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ABSTRACT

This paper examines patterns of racial change and segregation over the 1990s in the San Diego metropolitan area, the city of San Diego, and the suburbs, emphasizing whites, blacks, Asians, and Latinos. Minorities contributed to all of metro San Diego's net population growth during the 1990s, with consistently high segregation levels for urban blacks and increasing segregation rates for Latinos metro-wide. The number of whites has declined in the city and suburbs, with Latinos the overwhelming driver of population growth. Asians have also seen dramatic rates of increase. Minority increases have been especially strong in the suburbs. The largest increases in overall segregation are for suburban Latinos. The black population grew much more slowly than other minority groups, though it was disproportionately strong in the suburbs. Asians posted the strongest population growth rate over the decade and are the least segregated from whites. The San Diego metro's child population is more heavily minority and more racially segregated than the population overall. Growth rates of minority homeowners equaled or outstripped even the rapid minority population increase. Despite rapid minority growth, there is no evidence of dramatic racial transition of moderately-integrated areas. Three figures pertaining to the San Diego Metro Area, 1990-2000 are appended: Change in Population by Race/Ethnicity; Community Areas with Greatest Population Change, by Race; and Change in Child Population by Race/Ethnicity. (Contains 18 figures.) (SM)

RACE, PLACE, AND OPPORTUNITY: RACIAL CHANGE AND SEGREGATION IN THE SAN DIEGO METROPOLITAN AREA: 1990 - 2000

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May 2002

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SUMMARY

Minorities contributed all of metro San Diego's net population growth during the 1990s, but stubbornly high levels of segregation for blacks in the City and increasing segregation rates for Latinos metro-wide suggest that much remains to be done to insure that these populations have equal access to all communities. With the number of whites declining in both the City of San Diego and in the suburbs, Latinos have been the overwhelming driver of population growth, and Asians have also seen dramatic rates of increase. (This report presents data for Latinos, who may be of any race, and the non-Latino members of the white, black, and Asian/Pacific Islander racial groups.) At current rates of change, the San Diego metro area will be "majority-minority" in a decade--already the situation for the school-age population and in the City overall. The question now looms: will metro San Diego, currently in its last decade with a white majority, move forcefully towards insuring equal residential access to all communities, regardless of race or ethnicity?

Minority increases have been especially strong in the suburbs, where two thirds of total population growth occurred. Latinos now constitute over a quarter of suburban residents, up from a fifth in 1990. In fact, Latinos make up a larger share of the population in the suburbs than they do in the City of San Diego. It is especially disturbing, therefore, that the largest increases in overall segregation are for suburban Latinos. Indeed, while whites comprise 60 percent of the total suburban population, the average Latino suburbanite lives in a census tract that is just 45 percent white, down from 58 percent white in 1990. Latino/white segregation has also increased in the City, and is now on par with black/white levels.

The black population grew much more slowly than other minority groups, barely maintaining its share of the overall population. Black growth has been disproportionately strong in the suburbs, increasing there by four times the number of black residents added in the City. Indeed, blacks now comprise a smaller share of the City than they did in 1990. Black/white segregation has improved only minimally and remains especially high in the City. Several areas with high black population shares in the southeastern part of the City have experienced black decline over the decade, as these census tracts became more Latino.

Asians, who posted the strongest population growth *rate* over the decade, are the only racial group to have higher absolute gains in the City than in the suburbs. They now comprise about one sixth of the City population. People of Filipino origin comprise roughly half of the Asian population, followed by much smaller numbers of Vietnamese and Chinese. Asians are least segregated from whites, though their segregation rates are down very slightly in the City and are unchanged in the suburbs.

The number of non-Latino whites fell by almost 50,000 in the City and 25,000 in the suburbs as the metro area moved closer to becoming "majority-minority." White growth

has primarily been focused in the North, both the northern portions of the City in areas such as Carmel Valley, Carmel Mountain, and Rancho Penasquitos; and in northern and eastern suburban areas. White decline has been most extreme to the Southeast, both the southeast portions of the City and surrounding suburbs where minority growth has been greatest.

