NY-NJ	58.8	63.1	65.4	65.0	65.2
6	Chicago-Naperville-Evanston, IL	55.0	57.2	61.5	63.1	65.0
7	Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA	54.4	56.8	59.3	55.4	51.3
8	Bakersfield, CA	52.0	52.3	53.5	55.1	54.2
9	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	51.8	54.5	56.1	52.2	53.1
10	Anaheim-Santa Ana-Irvine, CA	51.4	54.1	54.9	49.8	42.4
11	Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX	50.0	51.9	53.4	49.7	48.5
12	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	49.9	52.5	53.4	47.8	47.7
13	Oakland-Berkeley-Livermore, CA	48.2	48.3	46.9	38.8	36.5
14	Frederick-Gaithersburg-Rockville, MD	47.7	48.8	45.9	36.5	28.5
15	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	47.3	48.2	48.2	44.0	32.9
16	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	47.1	49.6	50.6	45.3	41.8
17	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	46.4	49.3	52.1	48.6	52.2
18	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	46.3	49.5	51.5	35.2	30.3
19	Nassau County-Suffolk County, NY	46.1	48.5	46.9	42.3	37.1
20	San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA	46.1	50.2	52.8	48.3	43.9
21	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	45.4	47.6	50.8	48.0	45.2
22	Fresno, CA	45.3	46.5	46.7	47.7	46.2
23	Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL	45.2	46.1	44.1	50.4	52.7
24	New Brunswick-Lakewood, NJ	44.7	46.9	49.4	45.4	47.3
25	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	44.6	48.8	50.1	46.5	48.6

**Appendix Table 3 (cont). Hispanic-White Segregation (D) in 50 Metro Areas
with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2020**

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
26	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	42.9	45.6	48.2	31.7	27.1
27	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL	42.9	42.6	42.5	41.7	43.1
28	Tucson, AZ	42.5	46.2	48.8	49.7	52.7
29	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	42.2	42.4	42.5	35.8	38.1
30	Fort Worth-Arlington-Grapevine, TX	42.1	45.6	47.7	44.6	47.5
31	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	41.3	46.1	49.8	52.3	57.5
32	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	41.1	40.2	38.7	29.1	28.6
33	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	40.9	42.0	42.4	28.9	22.5
34	Salt Lake City, UT	39.6	42.8	41.0	31.1	31.0
35	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	38.9	43.2	45.6	41.7	45.5
36	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	38.4	42.6	46.5	35.6	36.4
37	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	37.9	40.7	44.4	45.3	49.8
38	Brownsville-Harlingen, TX	37.7	40.2	41.2	39.8	37.6
39	Visalia, CA	37.5	37.5	41.0	39.6	37.6
40	El Paso, TX	37.3	43.1	45.2	49.7	53.8
41	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	36.6	39.2	39.5	37.9	41.0
42	Corpus Christi, TX	36.3	41.3	45.7	47.5	52.1
43	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	36.1	38.8	40.6	37.2	36.9
44	Stockton, CA	34.2	34.1	36.4	36.1	37.7
45	Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Sunrise, FL	34.2	33.2	31.0	25.9	26.1
46	Modesto, CA	33.6	34.2	35.2	33.3	35.7
47	Albuquerque, NM	32.1	36.4	39.7	40.5	45.0
48	Seattle-Bellevue-Kent, WA	30.0	33.3	30.1	20.3	18.8
49	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	29.9	34.3	34.4	26.0	21.4
50	Laredo, TX	24.4	30.7	28.1	33.8	41.6

Appendix Table 4. Hispanic Isolation in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
1	Laredo, TX	95.3	95.9	94.5	94.2	92.3
2	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	92.4	91.4	89.5	87.0	84.4
3	Brownsville-Harlingen, TX	90.6	89.5	86.7	84.7	80.8
4	El Paso, TX	85.0	85.3	82.6	77.8	74.2
5	Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL	76.7	75.9	71.0	67.3	58.5
6	Salinas, CA	75.5	72.8	67.5	57.7	49.8
7	Visalia, CA	70.6	66.9	60.3	50.0	40.7
8	Corpus Christi, TX	66.8	67.6	65.4	64.2	63.7
9	Bakersfield, CA	66.3	63.2	56.1	48.6	41.4
10	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	63.9	65.3	63.2	58.0	50.3
11	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	63.1	65.2	64.8	64.2	66.2
12	Fresno, CA	62.7	61.2	56.7	50.7	45.1
13	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	60.1	59.8	55.2	46.8	41.5
14	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	60.1	57.1	49.5	37.7	32.2
15	Albuquerque, NM	55.6	56.0	52.8	49.2	50.8
16	Modesto, CA	54.5	49.4	40.6	29.8	23.7
17	Anaheim-Santa Ana-Irvine, CA	51.2	53.4	53.1	45.0	31.7
18	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	50.3	50.5	47.1	38.7	33.6
19	Tucson, AZ	49.9	51.2	48.5	44.9	44.2
20	Stockton, CA	48.1	45.2	38.1	31.4	28.6
21	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	48.1	47.9	43.6	35.1	27.6
22	Chicago-Naperville-Evanston, IL	47.8	49.0	48.7	44.0	39.5
23	Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX	46.2	46.6	44.7	32.4	24.0
24	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	45.9	47.5	45.5	35.5	34.0
25	New York-Jersey City-White Plains, NY-NJ	45.8	47.3	46.5	44.0	40.3

