

CHAPTER 5

# RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF BLACKS OR AFRICAN AMERICANS: 1980-2000

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The number of African Americans in the United States grew over the last few decades from 26.5 million in 1980, to 30.0 million in 1990, and to 36.4 million in 2000.<sup>1</sup> Blacks comprised 11.7 percent of the total U.S. population in 1980, 12.1 percent in 1990, and 12.9 percent in 2000. About 86.5 percent of Blacks lived in metropolitan areas in 2000.

Table 5-1 shows the extent of residential segregation of Blacks in 1980, 1990, and 2000. There were 220 metropolitan areas (of the 330 total) with 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks in 1980. All five measures of segregation indicate a reduction in the residential segregation of Blacks between 1980 and 1990, and a further reduction between 1990 and 2000. The two-decade reduction ranges from 4 percent (absolute centralization and spatial proximity) to 12 percent (dissimilarity), regardless of whether all metropolitan areas or

just “selected” metropolitan areas are examined. All indexes declined by one percent or more in each decade (the threshold for a change that we consider substantive as described in Chapter 2). This decline demonstrates a clear trend toward lower residential segregation for Blacks.<sup>2</sup>

The overall reduction in residential segregation is illustrated in Figures 5-1a through 5-1e. These figures demonstrate the clear shift in most of the index distributions toward less residential segregation for the dissimilarity, isolation, and delta indexes, although this was less pronounced for the absolute centralization index and unclear for spatial proximity index.

This reduction seemed to take place throughout the distribution of segregation, but with different indexes showing different patterns. Dissimilarity, isolation, and delta indexes showed a greater decline in areas of higher segregation, while changes in absolute centralization and spatial proximity were perhaps more uniform. The percentage declines in each decade were similar for each index: sometimes the 1980-1990 change was larger than the 1990-2000 change, and sometimes the reverse was true.

The largest metropolitan areas (1 million or more population) had higher residential segregation than the middle-sized ones (500,000 to 999,999 population), which, in turn, had higher residential segregation than the smallest metropolitan areas (see Table 5-2). This was true for all indexes for all 3 years, but for several indexes, the difference between small and medium metropolitan areas was small. The 1980-1990 and 1990-2000 reductions in the residential segregation of Blacks took place in all regions for all five indexes (with the exception of the spatial proximity index for the Northeast), and for metropolitan areas of different sizes for four of the five indexes.<sup>3</sup> In 2000, the West region had the lowest level of residential segregation for three of the five indexes, and the South was lowest for the remaining two. The Midwest had the highest level of residential segregation for four of the five indexes; the Northeast had the highest level for the remaining one.

<sup>1</sup> The 2000 figure includes all people who identified as Black or African American alone or in combination with another race. The number of people who identified as Black or African American alone was 34.7 million.

<sup>2</sup> Using the approach described in Chapter 2 to determine substantive changes as one percent of the index range over three years, the following critical values are used: dissimilarity, 0.006; isolation, 0.008; delta, 0.005; absolute centralization, 0.010; spatial proximity, 0.009.

<sup>3</sup> The absolute centralization index increased slightly for metropolitan areas under 1 million between 1980 and 1990. The index decreased back to its 1980 value in 2000 for areas with 500,000-999,999 and decreased from its 1990 value for small metropolitan areas but not fully back to the 1980 level.

Table 5-1.

# Descriptive Statistics for Residential Segregation Indexes for Blacks or African Americans: 1980, 1990, and 2000

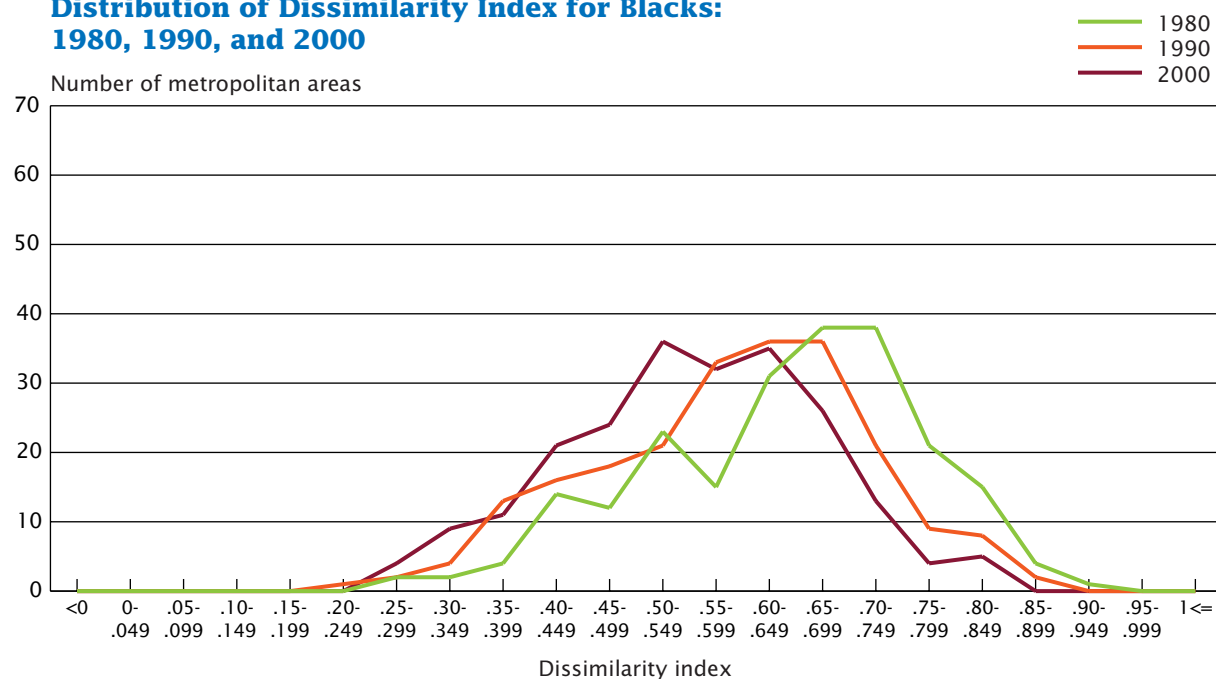
Index, year, and percent change	All metropolitan areas (weighted average)	Selected metropolitan areas					
		Weighted average	Minimum	25th percentile	Median	75th percentile	Maximum
<b>Dissimilarity Index</b>							
1980.....	0.727	0.730	0.272	0.682	0.750	0.812	0.908
1990.....	0.678	0.682	0.227	0.606	0.683	0.769	0.899
2000.....	0.640	0.645	0.263	0.569	0.648	0.730	0.846
Percent change							
1980-1990.....	-6.8	-6.6	-16.6	-11.1	-8.9	-5.2	-1.0
1990-2000.....	-5.6	-5.4	15.8	-6.1	-5.1	-5.1	-5.9
1980-2000.....	-12.0	-11.7	-3.4	-16.6	-13.5	-10.1	-6.8
<b>Isolation Index</b>							
1980.....	0.655	0.662	0.070	0.586	0.698	0.758	0.855
1990.....	0.614	0.622	0.064	0.525	0.653	0.735	0.842
2000.....	0.591	0.601	0.061	0.495	0.649	0.721	0.827
Percent change							
1980-1990.....	-6.3	-6.0	-7.6	-10.5	-6.5	-3.0	-1.5
1990-2000.....	-3.8	-3.4	-5.3	-5.7	-0.6	-1.9	-1.7
1980-2000.....	-9.9	-9.3	-12.4	-15.7	-7.1	-4.9	-3.2
<b>Delta Index</b>							
1980.....	0.834	0.835	0.438	0.814	0.862	0.902	0.954
1990.....	0.816	0.816	0.467	0.795	0.834	0.880	0.967
2000.....	0.793	0.793	0.454	0.761	0.811	0.844	0.966
Percent change							
1980-1990.....	-2.2	-2.2	6.6	-2.3	-3.2	-2.4	1.4
1990-2000.....	-2.8	-2.8	-2.7	-4.3	-2.8	-4.1	-0.1
1980-2000.....	-5.0	-5.0	3.7	-6.5	-5.9	-6.4	1.2
<b>Absolute Centralization Index</b>							
1980.....	0.753	0.755	-0.022	0.721	0.789	0.846	0.966
1990.....	0.743	0.745	0.054	0.717	0.773	0.831	0.973
2000.....	0.722	0.724	0.015	0.663	0.749	0.818	0.962
Percent change							
1980-1990.....	-1.3	-1.3	345.2	-0.5	-2.1	-1.7	0.7
1990-2000.....	-2.8	-2.8	-71.7	-7.5	-3.1	-1.6	-1.1
1980-2000.....	-4.1	-4.1	169.5	-8.0	-5.1	-3.3	-0.4
<b>Spatial Proximity Index</b>							
1980.....	1.435	1.441	1.024	1.261	1.441	1.596	2.054
1990.....	1.400	1.406	1.021	1.226	1.388	1.508	1.826
2000.....	1.374	1.381	1.015	1.220	1.382	1.469	1.821
Percent change							
1980-1990.....	-2.5	-2.4	-0.2	-2.8	-3.7	-5.5	-11.1
1990-2000.....	-1.9	-1.8	-0.6	-0.5	-0.4	-2.6	-0.3
1980-2000.....	-4.3	-4.1	-0.8	-3.3	-4.0	-8.0	-11.4

Note: Selected Metropolitan Areas (220 of 330) are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. Higher values indicate more segregation; the reference group is White non-Hispanic. Segregation estimates are weighted by the size of the Black/African American population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1980, 1990, and 2000 Summary File 1.

