

## **The New Ethnic Enclaves in America's Suburbs**

**A report by the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research  
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*For more information, including racial composition and segregation measures for individual metropolitan regions and their suburban rings, see <http://www.albany.edu/mumford/census>.*

### **Introduction**

Though America's suburbs have always had considerable diversity behind their white middle-class image, they are being radically transformed by population trends of the last three decades. Analysis of data from all 330 metro areas in the continental U.S. shows that while the total suburban population had been only 18% minority in 1990, that figure had risen to 25% in 2000. The total suburban white population scarcely changed in the decade (up 5%), while the number of black suburbanites grew rapidly (up 38%) and the number of Hispanics and Asians in suburbs exploded (up 72% and 84%, respectively).

This report summarizes the results of the Mumford Center's continuing analysis of trends in suburban racial-ethnic composition and segregation. It focuses on three questions:

1. **To what extent have minority groups become suburban?** All groups are becoming more suburban, but no minority group is as suburban as are non-Hispanic whites. Asians are the most suburban of minorities, and African Americans lag far behind.
2. **What has happened to levels of segregation of minorities with whites in suburbs over the last decade?** The answer at the national level is that the extent of segregation is little changed, remaining very high for African Americans, moderate for Hispanics and Asians. There are many differences across metro areas, however. There were substantial declines in segregation in suburban areas with small minority populations, but by definition these affected only a small share of the nation's blacks, Hispanics, or Asians.
3. **How has the impressive increase in minority suburbanization affected minority neighborhoods in the suburbs?** On the whole, black residential enclaves have been maintained at about the same level as in 1990. Hispanics and Asians, however, now live in neighborhoods with much higher co-ethnic proportions than was true a decade ago. New ethnic enclaves, more concentrated than before, are emerging in suburban America.

## **The extent of minority suburbanization**

This trend is happening across the country, but it is most consequential in the largest metro areas whose cities are surrounded by well-developed suburban rings. In the largest 102 metro regions (those with more than 500,000 population, which were studied in a report recently issued by the Brookings Institution), the minority percentage of the suburban population grew from 19% in 1990 to 27% in 2000. These suburbs are now 12% Hispanic, 9% black, and 5% Asian.

In some areas the shift has been even more substantial: Blacks are more than 20% of the suburban population in such regions as Atlanta, Washington DC, Richmond, New Orleans, Fort Lauderdale, and Miami. Suburban regions with the smallest black populations (all below 2%) include Salt Lake City, Portland, Milwaukee, and Orange County.

Hispanics are more than 25% of the suburban population in Miami (55.8%), Los Angeles (44.7%), Riverside (38.3%), and San Diego (27.0%). At the other extreme, they are less than 2% of suburban residents of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Buffalo, St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Cleveland.

The Asian population is generally smaller, but is above 10% of suburban residents of San Francisco and Oakland, Los Angeles and Orange County, and the Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon suburban area of northern New Jersey. However, they are below 1.5% in Pittsburgh, Charlotte, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and Greenville.

In the smaller metro areas (less than 500,000 population), minorities are generally not as well represented in suburbia – though the trend is in the same direction, still only 16% of the suburban population in these areas is minority.

Another way to think about suburbanization is to ask what percentage of members of each group live in the suburbs. Whites continue to be the most suburban of major racial and ethnic groups; nationally nearly 71% of whites now live in suburbs.

But minorities are starting to catch up: More than half of Asians (58%) lived in suburbs in 2000, up from 53% in 1990, and nearly half of Hispanics (49%, up from 46%). Lagging behind are African Americans (39%), though their current situation also represents a marked increase from 1990 (34%).

