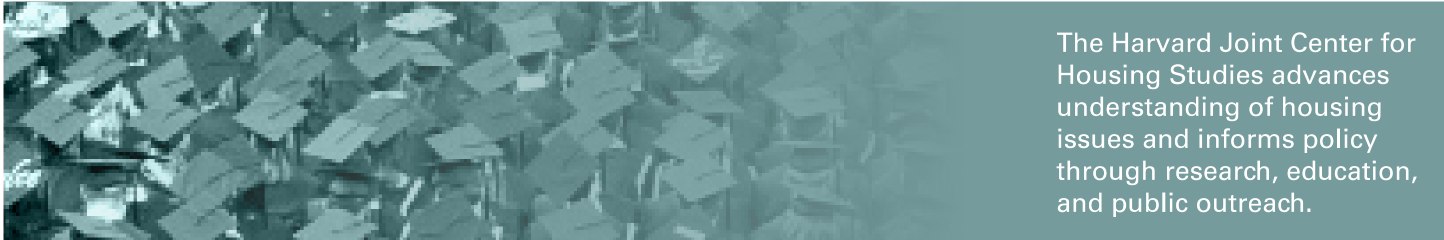

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Patterns and Trends of Residential Integration in the United States Since 2000

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Introduction

Residential segregation by race and ethnicity is a longstanding challenge in the United States, with the racial and economic geography of communities throughout the nation remaining deeply shaped by the legacies of segregation and exclusion. While the extent and nature of discrimination have changed in recent decades, the imprint of these divisions remain visible in many cities, creating the foundation that continues to define and influence choices about where people of different races and ethnicities live.

In recent years, the evolving demography, income distribution, and geography of American communities have also changed the extent and nature of integration in many cities throughout the United States. The bursting of the housing bubble and the Great Recession exacerbated distress in poor communities—and in particular, poor communities of color. At the same time, the growth of high-wage jobs in central cities, along with increased demand for urban living, spurred rapid increases in housing costs in longstanding low-income communities of color in urban cores. Low-income households have concurrently become increasingly located in suburban neighborhoods, and high-income households have increasingly self-segregated into wealthy enclaves located in both urban and suburban locales.

While a substantial research literature documents the extent and patterns of residential segregation by race and ethnicity, less evidence exists to describe patterns of residential integration. This research brief therefore presents updated estimates that describe the incidence and attributes of integrated neighborhoods using the 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-year estimates—the most recent data available at the census tract level.

The analyses in the sections that follow describe changes in the number, composition, stability, and other characteristics of integrated tracts between the 2000 Census and the 2011-15 estimates. Specifically, the analyses present updated estimates to inform four research questions:

- What share of the U.S. population lives in integrated neighborhoods? Has it increased since the beginning of the 21st century?

"The bursting of the housing bubble and the Great Recession exacerbated distress in poor communities—and in particular, poor communities of color."

- What is the racial/ethnic composition of integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods? Has it shifted over time?
- Have integrated neighborhoods remained stably integrated over time?
- Are the characteristics of newly integrated neighborhoods similar to those of stably-integrated areas? To non-integrated areas?
- Where are neighborhoods that have become integrated or non-integrated since 2000 located geographically?

Definitions of Integrated Neighborhoods and Data

No single definition exists for measuring the extent of integration. Instead, alternative measures differ both in how they conceptualize integration and in their statistical properties and ease of interpretation. This research brief provides updated estimates of integration for two of the most widely-used measures, which are straightforward to compute and interpret. However, we acknowledge that these are not the only definitions of integration and that other measures may add further insight about recent trends in integration in the United States.

The first approach defines integrated neighborhoods as those where no racial or ethnic group accounts for 50 percent or more of the population (see Lee, Iceland, and Farrell 2014). This approach to identifying 'no majority' neighborhoods focuses on identifying neighborhoods with substantial levels of residential integration. In fact, because no single group can account for more than 49 percent of the neighborhood population, such neighborhoods must include individuals of at least three racial or ethnic groups.

While this approach is attractive conceptually, applying the no majority definition of integration to United States neighborhoods involves two potential limitations. First, because non-Hispanic whites currently account for 62 percent of the population, it is not possible at present for all tracts to be integrated under the no majority definition. Moreover, the maximum possible number of no majority neighborhoods would appear in a scenario where one set of census tracts is 49 percent white and a second set is 100 percent white. While this maximum is unlikely to appear in practice, it illustrates the possibility that an increase in the number of no majority tracts can be due to consolidation of the white population rather than increased mixing of whites with communities of color. A second limitation of this definition is that it excludes some neighborhoods with relatively high levels of integration relative to the median neighborhood in the United States—for example, a census tract that is 49 percent black and 51 percent white, or vice versa, would be classified as non-integrated under this definition.