The San Diego metro's child population is both more heavily minority and more racially segregated than the population as a whole. Thus, while minorities comprise half of the total population in the City of San Diego, they make up two thirds of the child population. They also comprise over half the suburban child population. Furthermore, the rate of decline of the white child population has been more precipitous than has been the decline of the overall white population. Given the younger age structures of minority groups and higher fertility rates, particularly of Latinos, it is likely that these groups will continue to gain population share of younger age groups relative to whites. While segregation rates are higher for children, they have followed trends similar to the overall population, remaining fairly constant or dropping slightly between white and black children, increasing more notably between Latinos and whites and increasingly slightly between Latinos and Asians.

Growth rates of minority homeowners equaled or outstripped even the rapid minority population increase. One might expect that racial segregation among homeowners might be less than among the overall population, given higher levels of owner income and lack of the type of subsidized housing that has helped to concentrate renters by race in the past. But segregation between white and minority homeowners is generally on par with segregation levels among the overall population. It is especially high between black and white owners, particularly in the City.

Given increases in several different minority groups, the growth of multi-ethnic neighborhoods is notable, particularly in the suburbs, where the number of such Census tracts increased from 44 to 67. Multi-ethnic tracts had already been quite numerous in the Southeastern portion of the City, but new ones have formed in the central and northern City as well as in suburban locations, especially along the south and eastern City borders and to the northwest of Escondido.

Despite rapid minority growth, there is no evidence of dramatic racial transition of moderately-integrated areas. No Census tracts that were "moderately integrated" (10-19 percent of a particular minority group) in 1990 became "majority-minority" by 2000, and only one underwent even substantial racial change (became 40-49 percent of a particular minority group by 2000.) Both in the City and the suburbs, most moderately integrated tracts remained moderately integrated. Those that did increase their minority share to 20-39 percent were more likely to be integrated Latino tracts, rather than integrated black tracts.

The future of the San Diego area is inexorably linked to the well-being of its minority populations, most strongly in the cities and inner-suburbs, but increasingly throughout the region. While moderately-high levels of racial segregation characterize the City, recent

trends raise the specter that this pattern may be duplicated in growing suburbs, especially for Latinos. That these segregation levels are rising faster for Latino children is especially troubling given the impacts of residential segregation on educational opportunities. Actions at all levels are needed to assure equal access to neighborhoods and educational opportunities and to facilitate stabilization of communities.

Race, Place and Opportunity:
Racial Change and Segregation in the San Diego Metropolitan Area: 1990-2000

As the number of non-Latino whites dropped by almost 50,000 in the City of San Diego and 25,000 in the suburbs, the minority population surged. Although the San Diego metro ranks number seventeen in total population, it added more Latino residents than all but eight metros and more Asian residents than all but nine metros[1]. Indeed, the City of San Diego is now "majority-minority" and, if current trends persist, the suburbs will also be "majority-minority" by the end of the decade.

Despite rapidly growing minority populations, San Diego continues to have moderate-high levels of racial segregation in the City and moderate levels in the suburbs. Overall, segregation has changed little over the decade, except for the notable increases between whites and Latinos, especially among children. This study examines patterns of racial change and segregation over the 1990s in the San Diego metro area[2] as a whole, as well as in the City of San Diego and in the suburban areas. It focuses primarily on four racial ethnic groups: non-Latino whites, non-Latino blacks, non-Latino Asians, and Latinos[3].

Metro Area Population Growth

During the 1990s, the San Diego metropolitan area grew by 316,000 people or 12.6 percent, slightly slower than both California as a whole (13.8 percent) and the United States (14.1 percent.) This growth was entirely attributable to an increasing minority population; the absolute number of whites declined by over 84,000. Thus, while the San Diego metro was 65 percent white in 1990, that share dropped to 55 percent by 2000. **[Appendix 1]** Foreign immigration played a major part in expanding racial diversity. As of 2000, the metro area contained over 200,000 foreign immigrants who had entered the U.S. during the 1990s alone, and the foreign-born made up over a fifth of the total population. Indeed, over a third of residents spoke a language other than English at home.