**Table 1. Suburban regions ranked by % black in 2000  
(50 largest suburban regions by total population)**

<b><u>Rank</u></b>		<b><u>1990</u></b>	<b><u>2000</u></b>
1	Atlanta, GA MSA	18.8	25.6
2	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	18.8	22.9
3	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	17.9	21.3
4	New Orleans, LA MSA	17.7	21.0
5	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	13.3	20.6
6	Miami, FL PMSA	18.8	20.4
7	Newark, NJ PMSA	15.7	17.8
8	Baltimore, MD PMSA	10.4	14.9
9	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	13.6	14.6
10	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	10.9	13.7
11	New York, NY PMSA	11.1	12.6
12	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	9.5	12.5
13	Orlando, FL MSA	9.4	12.4
14	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	10.6	10.9
15	Houston, TX PMSA	8.9	10.7
16	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	8.0	9.7
17	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	7.8	9.7
18	Dallas, TX PMSA	7.3	9.7
19	Chicago, IL PMSA	6.4	8.8
20	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	7.1	8.7
21	Oakland, CA PMSA	7.4	8.4
22	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	8.4	8.2
23	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	7.5	8.1
24	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	6.4	8.0
25	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	6.1	7.9
26	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	6.8	7.5
27	Detroit, MI PMSA	4.3	6.6
28	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	6.2	6.3
29	Hartford, CT MSA	3.8	6.1
30	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	4.0	5.8
31	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	4.5	5.7
32	Sacramento, CA PMSA	4.2	5.7
33	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	4.1	5.3
34	San Diego, CA MSA	3.8	4.6
35	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	3.5	4.5
36	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	1.9	3.9
37	Denver, CO PMSA	2.9	3.9
38	San Francisco, CA PMSA	4.7	3.7
39	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	2.2	3.7
40	Rochester, NY MSA	2.5	3.5
41	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	2.6	3.4
42	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	2.2	3.1
43	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	1.1	2.9
44	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	1.7	2.8
45	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	1.4	2.4
46	Indianapolis, IN MSA	13.0	2.2
47	Orange County, CA PMSA	1.4	1.7
48	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	0.7	1.6
49	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	0.6	1.3
50	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	0.5	1.0

**Table 2. Suburban regions ranked by % Hispanic in 2000  
(50 largest suburban regions by total population)**

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
1	Miami, FL PMSA	46.0	55.8
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	37.8	44.7
3	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	26.2	38.3
4	San Diego, CA MSA	19.8	27.0
5	Houston, TX PMSA	14.7	22.8
6	Orange County, CA PMSA	16.0	22.3
7	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	18.5	21.0
8	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	9.3	19.3
9	San Francisco, CA PMSA	14.8	19.1
10	Oakland, CA PMSA	13.2	18.6
11	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	8.6	17.5
12	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	11.3	17.3
13	Orlando, FL MSA	8.0	16.4
14	Dallas, TX PMSA	8.9	15.3
15	Denver, CO PMSA	8.8	14.2
16	New York, NY PMSA	8.3	13.3
17	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	7.1	12.3
18	Sacramento, CA PMSA	8.4	12.0
19	Chicago, IL PMSA	5.5	11.3
20	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	6.9	11.2
21	Newark, NJ PMSA	7.0	10.8
22	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	6.1	10.7
23	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	6.0	10.3
24	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	6.0	9.8
25	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	4.4	8.5
26	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	4.9	8.5
27	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	3.4	7.8
28	Atlanta, GA MSA	1.8	6.8
29	Hartford, CT MSA	3.1	6.1
30	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	3.7	5.8
31	New Orleans, LA MSA	4.7	5.2
32	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	2.4	5.1
33	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	1.9	4.0
34	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	2.2	3.5
35	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	0.6	3.4
36	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	1.7	2.9
37	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	1.7	2.8
38	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	0.6	2.8
39	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	1.1	2.3
40	Rochester, NY MSA	1.3	2.2
41	Detroit, MI PMSA	1.4	2.1
42	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	1.0	2.1
43	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	0.9	2.1
44	Baltimore, MD PMSA	1.3	2.0
45	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	0.9	1.5
46	Indianapolis, IN MSA	0.9	1.5
47	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	1.0	1.4
48	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	0.9	1.3
49	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	0.5	1.0
50	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	0.4	0.6