The second approach takes a broader definition of integration, identifying neighborhoods as integrated if any community of color accounts for at least 20 percent of the tract population AND the tract is at least 20 percent white (see Ellen et al. 2012). This approach uses the 20 percent threshold to identify neighborhoods in which both whites and at least one community of color are present in significant numbers. While this definition might be expanded to include neighborhoods in which any two groups account for at least 20 percent of the tract population, Ellen and her coauthors' preferred definition requires "the presence of White residents because White remains the dominant race in our society, and historically it is White individuals who have excluded or have avoided living near members of minority groups."

In practice, this approach to defining integration—referred to hereafter as 'shared neighborhoods'—faces similar limitations to the no majority definition. First, it is technically possible under this definition for the number of shared neighborhoods to increase in response to consolidation of the white population. For example, a white household's decision to move out of a neighborhood might nudge that neighborhood into integration by bringing the white population share below 80 percent. However, if this same household chooses to then move into a neighborhood that is already

non-integrated due to being over 80 percent white, the overall effect of the household's would be to increase the number of shared neighborhoods while also increasing the consolidation of the white population. While this latter issue can be addressed by using more sophisticated indices that reflect attributes of the statistical distribution of households across neighborhoods, we address it in this research brief by presenting both the number of integrated tracts and the share of the population living in such tracts. Second, the choice of 20 percent as a population threshold is somewhat arbitrary and excludes tracts in which multiple communities of color each account for 19 percent of the tract population.

The analyses in this research brief apply these definitions to tract-level data from the 2000 Census, 2006-2010 American Community Survey 5-year estimates, and 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. Census tracts are standardized to 2010 boundaries using the Longitudinal Tract Database produced by the American Communities Project at Brown University (Logan, Xu, and Stults 2014). The analysis sample also drops all Census tracts with population below 100 people in any of the three datasets, producing a sample of 71,806 census tracts.

Race and ethnicity are defined at the individual level using definitions applied by the Census and American Community Survey. All persons of Hispanic ethnicity are included in the Hispanic measure. The white, black, Asian, and other race/ethnicity measures include only individuals who are non-Hispanic. The Asian measure is limited to Asian alone under the Census categorization and excludes Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. We create a combined Other category that includes individuals identifying themselves to be Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, Alaska Native, some other race, or two or more races. The resulting set of race/ethnicity measures are mutually exclusive and exhaustive.

What Share of the US Population Lives in Integrated Neighborhoods? Has it Increased?

Exhibit 1 displays the number of census tracts that meet the definitions for no majority neighborhoods and shared neighborhoods—as well as the estimated share of the United States population that lives in each type of neighborhood—according to the 2000 Census, 2006-2010 ACS, and 2011-15 ACS. Panel 1 shows that the number of no majority neighborhoods increased from 5,423 census tracts in 2000 to 8,378 tracts in 2011-15 and that the share of the U.S. population residing in such tracts increased from 8.0 percent in 2000 to 12.6 percent in 2011-15.

Panel 1 also shows that the increase of 2,955 no majority neighborhoods from 2000 to 2011-15 was accompanied by an increase of 1,835 majority-Hispanic neighborhoods, 225 majority-Asian neighborhoods, 95 majority-black neighborhoods, and 10 majority-other neighborhoods. These increases were offset by a decrease of 5,120 majority-white neighborhoods, with the share of the U.S. population living in majority-white neighborhoods declining from 76.3 percent in 2000 to 69.2 percent in 2011-2015. These changes likely reflect the increasing diversity of the U.S. population during this period. As non-Hispanic whites account for a smaller share of the overall population, an increase in the number of no majority neighborhoods might be expected. Nonetheless, increases in the diversity of the U.S. population do not guarantee increases in integration, and these figures highlight both that the number of integrated neighborhoods has increased since 2000 and that the vast majority of U.S. neighborhoods—more than 87 percent—do not meet this definition of integration. **(Exhibit 1)**

Panel 2 describes the distribution of U.S.

census tracts using the shared neighborhood definition of integration. The number of shared neighborhoods increased from 16,862 tracts in 2000 to 21,104 tracts in 2011-15, and the share of the U.S. population that resides in such tracts increased from 23.9 percent in 2000 to 30.3 percent in 2011-15. These figures are higher than the estimates for no majority tracts, reflecting the broader definition of integration used to define shared neighborhoods. The supplemental categories in Panel 2 further show that much of this growth is due to increases in the number of white-Hispanic, white-Asian, and white-multiethnic shared tracts, with no growth in the number of white-black shared census tracts between 2000 and 2011-15.

