

## Segregation Falls for Black Children in Most Metro Areas But Remains High; Fewer Metros Experience Declines for Latinos

### Key Findings

#### In the 100 largest metro areas, between 2000 and 2010:

- Residential segregation between black and white children, while still very high overall, fell in 83 metro areas.
- Black segregation fell substantially in large, highly-segregated Midwestern metros and in smaller metros in Florida and in the West.
- For Latino children, segregation fell in 52 metros, and rose in 48.
- Almost all of the most highly segregated metros for Latinos, including several large Northeastern and Midwestern metros, experienced a decline in segregation.
- Many metros showing the largest Latino segregation increases were small metros in the South where Latino population growth has been particularly rapid.
- Segregation is associated with worse opportunities for minority children in terms of neighborhood and school quality and health outcomes. Declining segregation has the potential to reduce disparities between minority and white children, but more detailed research is needed.

Residential segregation of black and Latino children relative to whites fell moderately over the past decade in the 100 largest metropolitan areas, where 83% of black and 84% of Latino children live, according to analysis of the Decennial Census. As measured by the commonly used dissimilarity index, overall segregation<sup>1</sup> fell from 71.7 for to 67.6 for black children and from 57.5 to 54.7 for Latino children. This index can be interpreted as the percent of minority or white children who would have to move to another neighborhood<sup>2</sup> in order for each neighborhood to have the same minority and white percentage as the metro area as a whole. Generally, index values of 60 and over are considered high segregation; 30 to 59 are considered moderate segregation, and below 30 low segregation. Thus, although declining, black segregation remained high, and Latino segregation remained in the upper end of the moderate range. While black segregation fell in the great majority (83) of the 100 largest metro areas, Latino segregation fell in only 52. The overall decline in Latino segregation was driven by the large numbers of Latino children living in metro areas that experienced segregation declines.

Exhibits A and B below summarize the change in segregation between 2000 and 2010 for black and Latino children relative to whites. Each of the 100 largest metros is represented by a circle, with the size of the circle proportional to the metro's population size. Different colors represent different regions. The axes represent segregation levels in 2000 and 2010, with the most highly segregated metros, generally in the Midwest and Northeast, appearing to the upper right. The diagonal line shows the projected location of metros on the graph if their segregation indices had remained the same in 2000 and 2010. **Metros located below the diagonal line had decreasing segregation over the decade, while those above the line had an increase.** The distance above or below the diagonal represents the size of the change in segregation. While selected metros are labeled in the graph, data for all of the 100 largest metros are presented in the Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> Overall segregation indices are calculated by weighting each metro area index by the number of specified minority children living in that area. Black and white children include only non-Latinos. Blacks defined as those who indicated being of black or African-American race "alone."

<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this analysis, neighborhoods are defined as census tracts.