Figure 5-1a.

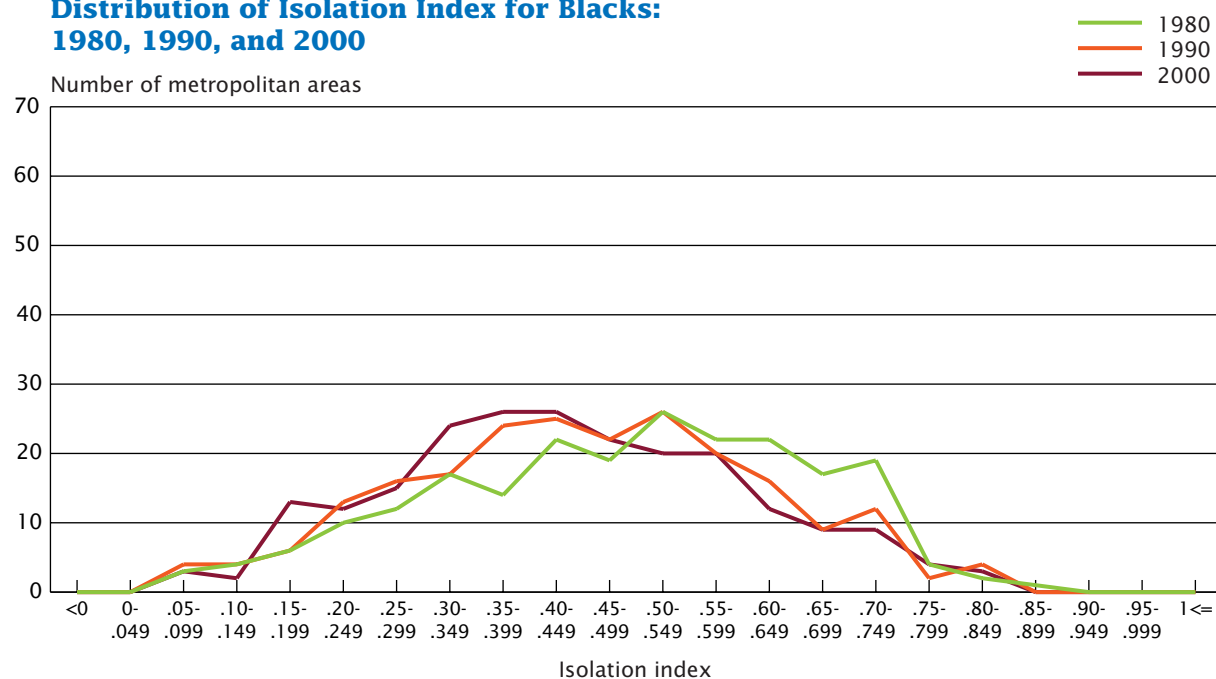
### Distribution of Dissimilarity Index for Blacks: 1980, 1990, and 2000



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Figure 5-1b.

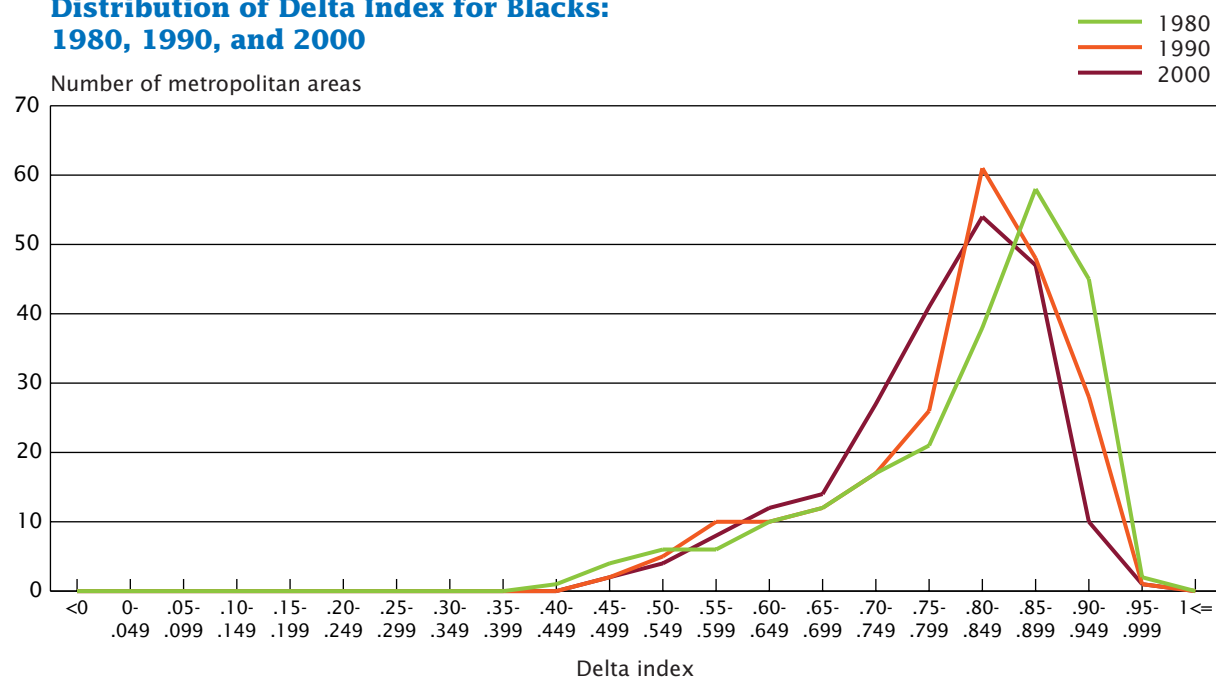
### Distribution of Isolation Index for Blacks: 1980, 1990, and 2000



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Figure 5-1c.

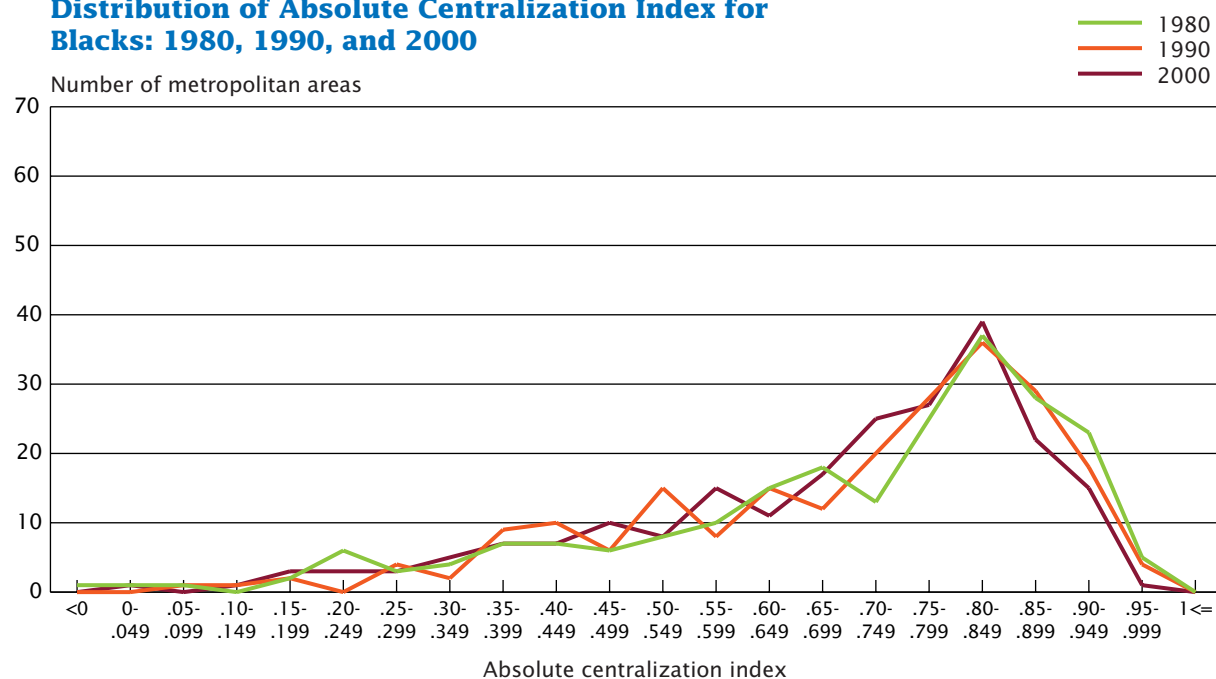
### Distribution of Delta Index for Blacks: 1980, 1990, and 2000



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Figure 5-1d.