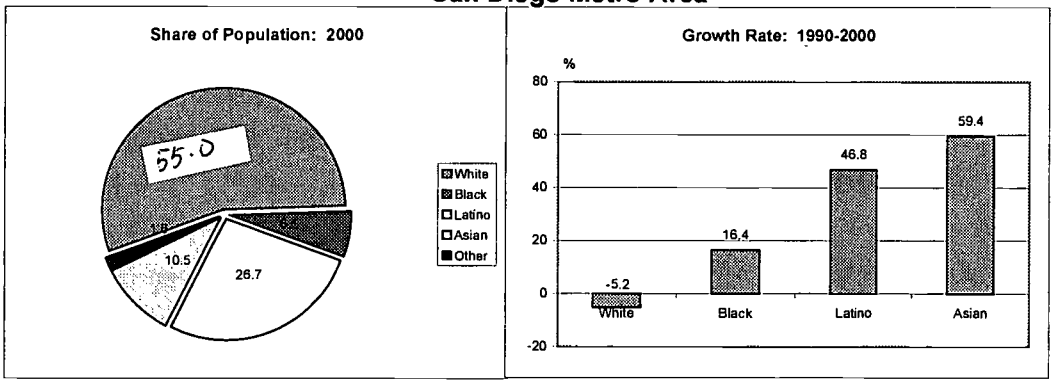
Latinos continue to be the largest minority group, increasing by almost a quarter million and raising their share of the total population from one fifth to over one fourth. They were responsible for three quarters of net population growth over the 1990s. **[Figure 1]** The overwhelming share of Latinos (84 percent) is of Mexican origin[4]. Asians experienced the second fastest absolute growth (110,000 people) and the fastest growth rate (88 percent) among major groups. Filipinos comprise roughly half of the Asian population, followed by much smaller numbers of Vietnamese and Chinese. Non-Latino

[1] Frey, William. *Metro Magnets for Minorities and Whites: Melting Pots, the New Sunbelt, and the Heartland.* Population Studies Center Research Report 02-496. University of Michigan. February 2002.
[2] Defined as the San Diego Metropolitan Statistical Area, which is comprised entirely of San Diego County.
[3] Latinos may be of any race. Unless otherwise noted, racial groups refer to only the non-Latino members of those groups.
[4] This share may actually be higher as not all Latinos specify a particular country of origin.

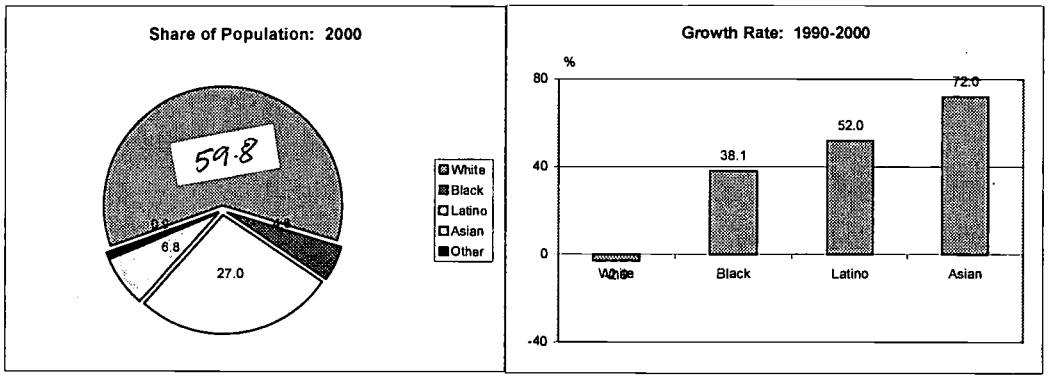
Figure 1

Strong Minority Growth and White Decline
Lead to "Majority-Minority" City and 40% Minority Suburbs