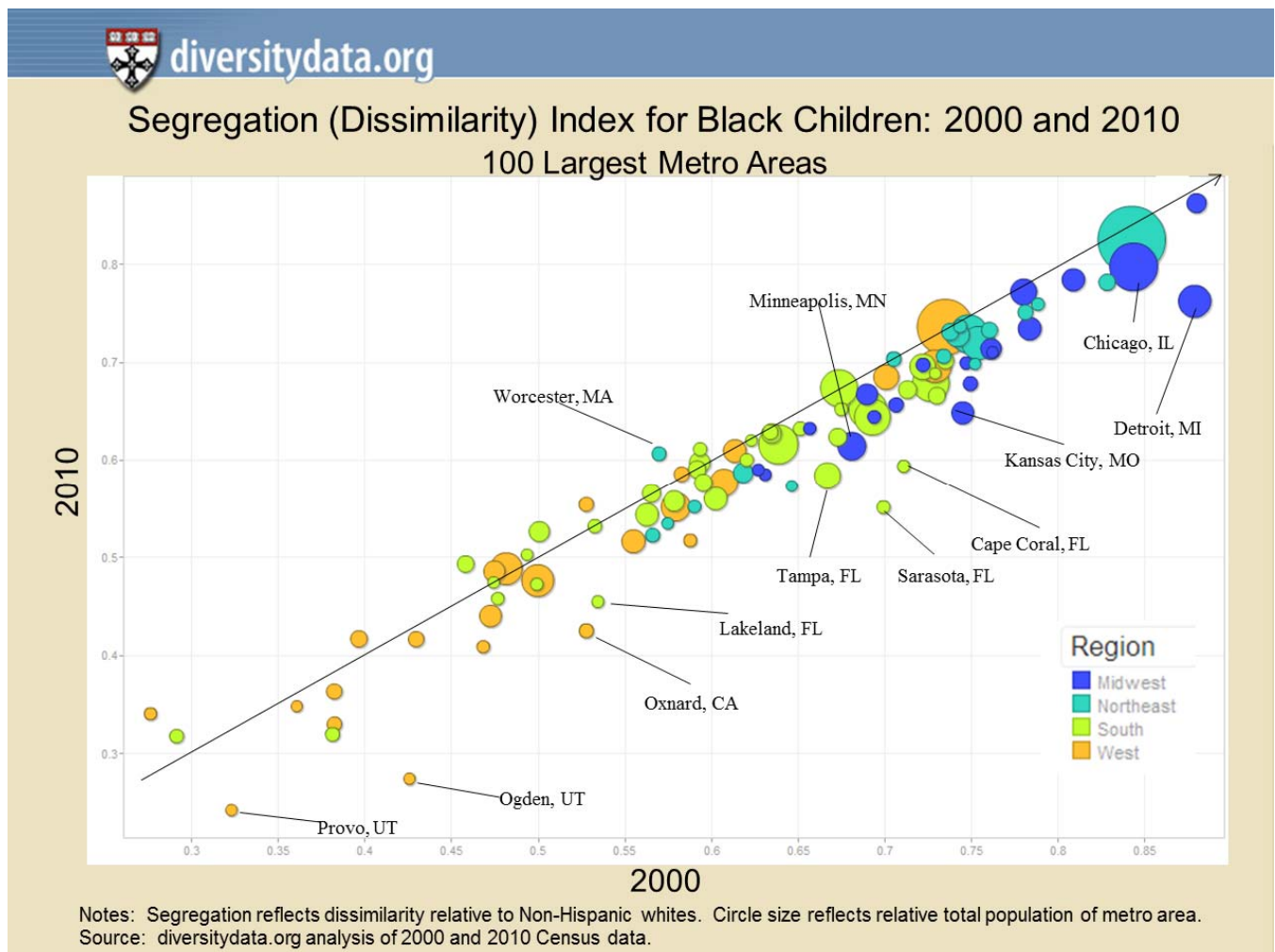
## Segregation of Black Children

For black children, segregation fell in 83 of the 100 largest metros, rose in 16, and remained constant in one (Exhibit A). With the exception of Worcester, MA, all metros experiencing increasing segregation were located in the South or West and tended to be small to medium in population size. Increases in segregation for black children tended to be quite small in magnitude.

Metros experiencing substantial declines in black child segregation include:

- Larger, very highly-segregated metros in the Midwest such as Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Kansas City
- Smaller, moderate to highly-segregated metros in Florida such as Cape Coral, Sarasota, Tampa, and Lakeland
- Smaller, low to moderately-segregated metros in the West such as Provo and Ogden, UT and Oxnard, CA. These metros tended to have very small black child populations in terms of both number of black children and black share of the total child population.