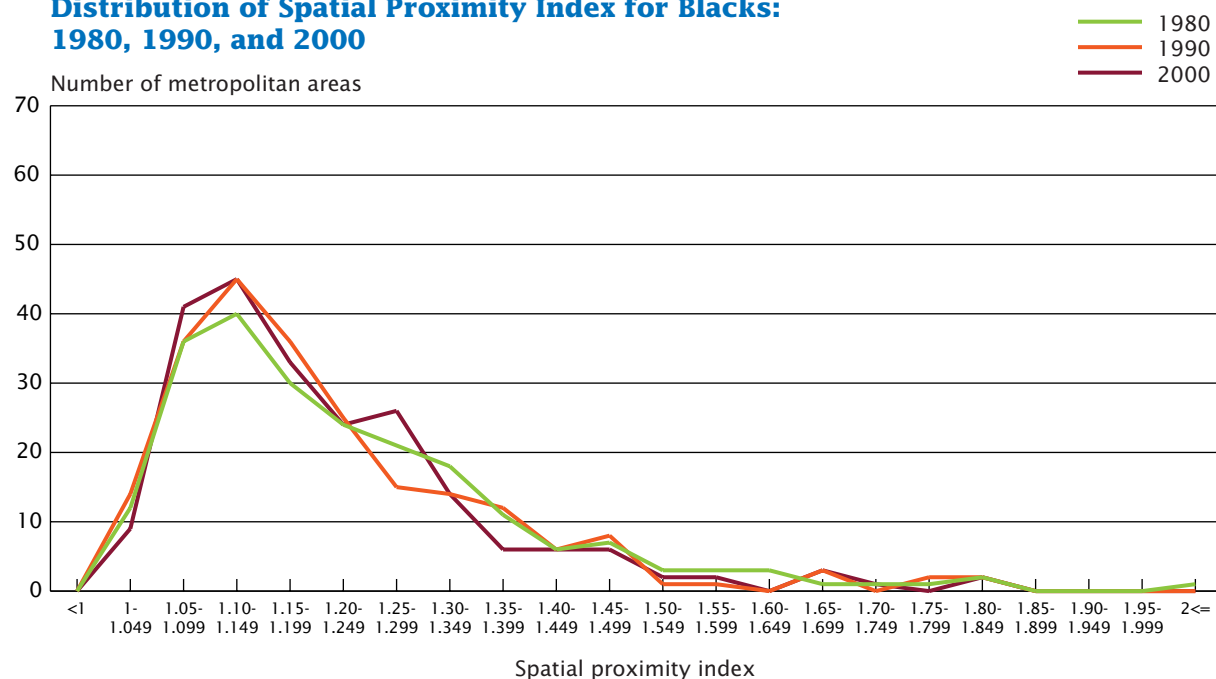
### Distribution of Absolute Centralization Index for Blacks: 1980, 1990, and 2000



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Figure 5-1e.

### Distribution of Spatial Proximity Index for Blacks: 1980, 1990, and 2000



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Residential segregation varied by the percentage (expressed in quartiles) of the population that is Black. While all four metropolitan area quartiles showed a pattern of decreasing residential segregation over time, three of the five indexes showed a pattern of higher segregation in places with a higher percentage of Blacks in 2000, while two showed the reverse. As the percentage of the population that is Black increased, Blacks were

- less likely to be evenly spread across the metropolitan area (dissimilarity index),
- less likely to share common neighborhoods (isolation index),
- less concentrated in dense areas (delta index),
- less likely to be centralized (absolute centralization index), and
- more likely to live near other Blacks (spatial proximity index).

The relationship between segregation and quartiles of percent change in the African American population does not show a clear pattern. For example, metropolitan areas with both the largest and smallest percent increases in the African American population experienced significant decreases in dissimilarity, isolation, delta, and spatial proximity.

Table 5-2.

# Residential Segregation Indexes for Blacks or African Americans by Characteristics of Selected Metropolitan Areas: 1980, 1990, and 2000

(Weighted averages)

Characteristic	Number of metropolitan areas	Dissimilarity index			Isolation index			Delta index			Absolute centralization index			Spatial proximity index		
		1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Selected metropolitan areas .....	220	0.730	0.682	0.645	0.662	0.622	0.601	0.835	0.816	0.793	0.755	0.745	0.724	1.441	1.406	1.381
Region																
Northeast .....	31	0.779	0.766	0.739	0.690	0.695	0.679	0.860	0.840	0.819	0.754	0.736	0.717	1.442	1.463	1.465
Midwest .....	53	0.822	0.788	0.741	0.726	0.691	0.651	0.909	0.894	0.859	0.816	0.814	0.788	1.598	1.570	1.526
South .....	114	0.660	0.605	0.581	0.632	0.585	0.581	0.776	0.764	0.748	0.711	0.710	0.695	1.348	1.312	1.303
West .....	22	0.714	0.625	0.559	0.580	0.490	0.435	0.867	0.839	0.823	0.806	0.773	0.740	1.478	1.364	1.283
Population Size																
1 Million or more ...	43	0.780	0.732	0.694	0.717	0.680	0.657	0.869	0.845	0.815	0.805	0.787	0.757	1.543	1.502	1.469
500,000-999,999 ...	33	0.685	0.632	0.597	0.605	0.551	0.529	0.807	0.795	0.776	0.684	0.687	0.684	1.307	1.273	1.263
Under 500,000 .....	144	0.604	0.559	0.530	0.530	0.495	0.484	0.748	0.744	0.738	0.648	0.656	0.652	1.218	1.206	1.205
Percent Black/ African American (Quartiles)																
Under 6.2 percent ..	55	0.638	0.570	0.531	0.366	0.321	0.311	0.868	0.851	0.836	0.834	0.818	0.798	1.183	1.165	1.157
6.2-10.5 percent ...	55	0.715	0.661	0.613	0.523	0.474	0.446	0.857	0.843	0.817	0.720	0.709	0.688	1.234	1.222	1.223
10.5-19.1 percent ..	55	0.754	0.693	0.649	0.673	0.624	0.597	0.851	0.826	0.801	0.771	0.757	0.732	1.495	1.433	1.398
Over 19.1 percent ..	55	0.729	0.696	0.669	0.719	0.698	0.689	0.816	0.800	0.775	0.742	0.735	0.714	1.481	1.466	1.446
Percent Change (1980-2000) Black/ African American (Quartiles)																
Under 25.4 percent .	55	0.793	0.760	0.721	0.736	0.710	0.686	0.872	0.852	0.825	0.787	0.771	0.744	1.608	1.596	1.569
25.4-41.7 percent ..	55	0.718	0.696	0.673	0.678	0.669	0.659	0.819	0.808	0.791	0.738	0.734	0.722	1.373	1.368	1.361
41.7-63.1 percent ..	55	0.673	0.621	0.594	0.596	0.554	0.547	0.805	0.793	0.776	0.758	0.745	0.718	1.357	1.318	1.307
Over 63.1 percent ..	55	0.684	0.601	0.567	0.555	0.487	0.480	0.819	0.797	0.773	0.708	0.719	0.707	1.305	1.254	1.246

Note: Includes 220 Metropolitan Areas with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. Higher values indicate more segregation; the reference group is White non-Hispanic. Characteristics of metropolitan areas as of 1980. Segregation estimates are weighted by the size of the Black/African American population.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1980, 1990, and 2000 Summary File 1.

Figures 5-2a through 5-2e show that a majority of all of the selected metropolitan areas declined in residential segregation between 1980 and 2000, though most only had a small change (are clustered near the 45-degree line).<sup>5</sup> Table 5-3 shows the percentage of

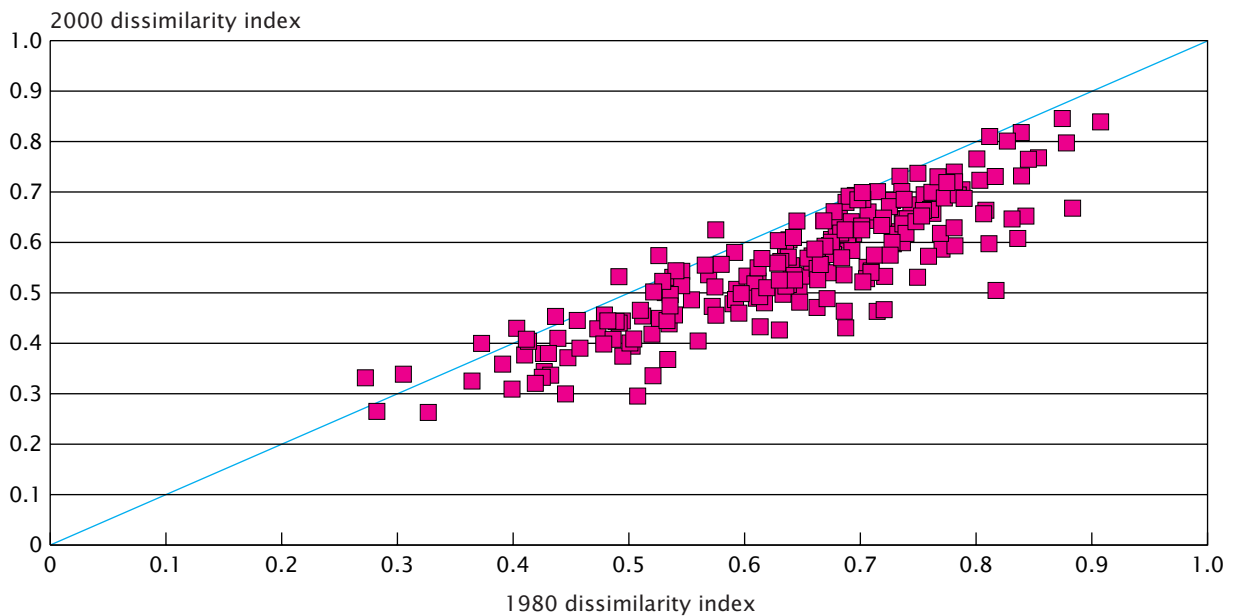
<sup>5</sup> These figures are presented for 1980 versus 1990 and 1990 versus 2000 in Appendix D.

metropolitan areas experiencing change in segregation scores (in five ranges). The proportion of metropolitan areas with increases of 1 percent or more between 1980 and 2000 ranged from only 3 percent (dissimilarity) to 34 percent (spatial proximity). However, the proportion with decreases of 1 percent or more between 1980 and 2000 ranged from 43 percent

(spatial proximity) to 92 percent (dissimilarity). Thus, the most widely used index, dissimilarity, showed that only 8 of 220 metropolitan areas had an increase in residential segregation between 1980 and 2000, while 203 metropolitan areas had a decrease. The others indicated a much less uniform pattern but still tended to show a decline in segregation.