Taken together, these measures corroborate the conclusion that integrated neighborhoods are becoming more common in the United States. However, these figures also show that integration remains the exception rather than the rule. According to the most recent data available at the census tract level, fewer than one in three people in the United States live in neighborhoods in which whites and at least one group of people of color each account for at least 20 percent of the neighborhood population, and only 12.6 percent of people live in neighborhoods with a plurality of races and ethnicities. At the other end of the spectrum, more than one in five people in the United States—as well as 30.9 percent of non-Hispanic whites—live in neighborhoods that are more than 90 percent white, and another 17.7 percent of all Americans—and 24.2 percent of whites—live in neighborhoods that are 81-90 percent white. The racial/ethnic compositions of integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods described in the next section further highlight the extent of residential segregation by race and ethnicity that continues to exist in communities throughout the United States.

What is the Racial and Ethnic Composition of Integrated and Non-Integrated Neighborhoods?

While the number of integrated neighborhoods has increased since 2000, most Americans continue to live in non-integrated areas. Exhibit 2 describes the percent of the overall population, as well as the percent of each racial and ethnic group, that live in integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods using the definitions introduced in the previous section. These figures highlight the extent to which different racial/ethnic groups are not equally likely to live in integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods. Panel 1 shows that just 7.2 percent of non-Hispanic whites currently live in no majority census tracts, compared to 20.3 percent of blacks, 20.3 percent of Hispanics, 30.9 percent of Asians, and 19.5 percent of people of other races and ethnicities. **(Exhibit 2)**

This variation is similarly evident using the definition of shared neighborhoods. Only 22.9 percent of whites live in shared neighborhoods in which both whites and at least one other racial or ethnic group each account for at least 20 percent of the census tract population. By comparison, shared neighborhoods include 43.0 percent of blacks, 42.8 percent of Hispanics, 44.8 percent of Asians, and 36.5 percent of people of other races or ethnicities. These figures are consistent with studies that find that whites self-reported preferences for their neighborhood's racial/ethnic composition make them, on average, less likely than blacks or Hispanics to live in integrated neighborhoods (Krysan 2017; Emerson et.al. 2001; Ellen 2000).

To further shed light on the racial/ethnic composition of integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods, Panel 1 and Panel 1 further separate census tracts into additional tract types. For example, Panel

2 shows that 55.1 percent of whites live in neighborhoods that are more than 80 percent white, with just 22.0 percent living in other types of non-integrated tracts. In contrast, the majority of people of color living in non-integrated tracts live in tracts in which no race or ethnicity accounts for more than 80 percent of the tract population. These figures highlight the extent to which whites are clustered in predominately white neighborhoods, whereas people of color are much more likely to live in either integrated tracts or tracts where communities of color represent a majority.

Have Integrated Neighborhoods Remained Stably Integrated Over Time?

Comparing tracts' level of integration in the 2011-15 ACS to the 2000 Census reveals mixed results about the stability of integrated neighborhoods. Exhibit 3 displays a transition matrix that compares the integration status of census tracts in 2000 to 2011-15 using the no majority definition of integration. Of the 5,423 census tracts that were no-majority neighborhoods in 2000, 3,070 tracts (56.6%) were stably integrated—defined as being a no majority neighborhood in both 2000 and 2011-15—while 2,353 tracts (43.4%) became non-integrated—defined as being a no majority tract in 2000 but not in 2011-15. An additional 5,308 tracts became no majority tracts during this period—defined as being a no majority tract in 2011-15 but not in 2000—which more than offset the number that became non-integrated and pushed the total number of no majority tracts in 2011-15 to 8,378. The remaining figures in Exhibit 3 show substantial stability in tract types, with the most common transition type being majority-white tracts in 2000 becoming no majority tracts by 2011-15. **(Exhibit 3)**

Exhibit 4 presents similar information about the stability of shared neighborhoods between 2000 and 2011-15. Of the 16,862 census tracts that were shared neighborhoods in 2000, 13,098 census tracts (77.7%) were stably integrated between 2000 and 2011-15 and 3,764 tracts (22.3%) became non-integrated. An additional 8,006 census tracts became integrated between 2000 and 2011-15, increasing the total number of shared neighborhoods in 2011-15 to 21,104 tracts. These figures show somewhat higher levels of stability than the transition matrix for no majority neighborhoods, suggesting that integrated neighborhoods with white populations of 50-80 percent were slightly more stable than integrated neighborhoods with white populations below 50 percent. This pattern is consistent with data on household preferences that indicate that white households are on average less willing than black or Hispanic households to move into majority-people of color neighborhoods, making integration more tenuous in these neighborhoods. **(Exhibit 4)**