### Exhibit A

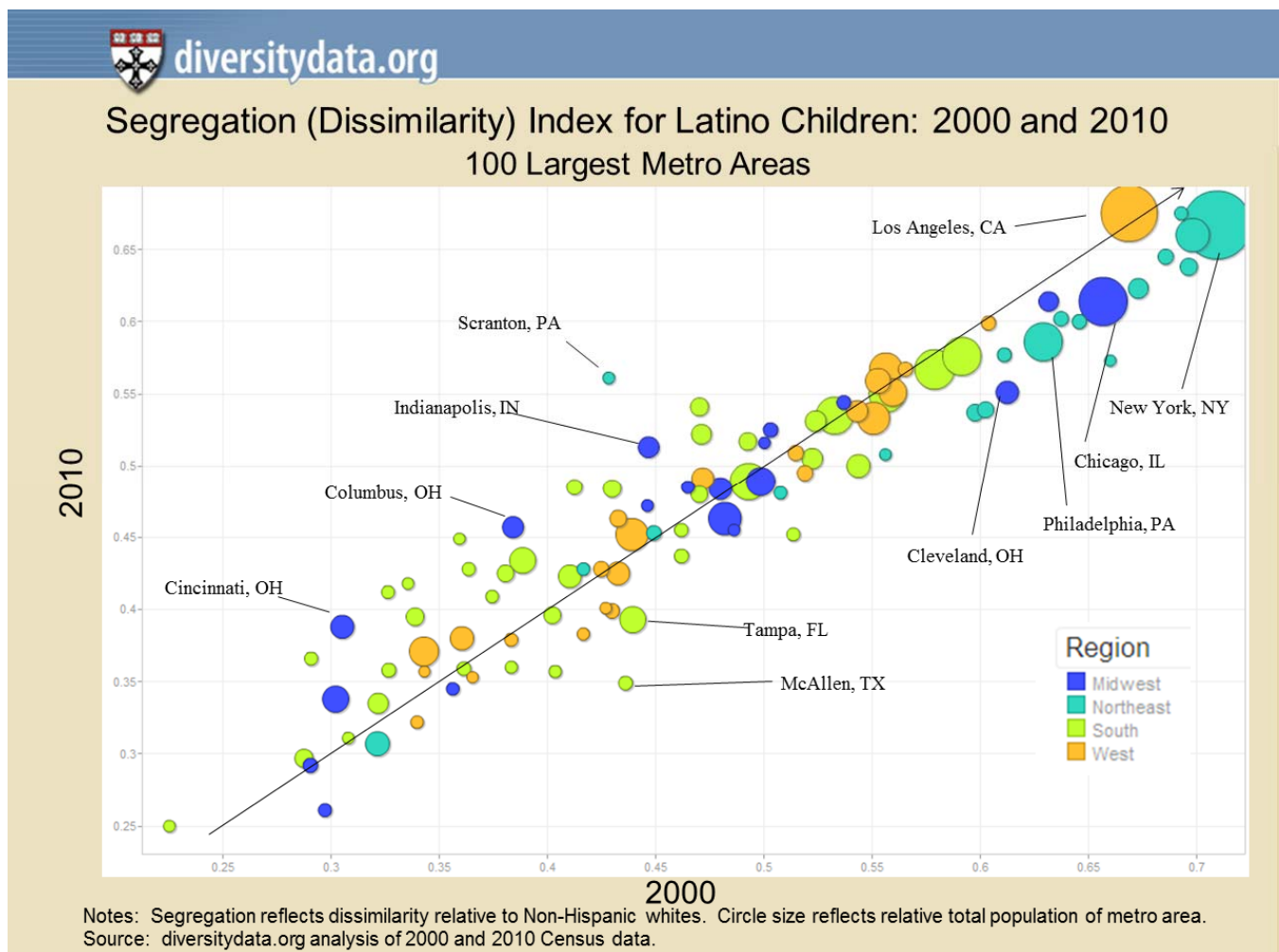


## Segregation of Latino Children

For Latino children, segregation fell in 52 of the 100 largest metros, and rose in the other 48 (Exhibit B.)

- Among the most highly segregated metros, all, including several large Northeastern and Midwestern metros, experienced a decline in segregation, with the exception of Los Angeles which saw a very slight increase.
- In the Northeast, only three small metros experienced increasing segregation, with Scranton, PA notable for its large increase. Scranton also experienced the fastest Latino child population growth rate among all of the 100 largest metros; increasing by 412 percent over the decade.
- Many of the metros showing the strongest segregation increase were small, fast-growing metros in the South, although medium-sized Midwestern metros such as Indianapolis, IN; Columbus, OH; and Cincinnati, OH also had substantial increases.