**Table 3. Suburban regions ranked by % Asian in 2000  
(50 largest suburban regions by total population)**

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
1	Oakland, CA PMSA	12.1	18.9
2	San Francisco, CA PMSA	13.5	18.6
3	Orange County, CA PMSA	10.1	14.9
4	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	11.5	14.6
5	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	5.6	11.8
6	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	4.8	9.5
7	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	5.1	8.7
8	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	5.3	8.0
9	Sacramento, CA PMSA	4.9	7.9
10	San Diego, CA MSA	5.0	6.8
11	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	2.9	6.0
12	Houston, TX PMSA	3.7	5.8
13	Chicago, IL PMSA	3.3	5.3
14	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	3.8	5.0
15	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	2.6	5.0
16	New York, NY PMSA	3.6	4.9
17	Dallas, TX PMSA	2.5	4.9
18	Newark, NJ PMSA	3.0	4.8
19	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	2.2	4.4
20	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	2.3	3.9
21	Atlanta, GA MSA	1.8	3.8
22	Denver, CO PMSA	2.2	3.7
23	Baltimore, MD PMSA	2.1	3.5
24	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	1.9	3.4
25	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	1.8	3.2
26	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	1.6	3.2
27	Orlando, FL MSA	1.7	3.2
28	Detroit, MI PMSA	1.5	3.1
29	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	1.9	3.1
30	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	1.7	2.9
31	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	1.4	2.8
32	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	1.6	2.6
33	Hartford, CT MSA	1.4	2.6
34	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	1.3	2.5
35	New Orleans, LA MSA	1.6	2.4
36	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	0.9	2.1
37	Rochester, NY MSA	1.2	2.0
38	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	0.9	1.8
39	Miami, FL PMSA	1.4	1.8
40	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	1.0	1.8
41	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	0.8	1.8
42	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	0.8	1.7
43	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	1.1	1.7
44	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	1.0	1.7
45	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	1.0	1.5
46	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	0.6	1.3
47	Indianapolis, IN MSA	0.8	1.3
48	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	0.6	1.3
49	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	0.5	1.2
50	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	0.5	1.0

## **Residential segregation in the suburbs, 1990-2000**

As suburbs become more racially and ethnically diverse, are minorities becoming more likely to live in the same neighborhoods as whites? The answer is that there has been virtually no change in suburban segregation in the last decade. As new minority residents have entered suburbia, they have been separated from whites to the same degree as was found ten years before. Analysis of change in segregation is based on the most commonly used measure, the Index of Dissimilarity, as summarized in Tables 4-6.

As is true in the metropolis as a whole, the group most segregated from whites in the suburbs is African Americans. Judging by the Index of Dissimilarity, there was a slight drop in black-white segregation in the suburbs in the last decade: from 59.9 to 56.6. This small overall change masks substantial differences across regions. In those suburban areas where blacks are now less than 3% of residents, segregation declined dramatically – from 60.7 to 43.4. Where blacks are between 3% and 10% of residents, there was also a decline, though less marked – from 64.1 to 59.3. But where blacks are more than 10% of the suburban population, there was virtually no change in the decade – from 56.9 to 56.1. The majority of suburban blacks live in this latter category, while only one in twenty live in the first category.

Seven of the largest 50 suburban regions have black-white segregation scores above 70, although in most of these the level of segregation dropped slightly (by one to five points) in the last decade. These are the suburban portion of Newark (77.1), Cleveland (74.9), Nassau-Suffolk (74.4), Chicago (73.4), Bergen-Passaic NJ (73.2), Miami (72.4), and St. Louis (71.7). Portland suburbs have the lowest level of black-white segregation (31.4).

Hispanics overall have become slightly more segregated from whites, but only by a single point (45.7 to 46.6). Again the more interesting pattern is the difference between areas where Hispanics remain a small minority and those where they are present in larger numbers. In the former (less than 3% Hispanic), segregation was lower to begin with and declined substantially – from 39.7 to 31.0. In the latter (more than 10% Hispanic), segregation was higher to begin with and rose from 46.8 to 48.4. Unfortunately, about three quarters of Hispanics lived in the latter set of metro areas, and only one in twenty in the former. Segregation of Hispanics is highest in Los Angeles (62.0), Newark (59.7), Bergen-Passaic NJ (57.8), San Francisco (54.3), and Chicago (54.0). It is below 25.0 in Pittsburgh and Detroit suburbs.

Finally, Asian segregation from whites dipped by less than one point in the decade (41.3 to 40.5). This stability was fairly uniform across regions, about the same in suburban areas with few Asians as in those with many. But the absolute levels of segregation vary considerably, from the three most highly segregated (Houston, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, all above 50.0) to several below 30.0.