Exhibit 5 additionally presents a transition matrix that shows transitions across types of shared neighborhoods between the 2000 Census and the 2011-15 ACS. While transitions exist between each combination of shared neighborhood types between 2000 and 2011-15, the majority of tracts remained in the same shared neighborhood category in both 2000 and 2011-15. The only exception is among white-multiethnic neighborhoods. Of the 1,289 white-multiethnic neighborhoods in 2000, only 503 (39.0%) remained white-multiethnic tracts in 2011-15, while 511 tracts (39.6%) became non-integrated. The shared neighborhoods that remained integrated but changed type between 2000 and 2011-15 were also most likely to become white-multiethnic neighborhoods, suggesting that white-multiethnic neighborhoods experienced the most change during this period. In contrast, between 65 and 85 percent of tracts in each of the other shared neighborhood types in 2000 remained in the

same category in 2011-15. **(Exhibit 5)**

Lastly, Exhibit 5 shows the 2000 neighborhood type for the 3,764 tracts that became non-integrated between 2000 and 2011-15. Of these neighborhoods, 1,542 (41.0%) were white-black shared neighborhoods, 1,513 (40.2%) were white-Hispanic shared neighborhoods, 511 (13.6%) were white-multiethnic shared neighborhoods, 157 (4.2%) were white-Asian shared neighborhoods, and 41 (1.1%) were white-other shared neighborhoods. By 2011-15, 2,627 of these tracts (69.8%) had become non-integrated because the share of white residents fell below 20 percent by 2011-15, and 1,137 tracts (30.2%) had become non-integrated because no single community of color accounted for 20 percent of the tract population. Nonetheless, most of these tracts continued to include sizable shares of multiple racial/ethnic groups, with only 682 tracts (18.1%) having population shares greater than 80 percent for a single group—only 261 tracts became more than 80 percent Hispanic, 221 (5.9%) became more than 80 percent white, 193 (5.1%) became more than 80 percent black, 3 (0.1%) became more than 80 percent Asian, and 4 (0.1%) became more than 80 percent residents of other races or ethnicities.

Are the Characteristics of Newly Integrated Neighborhoods Similar to Stably Integrated and Non-Integrated Neighborhoods? How are they Different?

Given the sizable numbers of neighborhoods that changed integration status between 2000 and 2011-2015, Exhibit 6 describes selected socioeconomic characteristics of tracts that became integrated and non-integrated during this period relative to tracts that remained stably integrated and non-integrated. The figures in Exhibit 6 additionally compare the socioeconomic profile of all integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods in 2015 by income, poverty rate, college degree attainment, and homeownership rate. While this set of socioeconomic attributes is far from exhaustive, these characteristics nonetheless suggest that newly integrated neighborhoods differ systematically from both stably integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods in their socioeconomic profile.

First, comparison of all integrated census tracts to non-integrated neighborhoods shows that integrated neighborhoods, on average, have lower median incomes, higher poverty rates, lower shares of college graduates, and lower homeownership rates than non-integrated tracts. These differences are mirrored in the relative characteristics of stable integrated and stable non-integrated neighborhoods. By contrast, neighborhoods that became integrated between 2000 and 2011-15 have higher median incomes, lower poverty rates, higher college degree attainment, and higher homeownership rates than other integrated tracts. While these characteristics might reflect an increased willingness to live in integrated neighborhoods among higher-income households, they likely also reflect the gentrification pressures and neighborhood change processes that are reshaping many urban neighborhoods. As a result, such changes may not increase the longer-term socioeconomic profile of all integrated neighborhoods unless integration can be sustained in gentrifying areas. Lastly, neighborhoods that became non-integrated between 2000 and 2011-15 exhibit lower incomes, educational attainment, and homeownership rates than the other neighborhood types shown in Exhibit 6.

While recent growth in the number of integrated neighborhoods in the United States may offer limited cause for optimism, the figures in Exhibit 6 also highlight that substantial gaps remain between the socioeconomic profiles of integrated and non-integrated neighborhoods. Further research is

necessary to provide a more detailed portrait of each type of neighborhood, as well as to describe the evolution of these neighborhoods across time. In the interim, the attributes in Exhibit 6 offer some evidence that the stock of integrated neighborhoods in the United States is evolving in response to differences in the socioeconomic profile of newly integrated and newly non-integrated neighborhoods. **(Exhibit 6)**

Where are Recently Integrated and Recently Non-Integrated Tracts Located Geographically?