### Exhibit B



## Digging Deeper Into the Roots of Changing Segregation Trends

Understanding the causes behind changing segregation is challenging without examining the particular dynamics of individual metropolitan areas, historical context, and phenomena operating at different levels including at the neighborhood, city, region, or state levels. In some areas, declining segregation could be driven by increased migration of minorities into previously predominantly-white neighborhoods. In others, it could be caused by increased migration of whites into predominantly minority-neighborhoods or by other dynamics that affect the relative racial/ethnic composition and spatial patterns of the metro area. Regression analysis allows us to gather some general insights into the characteristics of metro areas that experienced segregation change at the macro level. Regression analysis is a statistical tool which helps us to understand, in this case, how the average change in segregation over the 2000 to 2010 period varies when one of several metro area characteristics is changed, while the others are held constant. Using regression analysis we analyzed how the average value of the absolute change in segregation from 2000 to 2010 was associated with several metro area characteristics, including:

- Region
- Total child population: 2000
- Black or Latino initial share of the child population: 2000
- Black or Latino initial segregation index for the child population: 2000
- Percent change in the black or Latino child population: 2000 to 2010
- Land area of the metro area

Holding other metro area characteristics constant, decreasing black child segregation was significantly associated with location in the Midwest, South, or West, relative to the Northeast, and with high levels of black child segregation in 2000. In contrast, increasing black segregation was associated with high black shares of the total child population in 2000 and with larger metro size, in terms of land area.

Decreasing Latino child segregation was significantly associated with high levels of Latino segregation in 2000. Increasing segregation was very strongly associated with the rate of Latino child population growth over the decade, as well as with location in the Western region.

While these patterns cannot be interpreted as causal, they can help us understand factors associated with changes in segregation that have occurred over the past decade. The results reveal that the factors associated with segregation changes for black children differ to some extent from those associated with segregation changes for Latino children.

## Implications

Decades of research on residential segregation in the U.S. reveal that black and Latino children grow up not only in separate neighborhoods than their white peers, but in largely unequal neighborhoods as well.

Neighborhoods where minority children reside have much lower homeownership rates, lower income levels, higher rates of unemployment and higher poverty than those where white children live. In fact, in very few instances do the very best neighborhoods where black and Hispanic children live have opportunities and amenities close to the average level of neighborhoods where white children live. Disparities in neighborhood

opportunities remain even when comparing poor minority children with poor white children<sup>3</sup>. Most poor white children are raised in largely middle class communities, while many black and Latino children experience “double-jeopardy”, being raised in both impoverished families and concentrated-poverty neighborhoods. Residential segregation also affects health outcomes through a variety of pathways: through constraining socio-economic advancement of minorities; by increasing their exposure to neighborhood environments/conditions that can be detrimental to health, and by leading to segregation in health care settings, with associated disparities in quality of treatment<sup>4</sup>.

Further, because children tend to attend schools largely based on where they live, residential segregation often leads inexorably to school segregation, with minority children disproportionately attending high-poverty, high-minority schools, separate from the vast majority of white children. Children in high-poverty schools face enormous challenges, with classmates who are generally less prepared, have lower aspirations and graduation rates and have greater absences; parents who are less involved, with less political and financial clout; and teachers who tend to be less experienced and more commonly teach outside their fields of concentration<sup>5</sup>.

The decline in residential segregation of black and Latino children over the past decade is a step in the right direction. Further research is necessary to determine whether desegregation is actually leading to declining disparities in access to opportunity and whether this desegregation is stable or merely a transitory stage in neighborhood racial and ethnic change. At the same time, the increasing segregation of Latino children in many of the small to medium-sized metros in the South and Midwest which are experiencing some of the fastest Latino growth bears careful attention. Increasingly Latino children are the face of the future in the U.S., and it is vital that they, along with all children, have every opportunity to reach their full potential.

To investigate residential or school segregation or a multitude of other opportunity indicators for your metro area or any metro area, visit [www.diversitydata.org](http://www.diversitydata.org)

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<sup>3</sup> D. Acevedo-Garcia et. al. *Children Left Behind: How Metropolitan Areas Are Failing America's Children*. Diversitydata.org. January 2007. [http://diversitydata.sph.harvard.edu/Publications/children\\_left\\_behind\\_final\\_report.pdf](http://diversitydata.sph.harvard.edu/Publications/children_left_behind_final_report.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> D. Acevedo-Garcia et. al. “Toward a Policy-Relevant Analysis of Geographic And Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Child Health.” *Health Affairs*. Vol. 27. No. 2. March/April 2008. pp. 321-333.