Figure 5-2a.

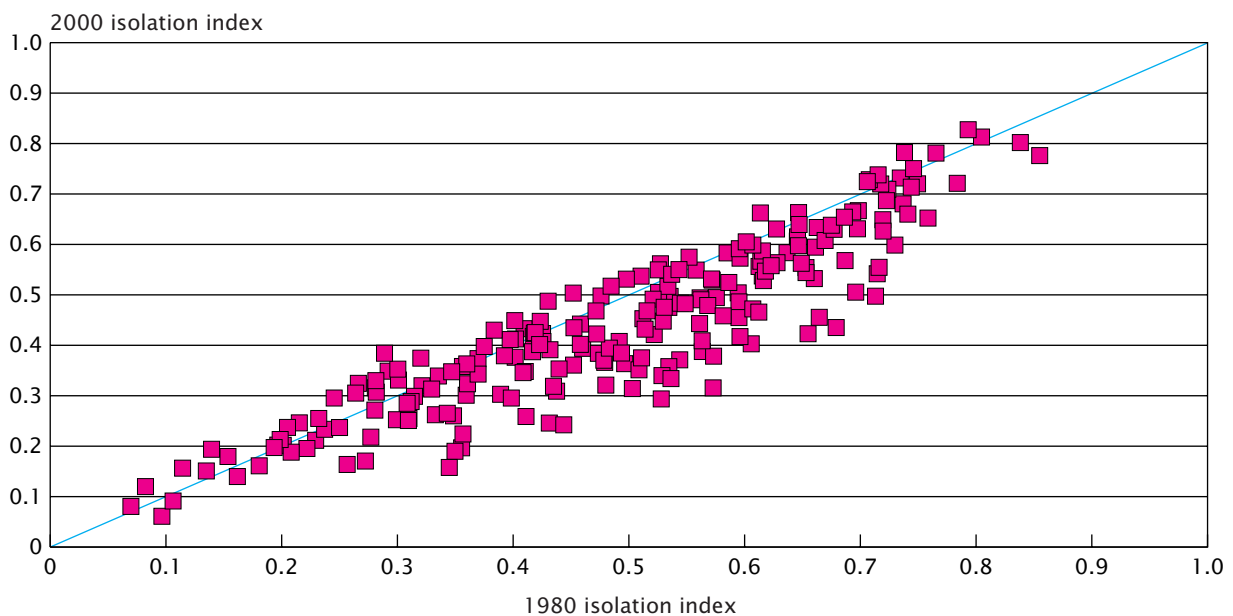
**Dissimilarity Index for Blacks for Selected Metropolitan Areas: 2000 by 1980**



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Figure 5-2b.

**Isolation Index for Blacks for Selected Metropolitan Areas: 2000 by 1980**

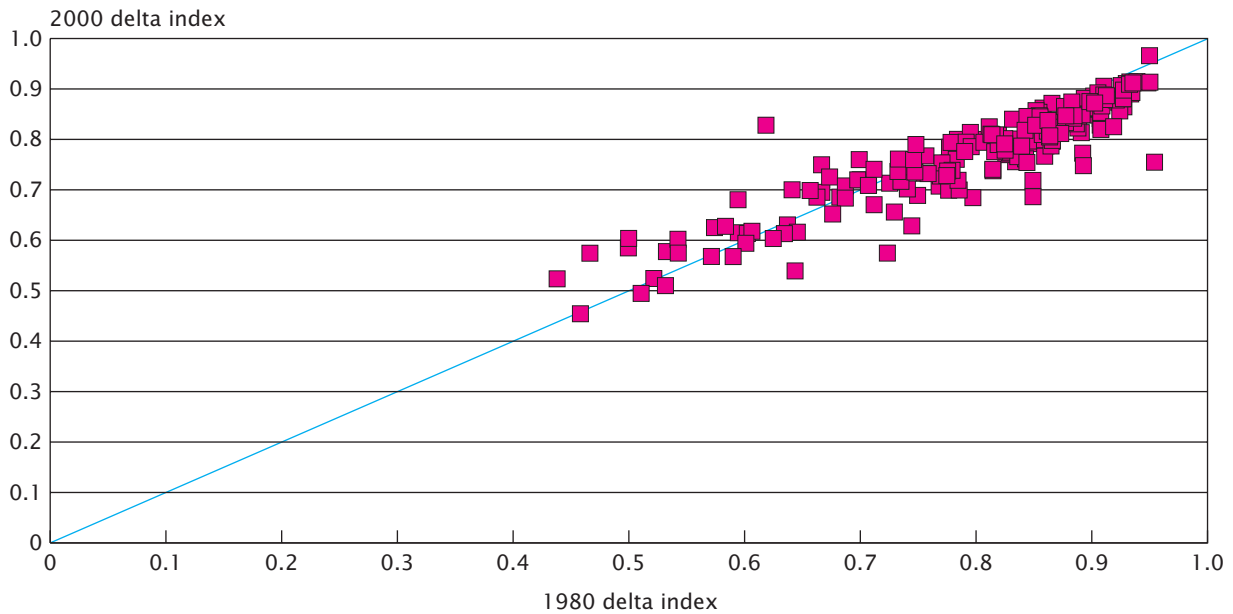


Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.



Figure 5-2c.

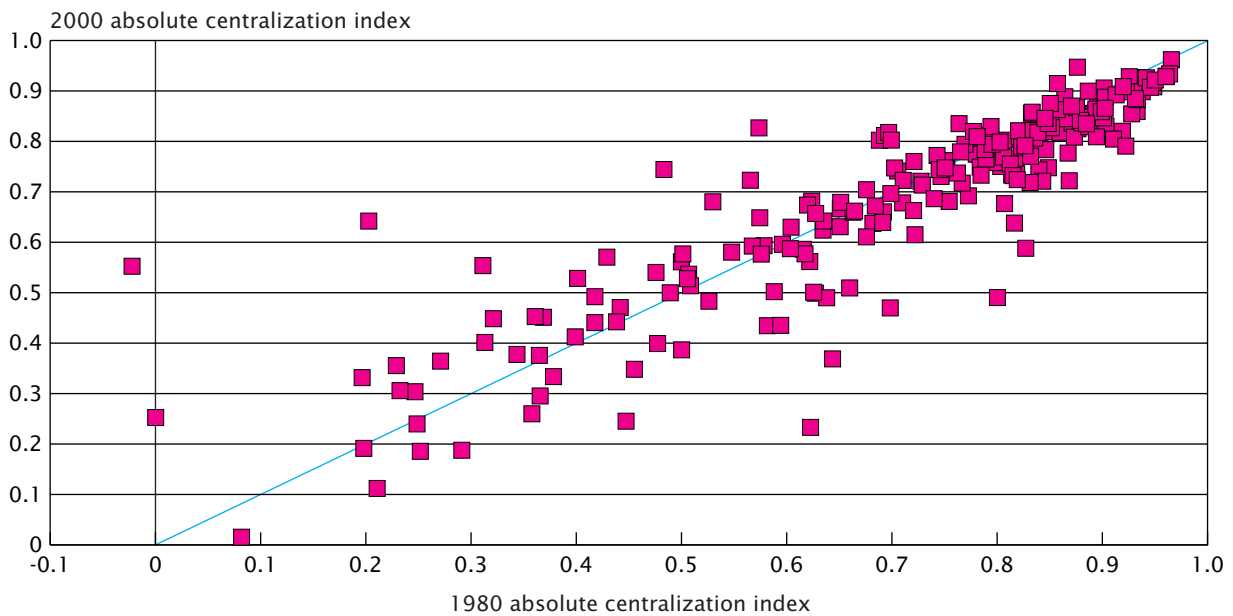
### Delta Index for Blacks for Selected Metropolitan Areas: 2000 by 1980



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Figure 5-2d.