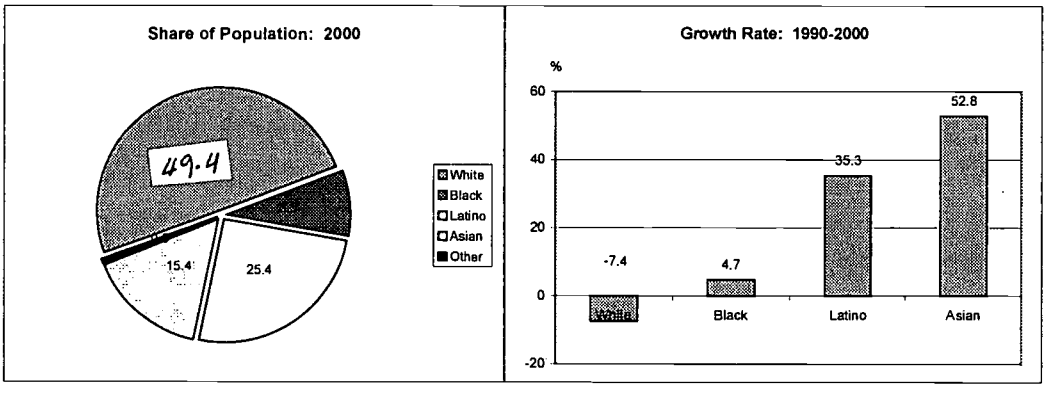
San Diego Metro Area



San Diego Suburbs



City of San Diego



Notes: Latinos may be of any race.
Other racial groups contain only non-Latino members. Asians include Pacific-Islanders.
Suburbs exclude tracts or portions of tracts in cities of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.

Source: Tabulations of the 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

blacks grew by just 16 percent and now comprise 6.2 percent of the population, only a tiny increase over their 1990 share.

Suburban Population Growth

In the suburbs[5], where two thirds of the metro area's overall population growth occurred, Latinos increased especially rapidly, adding 132,000 to their number and substantially outpacing their growth within the City. Latinos now comprise over a quarter of the suburban population. Latino presence is especially heavy in census tracts[6] to the South of the City and East of Coronado, along the Mexican border, in the central and northern portions of the Oceanside-Escondido area such as in San Marcos, and in the Pauma Valley and Anza-Borrego Springs areas. Growth over the last decade was strong in tracts to the South of the City in parts of Chula Vista and to the north in Camp Pendleton, and sections of Vista and San Marcos. At the same time, the Latino population declined in tracts along the near northern border of the City in parts of Rancho Santa Fe and North City; further north in parts of Carlsbad, Bonsall, and Valley Center; and in the western suburban areas of Descanso and Lakeside. **[Figures 2a and 2b]**

Asian populations also increased sharply in the suburbs, reaching almost 100,000 in 2000, up from just 57,000 a decade earlier. Asians are most concentrated in tracts that closely hug the outer boundaries of the City of San Diego and those along the northern coast. The tracts with the highest Asian shares are found in parts of Chula Vista and Otay to the south of the City. In contrast, few Asians reside in the middle and especially in the Eastern portions of the metro such as Anza-Borrego Springs. Most of these tracts remained less than one percent Asian in 2000. Over the 1990s, the Asian population continued to grow primarily in tracts along the outer edges of San Diego but also moved somewhat more eastward with increases in parts of Dulzara and Jamal to the South and Valley Center, Pala, and Pauma Valley to the north. Very few tracts experienced Asian decline. **[Figures 3a and 3b]**

Black growth in the suburbs was modest compared to other minority groups, but black increases in the suburbs still outnumbered those in the City of San Diego by about four to one. Thus, while 32 percent of blacks lived in the suburbs in 1990, 38 percent lived there by 2000. Tracts with the largest black shares are to the Southeast of the City in parts of Spring Valley, Lemon Grove and Chula Vista as well as in the far north in Pendleton, Oceana, Guajome, and Ivey Rey/Ran Del Oro. Most of the mid and eastern parts of the metro area have little black presence, with the exception of parts of Descanso. Black growth was strongest to the east of the city in Spring City and Lemon Grove but also slightly further north in Lakeside. While tracts on the southern border of Pendleton

[5] Suburbs defined as all metro census tracts except those within the cities of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.

[6] Census tracts are the basic unit for most of the analysis presented in this study. Tracts are small, relatively permanent county subdivisions that are designed to be relatively homogenous with respect to population characteristics, economic status and living conditions at the time they are established. They have an average size of 4,000 people.