Integrated neighborhoods are most prevalent in the Western region of the United States and least prevalent in the Midwest, as Exhibit 7 illustrates. By the 'no majority' definition, 18 percent of tracts in the West are integrated in 2015, as well as 12 percent of those in the South, 11 percent in the Northeast, and 5 percent in the Midwest. Similarly, by the 'shared' definition of integration, 40 percent of tracts in the West and 37 percent of those in the South are integrated, compared with 20 percent in the Northeast and 16 percent in the Midwest. The West posts the highest shares of both stably and recently integrated tracts, at 25 percent and 14 percent, respectively, followed closely by the South, with 24 percent of its tracts stably integrated and 13 percent recently integrated. Meanwhile, Northeastern tracts are 10 percent stably integrated and 9 percent recently integrated, and in the Midwest the shares are 9 percent stably integrated and 7 percent recently integrated. **(Exhibit 7)**

The prevalence and stability of integrated neighborhoods also vary substantially among central cities, suburbs, and rural areas (Exhibit 8). In 2015 central cities have the highest relative share of integrated tracts, with 17 percent 'no majority' tracts and 36 percent 'shared' tracts. By comparison, suburban areas have somewhat lower shares of integrated neighborhoods, with 11 percent 'no majority' tracts and 28 percent 'shared', while rural areas are the least integrated, with 3 percent of its tracts 'no majority' and 22 percent 'shared'. Consequently, the number of integrated tracts in central cities is disproportionately large, with central cities hosting 31 percent of all tracts nationwide but 38 percent of integrated tracts.

Stable integration is most common in central city neighborhoods, with 23 percent of tracts in central cities integrated in both 2000 and 2015, compared with 16 percent of suburban tracts, and 18 percent of rural tracts. However, central city neighborhoods are also characterized by the highest degree of fluctuation in integration status. One-quarter (20 percent) of tracts located in central cities became either newly integrated or newly non-integrated between 2000 and 2015, compared with 17 percent of tracts located in the suburbs, and only 7 percent of tracts in rural areas. In all three geographies, a higher share of tracts that changed integration status between 2000 and 2015 became integrated than became non-integrated. 13 percent of tracts in central cities became integrated between 2000 and 2015, while 8 percent became non-integrated; 12 percent of suburban tracts became integrated, and 5 percent became non-integrated; and 5 percent of rural tracts became integrated, with 2 percent becoming non-integrated. **(Exhibit 8)**

Increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the nation as a whole has been the primary driver of recent neighborhood integration in all three geographies. The vast majority of recently integration has resulted from rising shares of one or more groups of people of color, while increases in the share of white residents has been the driver of integration in only a small portion of recently-integrated tracts. However, the share of tracts that became integrated between 2000 and 2015 due to rising shares of white residents was

far higher in central city neighborhoods than those in suburban or rural areas—a trend enabled by the historically higher concentrations of communities of color in central city neighborhoods, and perhaps also illustrating the outcome of the nascent (and oft-cited) "back to the cities" ethos among young whites and related outmigration of urban communities of color.

In central cities, 17 percent of tracts that became integrated between 2000 and 2015 did so due to growth in their white population shares, compared with just 2 percent of recently-integrated suburban tracts, and 4 percent of those in rural areas (where most tracts already in 2000 had white population shares over 20 percent). Indeed, 13 percent of recently-integrated tracts in central cities saw increases in their white populations paired with decreases in their populations of people of color (indicating the replacement of residents of color with white newcomers), compared with just 1 percent in suburban neighborhoods and 3 percent in rural neighborhoods. Instead, populations of color grew while white populations declined in 72 percent of recently integrated tracts in the suburbs and 70 percent of those in rural areas.

Meanwhile, among tracts that were integrated in 2000 but became non-integrated by 2015, nearly three-quarters of those located in central cities as well as in the suburbs became non-integrated because their white population shares fell below 20 percent. Indeed, fully 62 percent of recently non-integrated tracts in central cities and 68 percent of those in the suburbs experienced declines in their white populations and increases in their numbers of people of color between 2000 and 2015, illustrating the effects of increasing diversity in the population as a whole. In contrast, just one-third of rural tracts that became non-integrated between 2000 and 2015 did so because their white population shares fell below 20 percent. Moreover, unlike central cities and suburbs, a majority of recently non-integrated rural neighborhoods (60 percent) saw drop-offs in their numbers of residents of color, and 30 percent experienced declines in their white residents and populations of color between 2000 and 2015. The upshot is that in rural neighborhoods, net population loss—rather than in-migration from newcomers of different races—has driven changes in racial and ethnic composition.