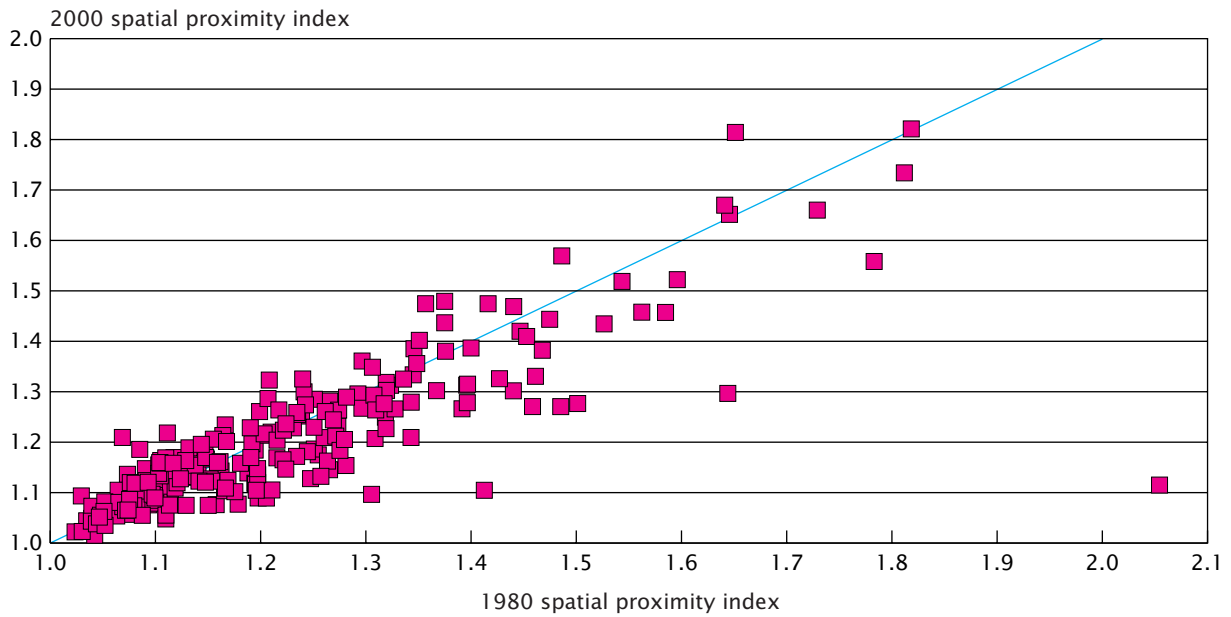
### Absolute Centralization Index for Blacks for Selected Metropolitan Areas: 2000 by 1980



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Figure 5-2e.

**Spatial Proximity Index for Blacks for Selected Metropolitan Areas: 2000 by 1980**



Note: Selected metropolitan areas are those with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980. The reference group is White non-Hispanic. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of race and Hispanic origin definitions.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Summary File 1, 1980, 1990, and 2000.

Table 5-3.

### Distribution of Percent Change in Residential Segregation Indexes for Blacks or African Americans: 1980-2000

Time period change	Dissimilarity index		Isolation index		Delta index		Absolute centralization index		Spatial proximity index	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1980-1990										
Increase of 5 percent or more . .	5	2	19	9	15	7	40	18	8	4
Increase of 1-4.99 percent . . . .	10	5	26	12	33	15	37	17	42	19
Change of less than 1 percent . .	20	9	13	6	55	25	47	21	74	34
Decrease of 1-4.99 percent . . . .	51	23	43	20	100	45	58	26	69	31
Decrease of 5 percent or more . .	134	61	119	54	17	8	38	17	27	12
1990-2000										
Increase of 5 percent or more . .	5	2	35	16	6	3	30	14	9	4
Increase of 1-4.99 percent . . . .	12	5	37	17	18	8	31	14	66	30
Change of less than 1 percent . .	29	13	20	9	39	18	25	11	65	30
Decrease of 1-4.99 percent . . . .	46	21	47	21	132	60	77	35	67	30
Decrease of 5 percent or more . .	128	58	81	37	25	11	57	26	13	6
1980-2000										
Increase of 5 percent or more . .	7	3	34	15	17	8	41	19	19	9
Increase of 1-4.99 percent . . . .	1	0	19	9	18	8	27	12	55	25
Change of less than 1 percent . .	9	4	16	7	23	10	24	11	51	23
Decrease of 1-4.99 percent . . . .	24	11	24	11	95	43	58	26	46	21
Decrease of 5 percent or more . .	179	81	127	58	67	30	70	32	49	22

Note: Includes 220 Metropolitan Areas with at least 10 tracts and 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans in 1980.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1980, 1990, and 2000 Summary File 1.

Table 5-4 presents the level of residential segregation for the 43 large metropolitan areas with 1 million or more population in 1980 and at least 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks. In terms of the most commonly used residential segregation index, dissimilarity, the five most segregated metropolitan areas for Blacks were, in order, Detroit, Milwaukee-Waukesha, New York, Newark, and Chicago (Newark at 0.801, is not substantively higher than Chicago, 0.797, but both are higher than number six — Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, at 0.768).

When the other four indexes are taken into account and the ranks averaged across the five indexes, the five most segregated metropolitan areas for Blacks in 2000 were, in order, Milwaukee-Waukesha,

Detroit, Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, St. Louis, and Newark (Milwaukee-Waukesha and Detroit are less than one average rank apart). Cincinnati, Buffalo-Niagara Falls, and New York, are roughly tied for number six, but each is more than one average rank behind Newark. The top ten are rounded out by Chicago and Philadelphia (the latter roughly tied with Kansas City, New Orleans, and Indianapolis). Figure 5-3 shows the settlement pattern of Blacks in 2000 in Milwaukee-Waukesha.

Averaging the ranks across the five indexes, the most segregated areas in 2000 were also the most segregated in 1990, and among the six most segregated in 1980 (Kansas City comes in at number 5 in 1980). In 1990, Milwaukee-Waukesha was the most segregated, followed by Detroit,

and in 1980, Detroit was followed by St. Louis.

The five least segregated metropolitan areas for Blacks among the large ones analyzed here were, in order using just the dissimilarity index: Orange County, San Jose, Phoenix-Mesa, Riverside-San Bernardino, and Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport (which is substantively similar to Portland-Vancouver). When using all five indexes averaged, the five least segregated metropolitan areas for Blacks were, in order: Orange County, San Jose, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, and San Diego (the latter two are roughly tied, and tied with Providence-Fall River-Warwick). Figure 5-4 shows the settlement pattern of Blacks in Orange County in 2000.

Table 5-4.  
**Residential Segregation for Blacks or African Americans in Large Metropolitan Areas: 1980, 1990, and 2000**