**Table 4. Segregation of blacks from whites in suburban regions  
(50 largest suburban regions by total population)**

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
1	Newark, NJ PMSA	79.3	77.1
2	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	79.7	74.9
3	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	78.0	74.4
4	Chicago, IL PMSA	77.0	73.4
5	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	77.6	73.2
6	Miami, FL PMSA	71.2	72.4
7	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	72.4	71.7
8	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	73.6	68.4
9	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	71.8	67.7
10	New York, NY PMSA	68.2	66.6
11	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	77.0	65.9
12	Detroit, MI PMSA	77.7	65.4
13	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	68.0	64.1
14	Atlanta, GA MSA	61.4	61.8
15	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	63.3	61.4
16	Indianapolis, IN MSA	76.1	60.7
17	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	68.6	59.8
18	San Francisco, CA PMSA	66.0	58.4
19	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	69.2	58.3
20	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	60.9	58.1
21	Denver, CO PMSA	60.4	57.9
22	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	56.7	57.8
23	New Orleans, LA MSA	59.0	57.5
24	Hartford, CT MSA	58.2	57.4
25	Oakland, CA PMSA	58.6	56.8
26	Baltimore, MD PMSA	55.3	56.6
27	Houston, TX PMSA	55.2	56.5
28	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	62.1	54.9
29	Sacramento, CA PMSA	54.8	53.8
30	Orlando, FL MSA	56.9	53.7
31	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	59.1	53.2
32	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	60.4	52.3
33	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	56.2	52.0
34	San Diego, CA MSA	50.3	47.4
35	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	49.4	46.5
36	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	66.7	46.4
37	Dallas, TX PMSA	44.1	46.3
38	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	45.6	46.2
39	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	53.8	46.2
40	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	45.7	45.8
41	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	47.3	45.3
42	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	48.1	44.6
43	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	47.1	42.5
44	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	47.4	40.9
45	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	42.1	40.4
46	Rochester, NY MSA	42.9	38.7
47	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	45.2	38.0
48	Orange County, CA PMSA	41.9	34.5
49	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	53.3	32.3
50	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	47.2	31.4

**Table 5. Segregation of Hispanics from whites in suburban regions  
(50 largest suburban regions by total population)**

<b><u>Rank</u></b>		<b><u>1990</u></b>	<b><u>2000</u></b>
1	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	59.2	62.0
2	Newark, NJ PMSA	59.7	59.7
3	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	59.0	57.8
4	San Francisco, CA PMSA	49.6	54.3
5	Chicago, IL PMSA	48.7	54.0
6	New York, NY PMSA	50.1	52.4
7	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	50.8	52.2
8	Hartford, CT MSA	49.7	52.2
9	Atlanta, GA MSA	39.1	52.1
10	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	45.5	48.6
11	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	41.9	47.3
12	Houston, TX PMSA	41.4	47.2
13	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	43.3	47.2
14	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	49.9	46.9
15	Orange County, CA PMSA	39.2	46.7
16	San Diego, CA MSA	38.6	44.7
17	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	45.0	44.0
18	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	48.2	43.7
19	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	36.3	43.3
20	Miami, FL PMSA	50.0	43.2
21	Oakland, CA PMSA	34.7	43.0
22	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	42.4	42.9
23	Dallas, TX PMSA	37.3	42.8
24	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	43.7	41.8
25	Denver, CO PMSA	33.7	41.8
26	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	40.1	40.8
27	Orlando, FL MSA	32.3	40.6
28	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	43.0	39.9
29	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	27.3	39.8
30	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	37.3	39.4
31	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	36.0	38.6
32	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	39.0	37.0
33	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	28.7	36.7
34	New Orleans, LA MSA	32.8	35.9
35	Baltimore, MD PMSA	37.4	33.5
36	Sacramento, CA PMSA	28.6	33.4
37	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	26.6	32.2
38	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	39.2	31.8
39	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	26.8	30.9
40	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	33.4	30.7
41	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	26.5	30.4
42	Rochester, NY MSA	36.9	29.5
43	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	41.3	29.2
44	Indianapolis, IN MSA	38.1	27.5
45	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	43.6	27.2
46	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	35.5	27.0
47	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	38.7	26.1
48	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	29.3	26.0
49	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	43.5	24.9
50	Detroit, MI PMSA	32.9	24.5