Appendix Table 4 (cont). Hispanic Isolation in 50 Metro Areas with Largest Hispanic Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
26	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	43.0	44.4	39.7	33.9	35.2
27	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	42.6	36.7	26.5	12.7	5.6
28	Newark, NJ-PA	41.5	39.1	35.5	32.5	26.7
29	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	41.4	41.5	34.8	16.8	10.1
30	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	41.1	43.4	41.7	37.0	32.1
31	Fort Worth-Arlington-Grapevine, TX	39.8	39.7	36.7	29.1	25.5
32	Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Sunrise, FL	38.2	32.2	22.7	11.4	5.4
33	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	37.4	39.4	37.2	30.1	28.5
34	Oakland-Berkeley-Livermore, CA	37.3	35.9	29.7	20.7	17.5
35	Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA	37.2	34.2	30.1	23.7	11.7
36	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL	35.3	30.7	22.3	15.2	12.4
37	Nassau County-Suffolk County, NY	34.1	30.3	22.8	15.0	9.7
38	New Brunswick-Lakewood, NJ	33.1	31.2	27.4	20.9	17.7
39	Philadelphia, PA	32.1	34.1	34.4	35.8	27.8
40	San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA	32.0	34.8	34.4	29.4	23.1
41	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	30.3	27.8	22.4	18.1	18.2
42	Frederick-Gaithersburg-Rockville, MD	29.4	25.7	17.8	10.4	4.8
43	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	29.1	25.7	20.8	14.0	5.3
44	Salt Lake City, UT	28.9	27.9	21.2	10.3	8.6
45	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	28.5	27.7	23.5	18.2	16.3
46	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	23.6	24.3	18.4	5.0	1.9
47	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	19.1	17.3	11.9	1.5	1.0
48	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	18.9	17.9	14.0	6.0	3.0
49	Seattle-Bellevue-Kent, WA	14.9	13.4	7.8	3.4	2.3
50	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	11.4	12.0	9.9	4.4	4.2

Appendix Table 5. Asian-White Segregation (D) in 40 Metro Areas with Largest Asian Populations in 2020

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
1	New Brunswick-Lakewood, NJ	57.0	53.7	49.6	42.2	39.0
2	Raleigh-Cary, NC	48.2	43.9	38.3	42.5	40.9
3	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	48.1	46.3	45.3	42.5	34.5
4	New York-Jersey City-White Plains, NY-NJ	48.1	49.5	48.9	46.7	48.5
5	Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI	47.9	46.3	46.3	44.2	41.0
6	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	47.1	48.5	49.8	47.7	44.5
7	Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX	46.1	44.4	43.6	41.4	38.6
8	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	45.9	47.6	48.2	46.2	47.3
9	Boston, MA	45.6	47.4	51.8	52.1	58.7
10	Stockton, CA	45.5	45.9	48.5	55.8	42.1
11	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	44.5	46.8	47.2	48.1	46.5
12	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	44.2	42.9	42.6	45.0	45.5
13	Columbus, OH	44.0	41.4	42.2	45.8	43.1
14	Nassau County-Suffolk County, NY	43.4	38.4	35.4	32.5	30.7
15	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	42.4	40.9	39.1	38.3	37.8
16	Oakland-Berkeley-Livermore, CA	41.9	42.3	41.0	39.2	37.8
17	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	41.9	44.3	46.7	48.1	45.5
18	Anaheim-Santa Ana-Irvine, CA	41.6	41.6	40.2	33.3	27.7
19	Philadelphia, PA	41.2	46.5	49.9	50.2	46.5
20	Fort Worth-Arlington-Grapevine, TX	41.2	41.1	41.5	41.1	36.2
21	Urban Honolulu, HI	40.4	40.1	39.7	38.0	41.0
22	Chicago-Naperville-Evanston, IL	40.4	41.5	42.8	44.3	45.3
23	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	40.3	39.9	43.0	41.8	29.9
24	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	39.8	43.0	42.1	39.0	31.1
25	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	38.0	38.2	37.0	33.3	28.9
26	San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA	37.1	42.4	43.9	45.8	46.6
27	Frederick-Gaithersburg-Rockville, MD	37.1	37.5	37.9	33.6	29.5
28	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-W	37.0	37.3	37.6	34.9	31.3
29	Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA	37.0	37.9	39.4	38.8	37.8
30	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	36.8	38.3	40.0	39.4	35.1
31	Newark, NJ-PA	35.8	35.6	35.5	31.4	31.0
32	Fresno, CA	35.6	35.3	35.8	43.3	25.3
33	Montgomery County-Bucks County-Chester Cou	34.5	34.9	35.1	33.1	33.0
34	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	33.7	33.1	33.5	33.8	31.5
35	Seattle-Bellevue-Kent, WA	32.9	33.2	34.3	36.5	39.0
36	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	31.0	31.5	31.8	31.2	28.5
37	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	30.8	32.3	33.9	29.3	30.0
38	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	30.3	29.9	27.9	28.1	27.1
39	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	28.9	30.0	29.7	29.4	25.9
40	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	27.2	26.8	23.7	23.5	21.9