MSA/PMSA Name	Dissimilarity index				Isolation index				Delta index				Absolute centralization index				Spatial proximity index				Average 2000 rank	Rank of averaged 2000 ranks
	1980	1990	2000	2000 rank	1980	1990	2000	2000 rank	1980	1990	2000	2000 rank	1980	1990	2000	2000 rank	1980	1990	2000	2000 rank		
Atlanta, GA MSA . . . . .	0.737	0.671	0.645	23	0.698	0.657	0.667	11	0.776	0.758	0.699	42	0.767	0.755	0.717	35	1.447	1.443	1.420	15	25.2	26
Baltimore, MD PMSA . . . . .	0.744	0.713	0.675	17	0.737	0.706	0.680	10	0.851	0.834	0.811	29	0.846	0.848	0.819	18	1.596	1.578	1.522	8	16.4	14
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA . . . . .	0.803	0.768	0.723	11	0.585	0.596	0.583	19	0.860	0.821	0.787	31	0.710	0.696	0.678	36	1.241	1.284	1.300	24	24.2	25
Boston, MA-NH PMSA . . . . .	0.763	0.693	0.658	22	0.594	0.543	0.504	27	0.861	0.835	0.812	28	0.877	0.855	0.825	15	1.475	1.469	1.444	13	21.0	17
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA . . . . .	0.801	0.800	0.766	7	0.663	0.651	0.634	16	0.917	0.916	0.878	8	0.860	0.842	0.818	19	1.416	1.453	1.474	9	11.8	7
Chicago, IL PMSA . . . . .	0.878	0.838	0.797	5	0.855	0.809	0.776	5	0.908	0.888	0.844	18	0.721	0.717	0.663	38	1.812	1.802	1.734	3	13.8	9
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA . . . . .	0.781	0.761	0.739	8	0.637	0.608	0.584	18	0.911	0.920	0.884	5	0.926	0.921	0.898	4	1.323	1.317	1.313	22	11.4	6
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA . . . . .	0.854	0.824	0.768	6	0.784	0.772	0.721	7	0.919	0.901	0.874	9	0.892	0.879	0.856	12	1.729	1.751	1.660	5	7.8	3
Columbus, OH MSA . . . . .	0.729	0.673	0.616	28	0.576	0.528	0.495	28	0.907	0.887	0.841	19	0.896	0.874	0.869	8	1.319	1.268	1.250	30	22.6	22
Dallas, TX PMSA . . . . .	0.771	0.625	0.587	33	0.715	0.571	0.542	25	0.855	0.825	0.799	30	0.780	0.800	0.775	25	1.485	1.316	1.271	28	28.2	32
Denver, CO PMSA . . . . .	0.689	0.640	0.605	30	0.496	0.410	0.364	34	0.907	0.890	0.863	13	0.938	0.918	0.898	3	1.251	1.191	1.186	31	22.2	20
Detroit, MI PMSA . . . . .	0.874	0.874	0.846	1	0.805	0.823	0.813	2	0.928	0.908	0.865	12	0.889	0.878	0.848	13	1.818	1.826	1.821	1	5.8	2
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA . . . . .	0.836	0.683	0.608	29	0.730	0.581	0.599	17	0.826	0.812	0.770	37	0.483	0.773	0.744	30	1.292	1.173	1.296	25	27.6	30
Hartford, CT MSA . . . . .	0.712	0.696	0.644	24	0.562	0.543	0.490	29	0.829	0.817	0.773	36	0.819	0.807	0.746	29	1.396	1.432	1.313	21	27.8	31
Houston, TX PMSA . . . . .	0.754	0.664	0.663	20	0.719	0.635	0.649	15	0.829	0.795	0.775	35	0.846	0.808	0.784	24	1.468	1.353	1.382	17	22.2	20
Indianapolis, IN MSA . . . . .	0.788	0.746	0.704	13	0.653	0.599	0.554	22	0.927	0.913	0.880	7	0.833	0.861	0.858	11	1.440	1.373	1.302	23	15.2	13
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA . . . . .	0.773	0.725	0.688	15	0.687	0.615	0.568	20	0.905	0.891	0.862	15	0.903	0.894	0.888	6	1.461	1.361	1.331	18	14.8	11
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA . . . . .	0.808	0.728	0.664	19	0.758	0.693	0.652	14	0.865	0.817	0.787	32	0.843	0.789	0.721	34	1.783	1.652	1.558	7	21.2	19
Miami, FL PMSA . . . . .	0.785	0.690	0.694	14	0.738	0.735	0.782	3	0.887	0.847	0.831	23	0.807	0.735	0.677	37	1.526	1.454	1.435	14	18.2	15
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA . . . . .	0.839	0.826	0.818	2	0.718	0.725	0.720	8	0.935	0.923	0.893	1	0.894	0.890	0.864	10	1.646	1.696	1.652	6	5.4	1
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA . . . . .	0.677	0.622	0.576	34	0.330	0.296	0.313	36	0.897	0.889	0.863	14	0.948	0.938	0.917	1	1.110	1.136	1.169	33	23.6	24
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA . . . . .	0.767	0.761	0.730	10	0.525	0.540	0.550	23	0.775	0.766	0.737	40	0.378	0.354	0.334	43	1.207	1.260	1.287	26	28.4	33
New Orleans, LA MSA . . . . .	0.698	0.679	0.684	16	0.715	0.713	0.738	6	0.867	0.836	0.833	22	0.901	0.866	0.847	14	1.351	1.388	1.402	16	14.8	11
New York, NY PMSA . . . . .	0.812	0.813	0.810	3	0.793	0.818	0.827	1	0.865	0.848	0.834	20	0.789	0.770	0.765	26	1.441	1.454	1.469	10	12.0	8
Newark, NJ PMSA . . . . .	0.827	0.825	0.801	4	0.765	0.784	0.781	4	0.922	0.905	0.886	2	0.691	0.657	0.639	39	1.651	1.790	1.814	2	10.2	5
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA . . . . .	0.595	0.494	0.460	39	0.618	0.551	0.547	24	0.733	0.738	0.736	41	0.747	0.743	0.730	32	1.244	1.179	1.181	32	33.6	41
Oakland, CA PMSA . . . . .	0.739	0.678	0.618	27	0.649	0.606	0.563	21	0.843	0.809	0.761	38	0.582	0.520	0.435	41	1.427	1.400	1.326	19	29.2	35
Orange County, CA PMSA . . . . .	0.447	0.382	0.371	43	0.106	0.084	0.091	43	0.644	0.580	0.539	43	0.644	0.517	0.369	42	1.030	1.021	1.023	43	42.8	43
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA . . . . .	0.781	0.768	0.720	12	0.723	0.719	0.687	9	0.862	0.839	0.816	27	0.836	0.822	0.807	21	1.641	1.678	1.670	4	14.6	10
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA . . . . .	0.613	0.503	0.433	41	0.355	0.239	0.197	40	0.919	0.902	0.885	4	0.913	0.910	0.892	5	1.088	1.063	1.055	41	26.2	28
Pittsburgh, PA MSA . . . . .	0.725	0.707	0.671	18	0.545	0.518	0.483	30	0.876	0.873	0.865	11	0.820	0.831	0.821	17	1.261	1.252	1.261	29	21.0	17
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA . . . . .	0.686	0.630	0.464	38	0.350	0.298	0.190	41	0.909	0.899	0.866	10	0.946	0.939	0.907	2	1.175	1.158	1.102	40	26.2	28
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA MSA . . . . .	0.727	0.664	0.600	32	0.308	0.319	0.285	38	0.872	0.848	0.824	25	0.813	0.826	0.755	27	1.105	1.126	1.133	36	31.6	38
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA . . . . .	0.526	0.439	0.449	40	0.264	0.234	0.305	37	0.902	0.881	0.886	3	0.875	0.872	0.867	9	1.081	1.089	1.119	37	25.2	26
Rochester, NY MSA . . . . .	0.677	0.672	0.661	21	0.485	0.499	0.517	26	0.855	0.854	0.845	17	0.834	0.827	0.821	16	1.240	1.277	1.325	20	20.0	16
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA . . . . .	0.817	0.769	0.731	9	0.741	0.694	0.660	12	0.927	0.899	0.881	6	0.931	0.911	0.885	7	1.562	1.448	1.458	11	9.0	4
San Antonio, TX MSA . . . . .	0.613	0.543	0.492	36	0.511	0.415	0.375	33	0.842	0.854	0.818	26	0.839	0.846	0.818	20	1.221	1.184	1.165	34	29.8	36
San Diego, CA MSA . . . . .	0.643	0.579	0.535	35	0.409	0.355	0.346	35	0.852	0.822	0.828	24	0.762	0.730	0.737	31	1.264	1.224	1.163	35	32.0	39
San Francisco, CA PMSA . . . . .	0.675	0.638	0.600	31	0.514	0.478	0.432	32	0.877	0.858	0.833	21	0.795	0.785	0.794	22	1.167	1.145	1.109	38	28.8	34
San Jose, CA PMSA . . . . .	0.478	0.430	0.399	42	0.135	0.143	0.151	42	0.790	0.793	0.776	34	0.751	0.752	0.747	28	1.052	1.040	1.035	42	37.6	42
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA . . . . .	0.671	0.559	0.489	37	0.357	0.284	0.224	39	0.889	0.871	0.850	16	0.922	0.859	0.791	23	1.196	1.138	1.105	39	30.8	37
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA . . . . .	0.781	0.693	0.629	25	0.607	0.510	0.472	31	0.844	0.802	0.754	39	0.617	0.585	0.577	40	1.317	1.241	1.276	27	32.4	40
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA . . . . .	0.687	0.650	0.625	26	0.686	0.653	0.654	13	0.825	0.804	0.779	33	0.819	0.781	0.724	33	1.585	1.508	1.457	12	23.4	23

Note: Includes 43 Metropolitan Areas with 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans and 1,000,000 or more total population in 1980. Higher values indicate more segregation; the reference group is White non-Hispanic.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1980, 1990, and 2000 Summary File 1.

Figure 5-3.  
**The Most Segregated Large Metropolitan Area for Blacks or African Americans in 2000:**  
**Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA**