Summary and Conclusions

This research brief presents updated estimates of the incidence and attributes of neighborhoods with substantial integration. A primary goal of this brief is to provide updated data using the 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-year estimates—the most recent data available at the census tract level. A second objective is to compare these estimates to data from the 2000 Census to describe change in the extent and nature of integrated neighborhoods since the start of the 21st Century. The results suggest that the presence of integrated neighborhoods in the United States increased between 2000 and 2011-2015, but also that such neighborhoods remain the exception rather than the rule.

According to the 2011-2015 ACS, the number of no-majority neighborhoods in which no racial or ethnic group accounts for 50 percent or more of the neighborhood population increased from 5,423 census tracts in 2000 to 8,378 tracts in 2011-2015, and the share of the U.S. population residing in no majority tracts increased from 8.0 percent in 2000 to 12.6 percent in 2011-15. Using an alternative definition of integration—which defines neighborhoods as 'shared' if a community of color accounts for at least 20 percent of the tract population AND the tract is at least 20 percent white—suggests that the number of shared neighborhoods increased from 16,862 tracts in 2000 to 21,104 tracts in 2011-15, and the share of the U.S. population that resides in such tracts increased from 23.9 percent in 2000 to 30.3 percent in 2011-15.

A majority of the integrated neighborhoods identified using either definition have remained stably integrated since 2000. Additionally, a larger number of neighborhoods have become integrated since 2000 than the number that have become non-integrated. However, the newly-integrated neighborhoods, on average, have higher incomes, education levels, and homeownership rates than neighborhoods that remained stably integrated during this period, and are relatively most prevalent in central cities, suggesting that these newly integrated neighborhoods may in part reflect the gentrification processes that are present in many U.S. cities. As a result, the stability of neighborhoods that were integrated in 2000 may not be predictive of the future stability of these newly integrated areas. Instead, additional time and research is necessary to determine whether the newly integrated neighborhoods will become stably integrated over time and whether the recent increases in integration will continue-or whether they will ultimately become majority white, non-integrated areas.

Lastly, the results in this research brief also highlight the pervasiveness of non-integrated neighborhoods in the United States. While the prevalence of integrated neighborhoods has increased in recent years, 43.9 percent of the U.S. population—and 55.6 percent of whites—continue to live in neighborhoods that are more than 80 percent of their their own racial/ethnic group. As the United States moves towards a majority-people of color population by the middle of the 21st Century, the extent and nature of growth in the presence of integrated neighborhoods will determine whether these changes contribute to a more inclusive society or whether they reinforce existing patterns of segregation.

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Appendix Tables

Exhibit 1. Distribution of Integrated Tracts and Population by Tract Composition

	2000 Census		2006-2010 ACS		2011-2015 ACS	
	# Tracts	% Pop	# Tracts	% Pop	# Tracts	% Pop
Panel 1: No Majority						
Integrated	5,423	8.0%	7,287	10.8%	8,378	12.6%
Non-Integrated	66,383	92.0%	64,519	89.2%	63,428	87.4%
Non-Integrated: Majority White	55,110	76.3%	51,438	71.6%	49,990	69.2%
Non-Integrated: Majority Black	5,947	7.5%	6,174	7.0%	6,042	6.7%
Non-Integrated: Majority Hispanic	4,754	7.4%	6,134	9.4%	6,589	10.3%
Non-Integrated: Majority Asian	375	0.6%	564	0.8%	600	0.9%
Non-Integrated: Majority Other	197	0.2%	209	0.2%	207	0.2%
Panel 2: Shared						
Integrated	16,862	23.9%	19,986	28.4%	21,104	30.3%
Integrated: White-Black	7,139	9.7%	7,090	9.4%	7,125	9.4%
Integrated: White-Hispanic	7,051	10.3%	8,821	13.1%	9,528	14.3%
Integrated: White-Asian	1,053	1.6%	1,644	2.4%	1,820	2.8%
Integrated: White-Other	330	0.4%	394	0.5%	426	0.5%
Integrated: White-Multiethnic	1,289	1.9%	2,037	3.0%	2,205	3.4%
Non-Integrated	54,944	76.1%	51,820	71.6%	50,702	69.7%
Non-Integrated: >80% White	37,411	51.5%	31,377	42.8%	28,470	38.1%
Non-Integrated: >80% Black	2,905	3.4%	2,879	2.9%	2,645	2.6%
Non-Integrated: >80% Hispanic	1,457	2.3%	1,863	2.9%	1,976	3.1%
Non-Integrated: >80% Asian	13	0.0%	24	0.0%	21	0.0%
Non-Integrated: >80% Other	116	0.1%	111	0.1%	115	0.1%
Non-Integrated: Other	13,042	18.7%	15,566	22.8%	17,475	25.7%

Note: Individuals who are white, black, Asian, or of some 'other' race group are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race.
Note: White-multiethnic tracts include two or more groups of people of color that each account for at least 20 percent of the tract population, in addition to at least 20 percent white.
N-71,806 Census tracts in all years.