<sup>5</sup> N. McArdle et. al. *Segregation and Exposure to High-Poverty Schools in Large Metropolitan Areas: 2008-09*. Diversitydata.org. September 2010. [http://diversitydata.sph.harvard.edu/Publications/school\\_seggregation\\_report.pdf](http://diversitydata.sph.harvard.edu/Publications/school_seggregation_report.pdf)

## APPENDIX

## Black and Latino Child Segregation (Dissimilarity) Relative to White Children: 2000 and 2010

### 100 Largest Metro Areas

Metro Area	Black Child Segregation				Latino Child Segregation			
	Index		Absolute	Percent	Index		Absolute	Percent
	2000	2010	Change	Change	2000	2010	Change	Change
Akron, OH	69.4	64.4	-5.0	-7.2	29.7	26.1	-3.6	-12.1
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	70.5	70.3	-0.2	-0.3	44.9	45.3	0.4	0.8
Albuquerque, NM	38.2	33.0	-5.2	-13.7	43.0	39.9	-3.1	-7.1
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	56.6	52.3	-4.3	-7.6	64.6	60.0	-4.6	-7.1
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	69.3	64.4	-4.9	-7.0	55.7	55.0	-0.7	-1.3
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	49.4	50.3	0.9	1.9	30.8	31.1	0.3	1.1
Austin-Round Rock, TX	57.8	55.8	-2.1	-3.6	52.2	50.5	-1.8	-3.4
Bakersfield, CA	52.8	55.4	2.6	5.0	56.5	56.7	0.2	0.3
Baltimore-Towson, MD	72.2	69.5	-2.7	-3.7	38.8	43.4	4.5	11.7
Baton Rouge, LA	65.1	63.2	-1.9	-2.9	32.7	35.8	3.1	9.6
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	73.5	70.2	-3.3	-4.5	47.0	48.0	0.9	2.0
Boise City-Nampa, ID	27.6	34.1	6.4	23.3	41.6	38.3	-3.3	-8.0
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	75.4	72.0	-3.4	-4.6	69.8	66.0	-3.8	-5.5
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	78.1	75.1	-3.0	-3.9	68.6	64.5	-4.1	-6.0
Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Tonawanda, NY	82.9	78.2	-4.7	-5.7	59.8	53.7	-6.0	-10.1
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	71.1	59.4	-11.7	-16.5	40.3	35.7	-4.6	-11.5
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	47.7	45.8	-1.9	-3.9	32.6	41.2	8.6	26.4
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	59.3	59.7	0.4	0.7	52.4	53.1	0.7	1.3
Chattanooga, TN-GA	72.9	68.9	-4.1	-5.6	33.5	41.8	8.3	24.7
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	84.4	79.7	-4.6	-5.5	65.7	61.4	-4.3	-6.6
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	78.4	73.4	-5.0	-6.3	30.5	38.8	8.3	27.3
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	80.9	78.4	-2.5	-3.1	61.2	55.1	-6.2	-10.1
Colorado Springs, CO	46.8	40.9	-5.9	-12.7	34.0	32.2	-1.8	-5.2
Columbia, SC	53.3	53.2	-0.1	-0.1	36.1	35.9	-0.2	-0.7
Columbus, OH	69.0	66.7	-2.3	-3.3	38.4	45.7	7.3	19.1
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	63.9	61.6	-2.2	-3.5	57.9	56.7	-1.2	-2.1
Dayton, OH	75.0	67.8	-7.1	-9.5	29.0	29.2	0.1	0.5
Denver-Aurora, CO	70.1	68.5	-1.6	-2.3	55.3	55.9	0.6	1.1
Des Moines, IA	63.1	58.5	-4.6	-7.3	50.0	51.6	1.6	3.2
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	87.9	76.2	-11.7	-13.3	48.2	46.3	-1.9	-3.9
El Paso, TX	38.1	32.0	-6.2	-16.1	46.2	43.7	-2.4	-5.3
Fresno, CA	58.3	58.6	0.3	0.5	51.5	50.9	-0.6	-1.1
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	72.2	69.7	-2.5	-3.5	53.7	54.4	0.7	1.2
Greensboro-High Point, NC	59.3	61.1	1.8	3.0	46.2	45.5	-0.7	-1.5
Greenville, SC	49.9	47.3	-2.6	-5.3	37.4	40.9	3.5	9.3
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	75.2	69.8	-5.4	-7.2	55.6	50.8	-4.8	-8.6
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	73.8	73.1	-0.7	-0.9	69.6	63.8	-5.8	-8.3
Honolulu, HI	38.2	36.4	-1.9	-4.9	42.5	42.8	0.4	0.9
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	69.0	65.2	-3.8	-5.6	59.1	57.6	-1.6	-2.7
Indianapolis, IN	76.1	71.4	-4.8	-6.3	44.7	51.3	6.6	14.9
Jackson, MS	62.3	62.0	-0.3	-0.4	35.9	44.9	9.0	25.1
Jacksonville, FL	56.5	56.6	0.0	0.1	28.7	29.7	1.0	3.3
Kansas City, MO-KS	74.5	64.8	-9.7	-13.0	48.0	48.4	0.4	0.8
Knoxville, TN	62.0	60.0	-2.0	-3.2	29.1	36.6	7.5	25.9
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	53.4	45.5	-7.9	-14.9	38.3	36.0	-2.3	-6.1
Lancaster, PA	64.6	57.3	-7.3	-11.3	66.0	57.3	-8.8	-13.3
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	47.3	44.0	-3.2	-6.8	47.2	49.1	1.9	4.0
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	67.5	65.2	-2.3	-3.4	36.4	42.8	6.5	17.8
Los Angeles--Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	73.5	73.6	0.1	0.1	66.9	67.5	0.6	0.9