**Table 6. Segregation of Asians from whites in suburban regions  
(50 largest suburban regions by total population)**

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
1	Houston, TX PMSA	50.8	50.4
2	San Francisco, CA PMSA	49.6	50.4
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	45.1	50.1
4	Dallas, TX PMSA	46.9	46.3
5	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	54.7	46.2
6	Detroit, MI PMSA	47.3	45.5
7	Atlanta, GA MSA	45.9	45.1
8	New Orleans, LA MSA	49.1	44.2
9	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	60.0	43.8
10	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	47.2	43.8
11	Chicago, IL PMSA	43.3	43.5
12	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	58.4	43.3
13	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	37.0	42.9
14	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	39.8	42.5
15	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	46.0	42.2
16	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	50.5	41.9
17	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	41.2	41.8
18	Oakland, CA PMSA	37.6	41.4
19	Sacramento, CA PMSA	39.4	41.3
20	Orange County, CA PMSA	35.0	41.1
21	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	53.2	40.9
22	Indianapolis, IN MSA	48.4	40.7
23	Rochester, NY MSA	44.0	40.1
24	Baltimore, MD PMSA	42.3	40.0
25	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	38.0	39.8
26	San Diego, CA MSA	39.3	38.8
27	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	36.3	38.7
28	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	65.2	37.6
29	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	41.9	37.2
30	Orlando, FL MSA	38.5	36.2
31	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	35.6	36.1
32	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	34.9	35.9
33	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	44.1	35.8
34	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	35.7	35.6
35	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	45.0	34.9
36	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	31.1	34.8
37	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	42.6	34.7
38	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	38.8	34.6
39	Newark, NJ PMSA	32.2	34.3
40	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	43.7	34.2
41	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	37.0	33.8
42	Hartford, CT MSA	39.3	32.9
43	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	45.9	32.8
44	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	31.3	32.2
45	New York, NY PMSA	33.7	31.4
46	Miami, FL PMSA	33.6	31.1
47	Denver, CO PMSA	32.7	29.7
48	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	44.3	29.7
49	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	29.3	27.4
50	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	31.0	27.2

## Racial and ethnic enclaves in the suburbs

The persistence of residential segregation for minority groups means that newly suburban group members tended to move into the same array of neighborhoods where co-ethnics were already living in 1990. Given the rapid growth of each group, this implies that suburban racial and ethnic enclaves may have emerged or grown substantially in many metro areas, especially in those areas where the group is well represented.

This is exactly what happened to Hispanics and Asians:

- **In metro areas where Hispanics are more than 10% of the suburban population, the average Hispanic lived in a neighborhood that was 44% Hispanic in 1990, rising now to 49% Hispanic in 2000.**
- **In metro areas where Asians are more than 4% of the suburban population, the average Asian now lives in a neighborhood that is 16% Asian, up from 12% in 1990.**

For African Americans there was no net change in metro areas where more than 10% of the suburban population is black. Already in 1990, the average black person in these suburbs lived in a neighborhood that was nearly half black (46%), and the same is true today.

Table 3 presents these figures for 1990 and 2000. The index presented here is the Isolation Index, which measures the proportion of co-ethnics in the neighborhood of the average group member.

Among the 50 largest suburban regions in the nation, there are eight where the average African American actually lives in a majority black suburban neighborhood. These are Newark and Miami (60%), Atlanta and Cleveland (56%), St. Louis (55%), Chicago and Washington, DC (51%), and Ft. Lauderdale (50%). In none of these cases was there appreciable change in the last decade; black suburban enclaves are not a new phenomenon but a continuing one that shows no signs of diminishing in areas where African Americans have more than a token presence.

Where suburban black enclaves are least developed, their absence is mainly due to the small size of the suburban black population. The average black lives in a neighborhood that is less than 3% black in Salt Lake City, Portland, and Orange County, and only 5.3% black in Phoenix. But these are also the four suburban regions in which the black population remains under 4% of the total.

Among the same large suburban regions, there are nine where the average Hispanic now lives in a neighborhood that is more than 35% Hispanic, headed by Miami (70%). In almost every case this represents a marked increase from 1990. Particularly large increases, reflecting the growth of Hispanic residential enclaves, occurred in Riverside, CA (from 38% to 51%), San Diego (30% to 40%), Houston (27% to 39%), Orange County (27% to 37%), and San Francisco (28% to 37%). At the other extreme, there are nine suburban regions – all located in the Northeast and

Midwest, areas with very slight Hispanic suburban growth – where typical Hispanics live in neighborhoods that are only 4% Hispanic or less.

Enclaves of Asians are not as intense, on the whole, because the suburban Asian population is most often smaller and less segregated than that of other minorities. Several regions stand out as cases where the average Asian now lives in a neighborhood that is more than 20% Asian. Here, too, there was considerable change in the last decade: San Francisco (up from 28% to 34%) and neighboring Oakland (from 20% to 30%), Los Angeles (25% to 34%) and adjacent Orange County (17% to 26%), and finally Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ (up from 12% to 23%).