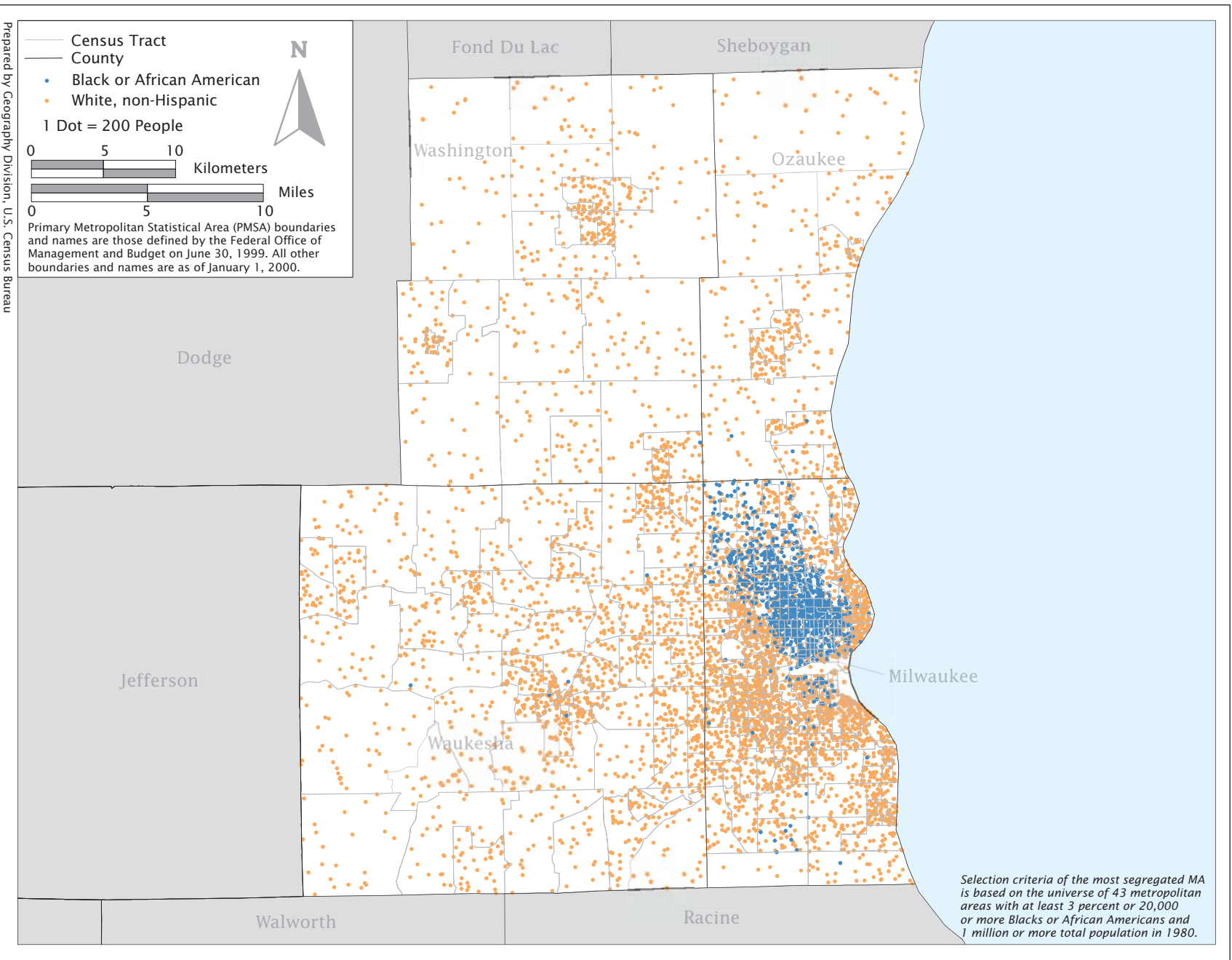
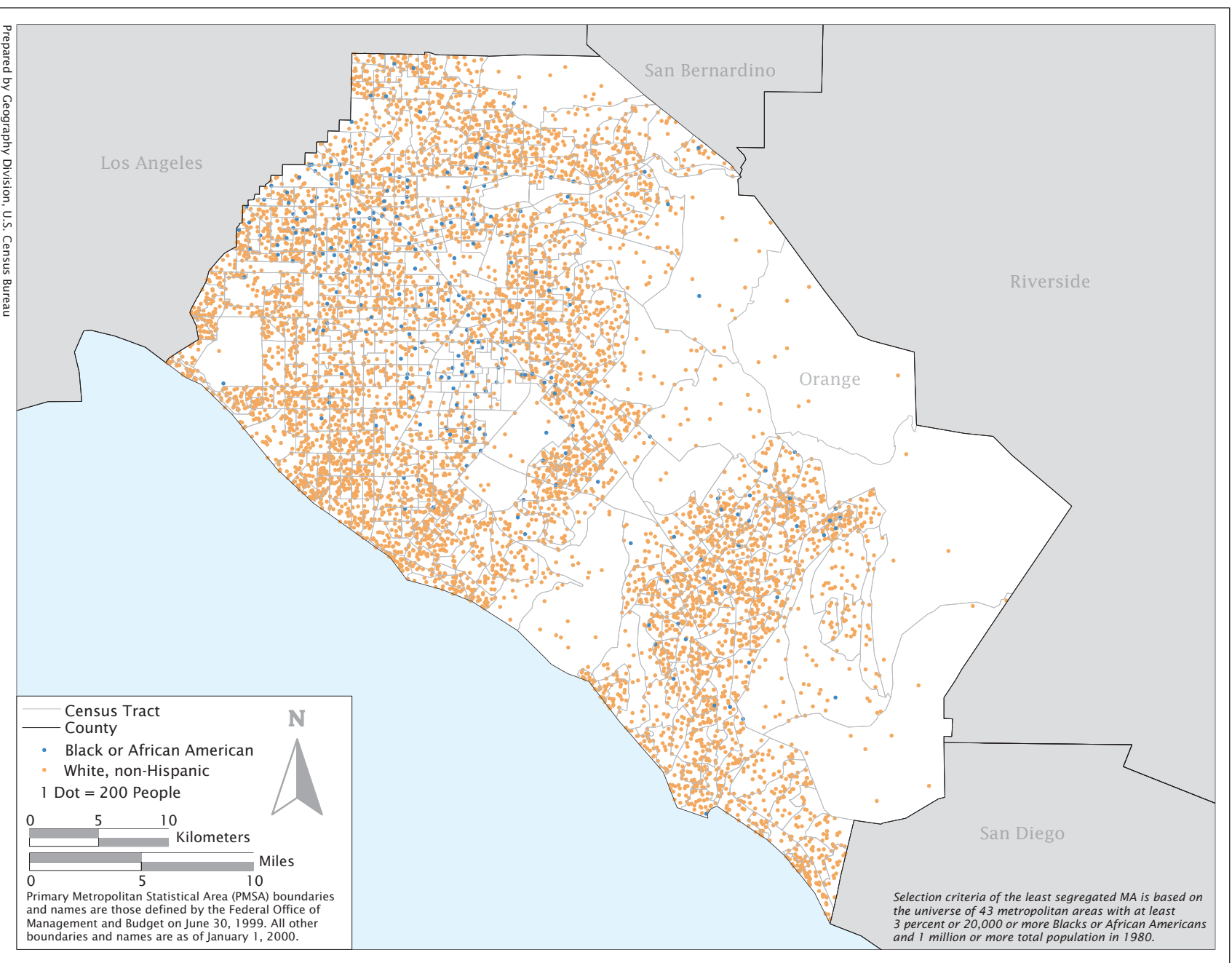


Figure 5-4.  
**The Least Segregated Large Metropolitan Area for Blacks or African Americans in 2000:  
 Orange County, CA PMSA**



The top ten most segregated large metropolitan areas were in the older Northeast-Midwest “Rust Belt,” which has tended to lose population in recent decades. All but one of the least segregated large metropolitan areas were in the West and South, where metropolitan areas have tended to gain population. The exception was Providence-Fall River-Warwick in the Northeast, which tied for the fifth-least-segregated and does not fit the broader pattern.

Also of interest is how segregation has been changing for these large metropolitan areas. Table 5-5 presents these results for the 1980 to 2000 period. Of the 43 large metropolitan areas, 40 showed a decline in residential segregation using the dissimilarity index between 1980 and 1990, while the other three showed virtually no change. This was also true for the 1990 to 2000 period. Combined, all large metropolitan areas showed a decline in the residential segregation of Blacks and African Americans between 1980 and 2000, but some of the changes are not substantively significant.

The metropolitan areas showing the largest percentage declines (averaging ranks across the five indexes) were, in order: Los Angeles-Long Beach, Oakland, Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, and Orange County (the last two were among the five least segregated large

metropolitan areas in 2000). The five large metropolitan areas showing the least percentage declines were, in order: Rochester, New York, Riverside-San Bernardino, Pittsburgh, and New Orleans. No large metropolitan area showed an increase in dissimilarity between 1980 and 2000, 10 showed an increase in isolation, 1 in delta, 3 in absolute centralization, and 14 in spatial proximity.

When we examined all selected metropolitan areas (not shown), the five most residentially segregated for Blacks in 2000 were the five large areas already noted (using the averaging over five ranks method) and the five least segregated were Orange County MSA CA, Hickory-Morganton-Lenoir MSA NC, Fort Walton Beach MSA FL, Charlottesville MSA VA, and Auburn-Opelika MSA AL, all in the South or West; the 10 least segregated were all in the South except for Orange County and Hamilton-Middletown.

Based on the ranks of all selected metropolitan areas, the five metropolitan areas showing the greatest *increase* in residential segregation over the two-decade 1980-2000 period were Dover MSA DE, Columbus MSA GA-AL, Goldsboro MSA NC, Athens MSA GA, and Danville MSA VA. The seven metropolitan areas showing the greatest increases were all in the South region (the 8th was in Michigan and the 9th in New Jersey). The

five metropolitan areas showing the greatest *decrease* in residential segregation over the 1980-2000 period were all in Florida: Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, Daytona Beach, Fort Myers-Cape Coral, Fort Pierce-Port St Lucie, and Sarasota-Bradenton. Of the next five largest declines, four were in Texas, and another in Florida.

In conclusion, it is clear that the decline in the residential segregation of African Americans in the 1980-1990 period continued apace over the 1990-2000 period. Most strides seemed to have been made in the West and South, particularly in California, Florida, and Texas, although increases in segregation were apparent for some small metropolitan areas in the South. Less progress was made in the Northeast and Midwest, and the large metropolitan areas that had been the most segregated at the beginning of the period remained at or near the top of the list.

Yet, only 8 of the 220 metropolitan areas examined in this chapter showed an increase in the dissimilarity index of residential segregation for Blacks of 1 percent or more, and 203 showed a decline of 1 percent or more — indicating widespread reductions in residential segregation between 1980 and 2000. The reduction of African American residential segregation remained slow, but steady.