Metro Area	Black Child Segregation				Latino Child Segregation			
	Index		Absolute Change	Percent Change	Index		Absolute Change	Percent Change
	2000	2010			2000	2010		
Louisville, KY-IN	67.3	62.4	-4.9	-7.3	33.9	39.5	5.7	16.7
Madison, WI	62.7	59.0	-3.7	-5.9	44.6	47.2	2.6	5.8
McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	29.1	31.8	2.7	9.1	43.6	34.9	-8.7	-19.9
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	71.3	67.2	-4.1	-5.8	47.0	54.1	7.0	15.0
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	72.7	67.9	-4.8	-6.6	49.3	48.9	-0.4	-0.9
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	88.0	86.2	-1.8	-2.0	63.2	61.4	-1.8	-2.8
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	68.1	61.4	-6.7	-9.8	49.9	48.9	-1.0	-2.0
Modesto, CA	36.1	34.8	-1.2	-3.4	34.3	35.7	1.4	4.0
Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro, TN	63.5	62.7	-0.7	-1.2	47.1	52.2	5.1	10.9
New Haven-Milford, CT	73.4	70.6	-2.8	-3.8	63.7	60.2	-3.5	-5.5
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	73.0	66.6	-6.4	-8.8	40.2	39.6	-0.6	-1.4
New York-Newark-Edison, NY-NJ-PA	84.3	82.5	-1.8	-2.2	70.9	66.7	-4.2	-6.0
Ogden-Clearfield, UT	42.6	27.4	-15.1	-35.5	42.7	40.1	-2.6	-6.1
Oklahoma City, OK	59.5	57.7	-1.9	-3.1	49.3	51.7	2.5	5.0
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	70.7	65.7	-5.0	-7.1	50.3	52.5	2.2	4.4
Orlando, FL	60.2	56.0	-4.2	-7.0	41.0	42.3	1.3	3.2
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	52.8	42.5	-10.3	-19.4	60.4	59.9	-0.5	-0.8
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	47.4	47.5	0.0	0.1	22.5	25.0	2.5	11.0
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	74.9	72.9	-2.0	-2.6	62.9	58.6	-4.3	-6.9
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	50.0	47.7	-2.3	-4.6	55.1	53.3	-1.8	-3.2
Pittsburgh, PA	74.2	72.8	-1.4	-1.9	32.1	30.7	-1.4	-4.4
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	55.5	51.6	-3.9	-6.9	36.0	38.0	2.0	5.5
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	59.0	55.2	-3.8	-6.5	41.7	42.8	1.2	2.8
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	61.8	58.7	-3.1	-5.1	67.3	62.3	-5.0	-7.4
Provo-Orem, UT	32.3	24.3	-8.0	-24.9	36.5	35.3	-1.2	-3.4
Raleigh-Cary, NC	45.8	49.3	3.5	7.7	38.1	42.5	4.5	11.7
Richmond, VA	59.2	59.1	-0.1	-0.2	43.0	48.4	5.4	12.6
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	48.2	48.9	0.7	1.4	43.9	45.2	1.3	3.1
Rochester, NY	76.1	73.3	-2.8	-3.7	60.2	53.9	-6.4	-10.6
Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville, CA	61.4	61.0	-0.4	-0.6	43.3	42.5	-0.8	-1.9
Salt Lake City, UT	39.6	41.7	2.1	5.2	43.3	46.3	3.0	7.0
San Antonio, TX	56.3	54.4	-1.9	-3.4	54.4	50.0	-4.4	-8.1
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	60.7	57.7	-3.0	-5.0	56.0	55.1	-0.8	-1.5
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	72.9	69.6	-3.3	-4.5	55.6	56.7	1.1	2.0
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	47.5	48.6	1.1	2.4	54.3	53.8	-0.5	-0.9
Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	69.9	55.1	-14.8	-21.2	51.4	45.2	-6.1	-11.9
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, PA	57.5	53.5	-4.0	-6.9	42.8	56.1	13.3	31.1
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	57.9	55.2	-2.7	-4.7	34.3	37.1	2.9	8.3
Springfield, MA	74.4	73.7	-0.7	-0.9	69.3	67.5	-1.8	-2.6
St. Louis, MO-IL	78.0	77.2	-0.9	-1.1	30.2	33.8	3.6	12.0
Stockton, CA	58.8	51.7	-7.0	-12.0	38.3	37.9	-0.4	-1.0
Syracuse, NY	78.9	75.9	-2.9	-3.7	50.8	48.1	-2.6	-5.2
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	66.7	58.4	-8.3	-12.4	43.9	39.3	-4.6	-10.5
Toledo, OH	74.7	69.9	-4.8	-6.4	35.6	34.5	-1.1	-3.0
Tucson, AZ	43.0	41.7	-1.3	-3.0	51.9	49.5	-2.4	-4.7
Tulsa, OK	63.4	62.9	-0.5	-0.8	41.2	48.5	7.3	17.7
VA Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	50.1	52.6	2.6	5.2	32.2	33.5	1.3	4.0