Still, Asians in some suburban regions live in neighborhoods with very few Asian neighbors – one average, under 3% in Charlotte, West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, Milwaukee, and Indianapolis. Such cases are a reminder that the ethnic diversity of the nation, and even of the nation's suburbs, is unevenly distributed around the country.

**Table 7. Black residential enclaves in the suburbs: the % black in the neighborhood of the average black suburbanite. (Largest 50 suburban regions)**

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
1	Newark, NJ PMSA	62.8	61.2
2	Miami, FL PMSA	60.2	60.1
3	Atlanta, GA MSA	52.1	56.2
4	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	59.6	56.1
5	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	53.6	55.3
6	Chicago, IL PMSA	50.0	51.2
7	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	48.1	50.8
8	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	52.4	50.1
9	New Orleans, LA MSA	49.3	49.5
10	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	59.1	48.0
11	Detroit, MI PMSA	50.5	42.8
12	New York, NY PMSA	44.7	41.9
13	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	47.0	40.9
14	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	39.9	40.7
15	Baltimore, MD PMSA	32.2	40.6
16	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	39.6	37.0
17	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	42.2	35.8
18	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	41.1	35.7
19	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	34.2	34.8
20	Orlando, FL MSA	35.1	33.8
21	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	37.2	32.9
22	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	30.0	31.8
23	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	44.8	31.8
24	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	28.4	28.3
25	Houston, TX PMSA	29.4	28.0
26	Hartford, CT MSA	21.7	24.6
27	Dallas, TX PMSA	21.2	24.0
28	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	27.4	23.5
29	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	27.0	23.0
30	Oakland, CA PMSA	29.7	22.2
31	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	26.1	21.6
32	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	21.1	18.9
33	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	30.5	17.6
34	Indianapolis, IN MSA	60.9	15.6
35	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	12.6	14.1
36	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	8.6	14.0
37	San Francisco, CA PMSA	24.2	13.9
38	Sacramento, CA PMSA	12.1	12.8
39	Denver, CO PMSA	12.0	12.6
40	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	14.2	12.2
41	San Diego, CA MSA	9.4	9.2
42	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	5.9	9.1
43	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	4.1	8.9
44	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	5.7	8.3
45	Rochester, NY MSA	7.8	7.0
46	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	6.1	6.1
47	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	5.2	5.3
48	Orange County, CA PMSA	3.9	2.6
49	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	1.8	2.2
50	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	2.0	1.8

**Table 8. Hispanic residential enclaves in the suburbs: the % Hispanic in the neighborhood of the average Hispanic suburbanite. (Largest 50 suburban regions)**

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
1	Miami, FL PMSA	64.6	69.5
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	59.2	64.9
3	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	38.2	50.6
4	San Diego, CA MSA	30.4	40.4
5	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	34.0	38.9
6	Houston, TX PMSA	27.3	38.7
7	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	38.4	38.4
8	Orange County, CA PMSA	26.9	37.5
9	San Francisco, CA PMSA	27.7	37.3
10	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	27.2	34.3
11	Chicago, IL PMSA	18.9	33.4
12	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	13.9	31.2
13	New York, NY PMSA	21.8	29.5
14	Newark, NJ PMSA	23.4	29.5
15	Oakland, CA PMSA	19.9	29.1
16	Dallas, TX PMSA	17.5	28.8
17	Orlando, FL MSA	13.5	27.1
18	Denver, CO PMSA	15.8	26.3
19	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	11.7	23.4
20	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	15.2	22.9
21	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	14.3	21.8
22	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	16.2	21.7
23	Atlanta, GA MSA	4.9	19.7
24	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	12.4	19.3
25	Hartford, CT MSA	13.4	18.6
26	Sacramento, CA PMSA	13.4	17.9
27	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	11.9	17.8
28	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	7.7	16.7
29	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	8.7	16.0
30	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	6.6	14.4
31	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	7.9	12.7
32	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	1.8	10.4
33	New Orleans, LA MSA	8.5	9.4
34	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	6.0	9.3
35	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	3.5	7.7
36	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	5.2	7.6
37	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	1.6	7.3
38	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	2.8	5.1
39	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	3.2	4.4
40	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	2.8	4.2
41	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	1.6	4.1
42	Rochester, NY MSA	3.9	3.9
43	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	2.2	3.5
44	Indianapolis, IN MSA	1.8	3.5
45	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	3.0	3.3
46	Detroit, MI PMSA	2.6	3.3
47	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	2.0	3.2
48	Baltimore, MD PMSA	2.5	3.2
49	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	1.1	1.7
50	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	1.0	0.9