2020 Rank	Areaname	2020	2010	2000	1990	1980
	Appendix Table 6. Asian Isolation in 40 Metro Areas with Largest Asian Populations in 2020					
1	Honolulu, HI	74.8	74.7	75.1	68.2	65.2
2	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	51.1	45.4	37.6	24.3	10.2
3	San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA	44.2	43.5	40.8	36.0	29.7
4	Oakland-Berkeley-Livermore, CA	42.8	36.3	29.1	20.4	11.9
5	Anaheim-Santa Ana-Irvine, CA	36.3	31.6	25.9	15.8	6.1
6	New Brunswick-Lakewood, NJ	35.5	29.3	20.2	9.9	2.9
7	New York-Jersey City-White Plains, NY-NJ	33.0	30.3	25.0	18.7	14.4
8	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	32.4	31.9	28.3	21.9	14.7
9	Stockton, CA	30.9	24.7	23.0	24.9	10.0
10	Seattle-Bellevue-Kent, WA	28.8	22.1	18.5	14.8	11.4
11	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	27.5	23.7	19.3	15.7	11.8
12	Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX	26.0	17.5	10.7	6.1	2.0
13	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	25.7	23.6	21.6	17.0	10.0
14	Raleigh-Cary, NC	24.5	13.5	6.2	3.8	1.5
15	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	22.0	18.1	12.8	8.3	4.7
16	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	22.0	17.7	13.9	9.1	4.7
17	Frederick-Gaithersburg-Rockville, MD	21.4	19.2	15.3	10.1	4.8
18	Chicago-Naperville-Evanston, IL	20.8	17.6	15.1	11.7	8.5
19	Boston, MA	20.4	17.1	15.0	13.6	17.3
20	Nassau County-Suffolk County, NY	19.9	12.7	8.1	4.9	2.0
21	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	19.0	13.4	8.2	4.3	1.3
22	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	18.8	15.2	8.9	4.2	2.3
23	Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA	18.8	14.8	11.8	7.7	2.3
24	Fresno, CA	18.2	15.1	13.6	16.4	3.8
25	Warren-Troy-Farmington Hills, MI	17.9	11.5	8.1	4.0	2.1
26	Philadelphia, PA	17.5	16.0	14.0	9.6	5.2
27	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	17.3	13.9	10.3	6.4	2.5
28	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	16.9	11.3	8.8	5.5	1.8
29	Newark, NJ-PA	16.9	12.6	8.9	5.2	2.3
30	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	16.3	12.7	11.9	10.8	1.6
31	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	15.9	11.5	6.7	3.8	2.0
32	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	15.6	12.0	9.2	5.3	2.9
33	Montgomery County-Bucks County-Chester County, PA	13.6	9.8	6.1	3.5	1.6
34	Columbus, OH	12.8	8.6	6.9	5.0	2.3
35	Fort Worth-Arlington-Grapevine, TX	11.4	8.7	7.5	5.8	1.9
36	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	10.9	6.6	3.8	2.2	1.1
37	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	9.3	6.9	4.3	3.0	1.2
38	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	8.4	6.6	5.0	3.3	1.8
39	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	8.2	5.7	3.8	2.0	0.8
40	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	7.8	6.8	5.0	2.6	1.1