Exhibit 2. Percent of Population Living in Integrated Neighborhoods by Racial/Ethnic Group, 2011-15 ACS

	Percent of Population by Racial/Ethnic Group					
	All	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other
Panel 1: No Majority						
Integrated	12.6%	7.2%	20.3%	20.3%	30.9%	19.5%
Non-Integrated	87.4%	92.8%	79.7%	79.7%	69.1%	80.5%
Non-Integrated: Majority White	69.2%	88.5%	32.7%	32.5%	47.7%	62.8%
Non-Integrated: Majority Black	6.7%	1.6%	40.6%	3.2%	2.0%	4.7%
Non-Integrated: Majority Hispanic	10.3%	2.5%	6.1%	43.3%	8.1%	5.6%
Non-Integrated: Majority Asian	0.9%	0.2%	0.2%	0.7%	11.2%	1.7%
Non-Integrated: Majority Other	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	5.6%
Panel 2: Shared						
Integrated	30.3%	22.9%	43.0%	42.8%	44.8%	36.5%
Integrated: White-Black	9.4%	7.5%	29.0%	3.6%	4.8%	8.9%
Integrated: White-Hispanic	14.3%	11.0%	6.9%	32.0%	12.9%	14.4%
Integrated: White-Asian	2.8%	2.2%	1.1%	1.5%	18.2%	3.6%
Integrated: White-Other	0.5%	0.5%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	4.9%
Integrated: White-Multiethnic	3.4%	1.8%	5.9%	5.6%	8.6%	4.6%
Non-Integrated	69.7%	77.1%	57.0%	57.2%	55.2%	63.5%
Non-Integrated: >80% White	38.1%	55.1%	7.0%	8.5%	12.6%	25.1%
Non-Integrated: >80% Black	2.6%	0.2%	19.0%	0.5%	0.3%	1.3%
Non-Integrated: >80% Hispanic	3.1%	0.3%	0.6%	16.4%	0.9%	0.7%
Non-Integrated: >80% Asian	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%
Non-Integrated: >80% Other	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%
Non-Integrated: Other	25.7%	21.5%	30.3%	31.7%	41.0%	32.8%

Note: Individuals who are white, black, Asian, or of some 'other' race group are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race.
Note: White-multiethnic tracts include two or more groups of people of color that each account for at least 20 percent of the tract population, in addition to at least 20 percent white.
N-71,806 Census tracts in all years.

Exhibit 3. Transition matrix Showing the Number of No Majority Neighborhoods by Type, 2000 Census to 2011-15 ACS

	Type: 2011-15 ACS						
	No Majority	Majority White	Majority Black	Majority Hispanic	Majority Asian	Majority Other	Total
2000 Census							
No Majority	3,070	387	390	1,358	208	10	5,423
Majority White	4,488	49,389	482	679	63	9	55,110
Majority Black	541	152	5,162	92	0	0	5,947
Majority Hispanic	222	60	8	4,460	4	0	4,754
Majority Asian	48	1	0	0	325	1	375
Majority Other	9	1	0	0	0	187	197
Total	8,378	49,990	6,042	6,589	600	207	71,806

Notes: Individuals who are white, black, Asian, or of some 'other' race group are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race.
N=71,806 Census tracts.

Exhibit 4. Transition Matrix Showing the Number of Non-Shared Neighborhoods by Type, 2000 Census to 2011-15 ACS

	2011-2015 ACS							
	Shared Neighborhood	>80% White	>80% Black	>80% Hispanic	>80% Asian	>80% Other	Other Non-Shared	Total
2000 Census								
Shared Neighborhood	13,098	221	193	261	3	4	3,082	16,862
>80% White	2,400	27,820	0	0	0	0	7,191	37,411
>80% Black	161	0	2,267	0	0	0	477	2,905
>80% Hispanic	30	0	0	1,315	0	0	112	1,457
>80% Asian	2	0	0	0	7	0	4	13
>80% Other	1	0	0	0	0	107	8	116
Other Non-Shared	5,412	429	185	400	11	4	6,601	13,042
Total	21,104	28,470	2,645	1,976	21	115	17,475	71,806

Notes: Individuals who are white, black, Asian, or of some 'other' race group are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race.
N=71,806 Census tracts.