**Table 9. Asian residential enclaves in the suburbs: the % Asian in the neighborhood of the average Asian suburbanite. (Largest 50 suburban regions)**

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
1	San Francisco, CA PMSA	28.2	33.9
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	25.2	33.7
3	Oakland, CA PMSA	19.9	29.6
4	Orange County, CA PMSA	16.8	26.0
5	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	12.0	23.3
6	Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	10.0	16.4
7	Houston, TX PMSA	9.9	15.0
8	Sacramento, CA PMSA	9.6	14.3
9	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	9.7	14.3
10	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	7.8	13.8
11	Chicago, IL PMSA	7.9	12.6
12	San Diego, CA MSA	9.5	12.2
13	Dallas, TX PMSA	6.1	11.1
14	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	7.3	10.6
15	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	4.4	9.6
16	Boston, MA-NH PMSA	4.9	9.5
17	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	5.1	9.5
18	Newark, NJ PMSA	5.6	9.2
19	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	7.5	8.5
20	Atlanta, GA MSA	4.8	8.3
21	Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	5.3	8.2
22	Detroit, MI PMSA	4.0	7.9
23	New York, NY PMSA	6.7	7.7
24	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	4.7	7.6
25	Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	5.1	7.5
26	Baltimore, MD PMSA	4.3	6.9
27	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	3.5	5.5
28	Denver, CO PMSA	3.9	5.3
29	Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	3.2	5.2
30	Orlando, FL MSA	3.3	5.2
31	Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	4.0	5.2
32	Rochester, NY MSA	3.0	5.1
33	New Orleans, LA MSA	4.5	5.0
34	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	3.7	4.7
35	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	2.8	4.5
36	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	3.1	4.4
37	Hartford, CT MSA	2.6	4.2
38	Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	1.8	4.2
39	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	3.0	3.9
40	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	2.1	3.7
41	Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	2.1	3.5
42	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	2.1	3.5
43	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	2.1	3.4
44	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH PMSA	2.6	3.2
45	Miami, FL PMSA	2.9	3.2
46	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	2.2	3.0
47	Indianapolis, IN MSA	2.3	2.8
48	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI PMSA	2.0	2.8
49	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	2.3	2.7
50	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	2.4	2.5

## **Implications of the findings**

This report reveals a great variation among suburban regions in the United States. On average these areas have undergone tremendous growth in their minority populations in the last decade, in many respects mirroring the experience of central cities. But the trend is uneven.

Where blacks, Hispanics, or Asians are present in the smallest proportions, they are also least residentially segregated and least likely to develop residential enclaves in suburbia. In such cases, segregation of Asians was typically very low, and segregation of blacks and Hispanics tended to decline between 1990 and 2000, suggesting that minorities are being successfully incorporated into these communities.

Where most minority group members live, and where consequently they are a more substantial share of the suburban population, a different set of dynamics seems to come into play. Segregation is higher, more unyielding over time, and minority population growth is more likely to be associated with the creation or intensification of ethnic enclaves.

These latter trends have many implications. In the political realm, the creation of larger and residentially concentrated minority communities may presage shifts in the traditionally conservative approach to public policy supported by suburban politicians. Indeed, the old divide between urban and suburban public officials may diminish. But at the same time, the cleavages between white and minority neighborhoods are often found within municipal boundaries, or school district lines, or state or congressional political districts. The introduction of new voices within the same electoral districts will be reinforced by segregation between neighborhoods.

Other research has shown that minority suburbs tend to be poorer, less safe, and less capable of supporting quality public services. We need to ask whether minority suburbanization is accentuating divisions between successful and unsuccessful communities at the fringe of the metropolis, similar to the familiar disparities associated in much of the country with the city-suburb boundary. Residential segregation is likely to be reproduced in school segregation, and we should ask what is the quality of the educational experience in minority suburban schools. These demographic trends therefore raise political questions in two ways: whose voice will be heard, and what new issues will have to be addressed in the public arena.