<b>Metro Area</b>	<b>Black Child Segregation</b>				<b>Latino Child Segregation</b>			
	<b>Index</b>		<b>Absolute Change</b>	<b>Percent Change</b>	<b>Index</b>		<b>Absolute Change</b>	<b>Percent Change</b>
	<b>2000</b>	<b>2010</b>			<b>2000</b>	<b>2010</b>		
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	67.4	67.4	0.0	0.0	53.3	53.5	0.3	0.5
Wichita, KS	65.7	63.2	-2.4	-3.7	46.5	48.5	2.0	4.3
Worcester, MA	57.0	60.7	3.7	6.5	61.1	57.7	-3.4	-5.6
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	76.2	71.0	-5.2	-6.8	48.6	45.5	-3.2	-6.5

*Note: Indices can be interpreted as the percent of minority or white children who would have to move to another neighborhood in order for each neighborhood to have the same minority and white percentage as the metro area as a whole. Racial groups include only non-Latino members of those groups. Blacks include those who specified their race as "black alone." Metros defined as of June, 2003. For complete description of metro areas and component counties, see:*

<http://www.census.gov/population/www/metroareas/lists/2003/03msa.txt>

*Source: Diversitydata.org analysis of 2000 Census Summary File 1 and 2010 Census Redistricting Files.*