Exhibit 5. Transition Matrix Showing the Number of Shared Neighborhoods by Type, 2000 Census to 2011-15 ACS

	2011-15 ACS						
	Non-Integrated	White-Black	White-Hispanic	White-Asian	White-Other	White-Multiethnic	Total
2000 Census							
Non-Integrated	46,938	2,160	4,080	990	135	641	54,944
White-Black	1,542	4,902	106	17	5	567	7,139
White-Hispanic	1,513	12	5,141	23	1	361	7,051
White-Asian	157	3	16	750	1	126	1,053
White-Other	41	2	3	1	276	7	330
White-Multiethnic	511	46	182	39	8	503	1,289
Total	50,702	7,125	9,528	1,820	426	2,205	71,806

Notes: Individuals who are white, black, Asian, or of some 'other' race group are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race. N=71,806 Census tracts.

Exhibit 6. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Integrated and Non-Integrated Neighborhoods by Type

	All Integrated	All Non-Integrated	Stable Integrated	Stable Non-Integrated	Became Integrated	Became Non-Integrated
Panel 1: No Majority						
Median Household Income	$53,470	$58,119	$51,579	$58,491	$54,563	$48,464
% Poverty	20.1%	16.1%	21.8%	15.8%	19.2%	23.1%
% College Degree	27.2%	28.7%	26.7%	29.0%	27.6%	22.3%
% Homeowner	49.1%	65.2%	44.5%	65.9%	51.7%	46.6%
Panel 2: Shared						
Median Household Income	$53,244	$59,379	$49,351	$60,139	$59,614	$49,904
% Poverty	19.2%	15.5%	21.1%	14.9%	16.1%	22.1%
% College Degree	26.9%	29.2%	24.6%	29.7%	30.6%	23.4%
% Homeowner	55.9%	66.4%	54.3%	67.6%	58.5%	50.9%

N=71,715; 91 tracts omitted due to missing data.

Exhibit 7. Number and Share of Integrated and Non-Integrated Tracts by Region, 2000 Census to 2011-15 ACS

	Northeast		Midwest		South		West	
	# Tracts	% Tracts	# Tracts	% Tracts	# Tracts	% Tracts	# Tracts	% Tracts
Panel 1: No Majority								
Integrated	1,467	11.0%	887	5.2%	3,204	12.4%	2,820	17.9%
Non-Integrated	11,844	89.0%	16,027	94.8%	22,658	87.6%	12,899	82.1%
Panel 2: Shared								
Integrated	2,608	19.6%	2,703	16.0%	9,582	37.1%	6,211	39.5%
Non-Integrated	10,703	80.4%	14,211	84.0%	16,280	62.9%	9,508	60.5%
Panel 3: Shared by Stability								
Became Integrated	1,237	9.3%	1,238	7.3%	3,294	12.7%	2,237	14.2%
Stable Integrated	1,371	10.3%	1,465	8.7%	6,288	24.3%	3,974	25.3%
Became Non-Integrated	562	4.2%	477	2.8%	1,650	6.4%	1,075	6.8%
Stable Non-Integrated	10,141	76.2%	13,734	81.2%	14,630	56.6%	8,433	53.6%

Source: JCHS tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-2015 American Community Survey.

Exhibit 8. Number and Share of Integrated and Non-Integrated Tracts by Neighborhood Type, 2000 Census to 2011-15 ACS

	Central City		Suburb		Rural	
	# Tracts	% Tracts	# Tracts	% Tracts	# Tracts	% Tracts
Panel 1: No Majority						
Integrated	3,866	17.4%	4,107	10.9%	144	3.4%
Non-Integrated	18,395	82.6%	33,457	89.1%	2,875	96.6%
Panel 2: Shared						
Integrated	7,961	35.8%	10,463	27.9%	812	22.4%
Non-Integrated	14,300	64.2%	27,101	72.1%	2,207	77.6%
Panel 3: Shared by Type						
Became Integrated	2,851	12.8%	4,580	12.2%	575	4.8%
Stable Integrated	5,110	23.0%	5,883	15.7%	2,105	17.6%
Became Non-Integrated	1,699	7.6%	1,787	4.8%	278	2.3%
Stable Non-Integrated	12,601	56.6%	25,314	67.4%	9,023	75.3%

Notes: *Central cities* include cities that appear first in the official metropolitan statistical area name and any other cities that appear in the official name that have populations of at least 100,000. *Suburbs* make up the remainder of the metropolitan areas outside primary cities. *Rural* areas are non-metropolitan areas.
Source: JCHS tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-2015 American Community Survey.