Table 5-5.  
**Percent Change in Residential Segregation Indexes for Blacks or African Americans in Large Metropolitan Areas: 1980-2000**

MSA/PMSA name	Dissimilarity index				Isolation index				Delta index				Absolute centralization index				Spatial proximity index				Rank of change ranks averaged
	1980-1990 percent change	1990-2000 percent change	1980-2000		1980-1990 percent change	1990-2000 percent change	1980-2000		1980-1990 percent change	1990-2000 percent change	1980-2000		1980-1990 percent change	1990-2000 percent change	1980-2000		1980-1990 percent change	1990-2000 percent change	1980-2000		
			Percent change	Rank			Percent change	Rank			Percent change	Rank			Percent change	Rank					
Atlanta, GA MSA	-8.9	-3.9	-12.5	25	-6.0	1.6	-4.5	13	-2.4	-7.7	-9.9	41	-1.5	-5.0	-6.5	30	-0.2	-1.6	-1.8	19	27
Baltimore, MD PMSA	-4.2	-5.3	-9.3	14	-4.2	-3.6	-7.7	18	-2.0	-2.8	-4.7	18	0.2	-3.4	-3.2	16	-1.2	-3.5	-4.6	26	15
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	-4.4	-5.9	-10.0	16	1.9	-2.1	-0.3	11	-4.6	-4.1	-8.5	38	-2.0	-2.6	-4.5	24	3.4	1.3	4.7	5	16
Boston, MA-NH PMSA	-9.1	-5.1	-13.8	26	-8.7	-7.2	-15.2	32	-3.1	-2.7	-5.7	29	-2.5	-3.5	-5.9	28	-0.4	-1.7	-2.1	20	32
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	0.0	-4.4	-4.4	7	-1.7	-2.7	-4.4	12	-0.2	-4.2	-4.3	15	-2.1	-2.8	-4.8	26	2.6	1.4	4.1	6	9
Chicago, IL PMSA	-4.6	-4.8	-9.2	13	-5.4	-4.1	-9.2	21	-2.1	-5.0	-7.0	36	-0.5	-7.5	-8.0	35	-0.5	-3.8	-4.3	24	29
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	-2.5	-2.9	-5.3	9	-4.4	-4.1	-8.3	20	1.0	-3.8	-2.9	8	-0.5	-2.4	-3.0	13	-0.5	-0.3	-0.8	17	10
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	-3.5	-6.8	-10.1	17	-1.5	-6.6	-8.0	19	-2.0	-3.0	-4.9	21	-1.4	-2.7	-4.0	21	1.3	-5.2	-4.0	23	17
Columbus, OH MSA	-7.7	-8.4	-15.5	29	-8.2	-6.4	-14.1	30	-2.3	-5.1	-7.3	37	-2.4	-0.6	-3.0	14	-3.9	-1.4	-5.2	30	34
Dallas, TX PMSA	-18.9	-6.1	-23.9	39	-20.2	-5.0	-24.2	38	-3.5	-3.1	-6.5	31	2.6	-3.2	-0.7	6	-11.4	-3.5	-14.5	43	37
Denver, CO PMSA	-7.2	-5.5	-12.3	24	-17.3	-11.4	-26.7	40	-1.9	-3.0	-4.9	20	-2.1	-2.1	-4.2	23	-4.8	-0.4	-5.2	29	33
Detroit, MI PMSA	0.0	-3.3	-3.3	6	2.3	-1.3	1.0	9	-2.2	-4.7	-6.8	35	-1.2	-3.4	-4.6	25	0.4	-0.3	0.1	14	14
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	-18.3	-11.0	-27.3	41	-20.5	3.1	-18.0	36	-1.6	-5.2	-6.8	34	59.9	-3.7	54.0	1	-9.3	10.5	0.3	13	24
Hartford, CT MSA	-2.3	-7.5	-9.5	15	-3.4	-9.7	-12.8	26	-1.4	-5.4	-6.8	33	-1.5	-7.5	-8.9	36	2.6	-8.3	-5.9	32	36
Houston, TX PMSA	-12.0	-0.1	-12.1	23	-11.8	2.3	-9.8	22	-4.1	-2.6	-6.5	32	-4.5	-3.0	-7.4	33	-7.8	2.1	-5.8	31	35
Indianapolis, IN MSA	-5.4	-5.5	-10.6	19	-8.2	-7.6	-15.2	31	-1.5	-3.6	-5.0	23	3.3	-0.4	3.0	2	-4.7	-5.2	-9.6	41	20
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	-6.2	-5.1	-10.9	20	-10.4	-7.7	-17.3	35	-1.5	-3.3	-4.8	19	-1.0	-0.7	-1.7	9	-6.8	-2.3	-8.9	40	23
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	-9.9	-8.9	-17.9	35	-8.6	-5.9	-14.0	29	-5.5	-3.7	-9.0	39	-6.5	-8.6	-14.5	40	-7.4	-5.6	-12.6	42	43
Miami, FL PMSA	-12.0	0.5	-11.5	22	-0.4	6.4	6.0	4	-4.5	-1.9	-6.3	30	-8.9	-7.9	-16.2	41	-4.8	-1.3	-6.0	33	30
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	-1.5	-1.0	-2.5	4	1.0	-0.6	0.3	10	-1.2	-3.3	-4.5	16	-0.4	-2.9	-3.3	19	3.0	-2.6	0.4	12	7
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	-8.2	-7.3	-14.9	28	-10.3	6.0	-5.0	16	-1.0	-2.9	-3.8	11	-1.1	-2.3	-3.3	18	2.4	2.9	5.3	4	12
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	-0.7	-4.1	-4.8	8	2.8	1.8	4.6	5	-1.2	-3.8	-4.9	22	-6.3	-5.8	-11.8	38	4.4	2.1	6.6	3	11
New Orleans, LA MSA	-2.7	0.8	-1.9	2	-0.4	3.5	3.2	7	-3.5	-0.5	-3.9	13	-3.9	-2.3	-6.0	29	2.7	1.0	3.8	7	5
New York, NY PMSA	0.1	-0.4	-0.2	1	3.1	1.1	4.3	6	-2.0	-1.6	-3.6	9	-2.4	-0.7	-3.1	15	0.9	1.1	2.0	10	2
Newark, NJ PMSA	-0.3	-2.9	-3.2	5	2.4	-0.3	2.1	8	-1.9	-2.0	-3.9	12	-5.0	-2.7	-7.5	34	8.4	1.3	9.9	1	6
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	-17.1	-6.8	-22.7	38	-10.8	-0.8	-11.5	25	0.8	-0.2	0.5	1	-0.4	-1.7	-2.2	10	-5.2	0.1	-5.1	28	18
Oakland, CA PMSA	-8.3	-8.9	-16.4	30	-6.7	-7.1	-13.3	27	-4.0	-5.9	-9.7	40	-10.5	-16.5	-25.3	42	-1.9	-5.3	-7.1	36	42
Orange County, CA PMSA	-14.7	-2.7	-17.0	33	-21.3	9.3	-14.0	28	-9.9	-7.1	-16.2	43	-19.6	-28.7	-42.7	43	-0.9	0.2	-0.7	16	39
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	-1.8	-6.2	-7.8	11	-0.5	-4.4	-4.9	15	-2.6	-2.7	-5.2	26	-1.6	-1.9	-3.5	20	2.3	-0.5	1.8	11	13
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	-17.9	-14.1	-29.5	42	-32.7	-17.8	-44.6	42	-1.8	-1.9	-3.7	10	-0.3	-2.0	-2.3	11	-2.3	-0.7	-3.0	21	25
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	-2.5	-5.1	-7.5	10	-4.9	-6.7	-11.2	24	-0.4	-0.8	-1.3	3	1.3	-1.2	0.1	3	-0.8	0.7	-0.1	15	4
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	-8.2	-26.4	-32.4	43	-14.7	-36.4	-45.7	43	-1.0	-3.7	-4.7	17	-0.7	-3.4	-4.1	22	-1.4	-4.9	-6.3	34	38
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA MSA	-8.7	-9.6	-17.5	34	3.5	-10.7	-7.6	17	-2.7	-2.8	-5.5	27	1.6	-8.6	-7.1	32	1.9	0.7	2.6	9	21
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	-16.7	2.5	-14.6	27	-11.4	30.5	15.6	1	-2.3	0.6	-1.7	4	-0.4	-0.6	-1.0	7	0.8	2.7	3.5	8	3
Rochester, NY MSA	-0.8	-1.7	-2.4	3	2.9	3.7	6.7	3	-0.1	-1.1	-1.2	2	-0.8	-0.7	-1.5	8	3.0	3.8	6.9	2	1
Saint Louis, MO-IL MSA	-5.8	-5.0	-10.5	18	-6.4	-4.8	-10.9	23	-3.1	-2.0	-5.0	25	-2.2	-2.9	-5.0	27	-7.3	0.7	-6.7	35	27
San Antonio, TX MSA	-11.5	-9.2	-19.7	37	-18.9	-9.5	-26.6	39	1.4	-4.2	-2.9	7	0.9	-3.4	-2.5	12	-3.0	-1.6	-4.6	25	22
San Diego, CA MSA	-9.9	-7.6	-16.8	32	-13.0	-2.7	-15.4	33	-3.5	0.7	-2.8	6	-4.3	1.0	-3.3	17	-3.1	-5.0	-8.0	38	25
San Francisco, CA PMSA	-5.6	-5.8	-11.1	21	-7.0	-9.6	-16.0	34	-2.2	-2.9	-5.0	24	-1.3	1.2	-0.1	4	-1.9	-3.1	-4.9	27	19
San Jose, CA PMSA	-10.0	-7.4	-16.7	31	5.9	5.6	11.9	2	0.3	-2.1	-1.8	5	0.2	-0.6	-0.4	5	-1.2	-0.5	-1.6	18	7
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	-16.8	-12.6	-27.2	40	-20.3	-21.1	-37.1	41	-2.0	-2.4	-4.3	14	-6.9	-7.9	-14.3	39	-4.8	-3.0	-7.6	37	41
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	-11.3	-9.2	-19.5	36	-15.9	-7.5	-22.2	37	-5.0	-5.9	-10.6	42	-5.3	-1.3	-6.5	31	-5.8	2.8	-3.1	22	40
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	-5.3	-3.9	-9.0	12	-4.9	0.2	-4.7	14	-2.6	-3.1	-5.6	28	-4.6	-7.3	-11.6	37	-4.9	-3.4	-8.1	39	30

Note: Includes 43 Metropolitan Areas with 3 percent or 20,000 or more Blacks or African Americans and 1,000,000 or more total population in 1980. Higher values indicate more segregation; the reference group is White non-Hispanic.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1980, 1990, and 2000 Summary File 1.