Figure 2a

Latino Share of Population: 2000
San Diego Suburbs

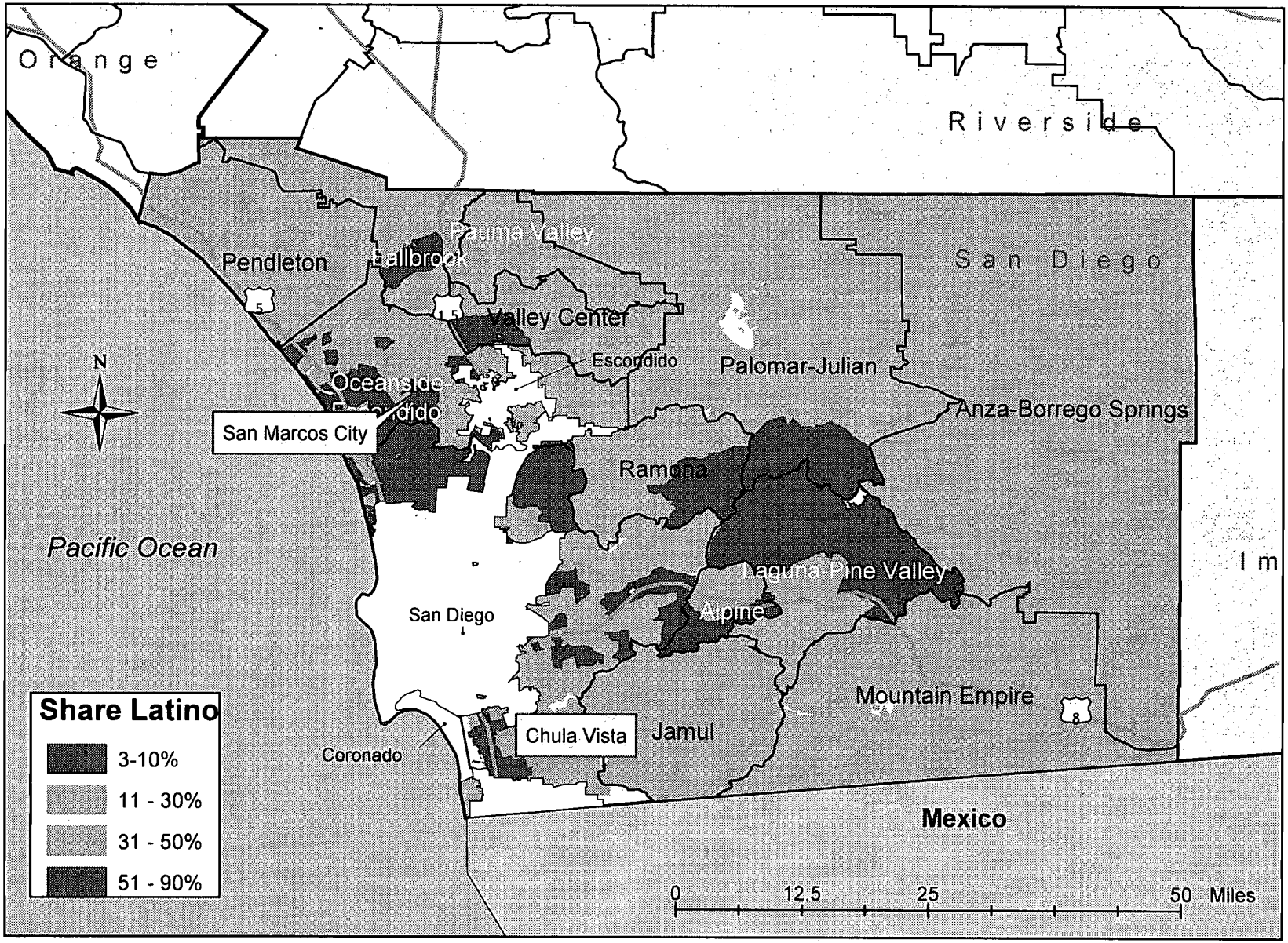


Figure 2b

Change in Latino Population: 1990-2000
San Diego Suburbs

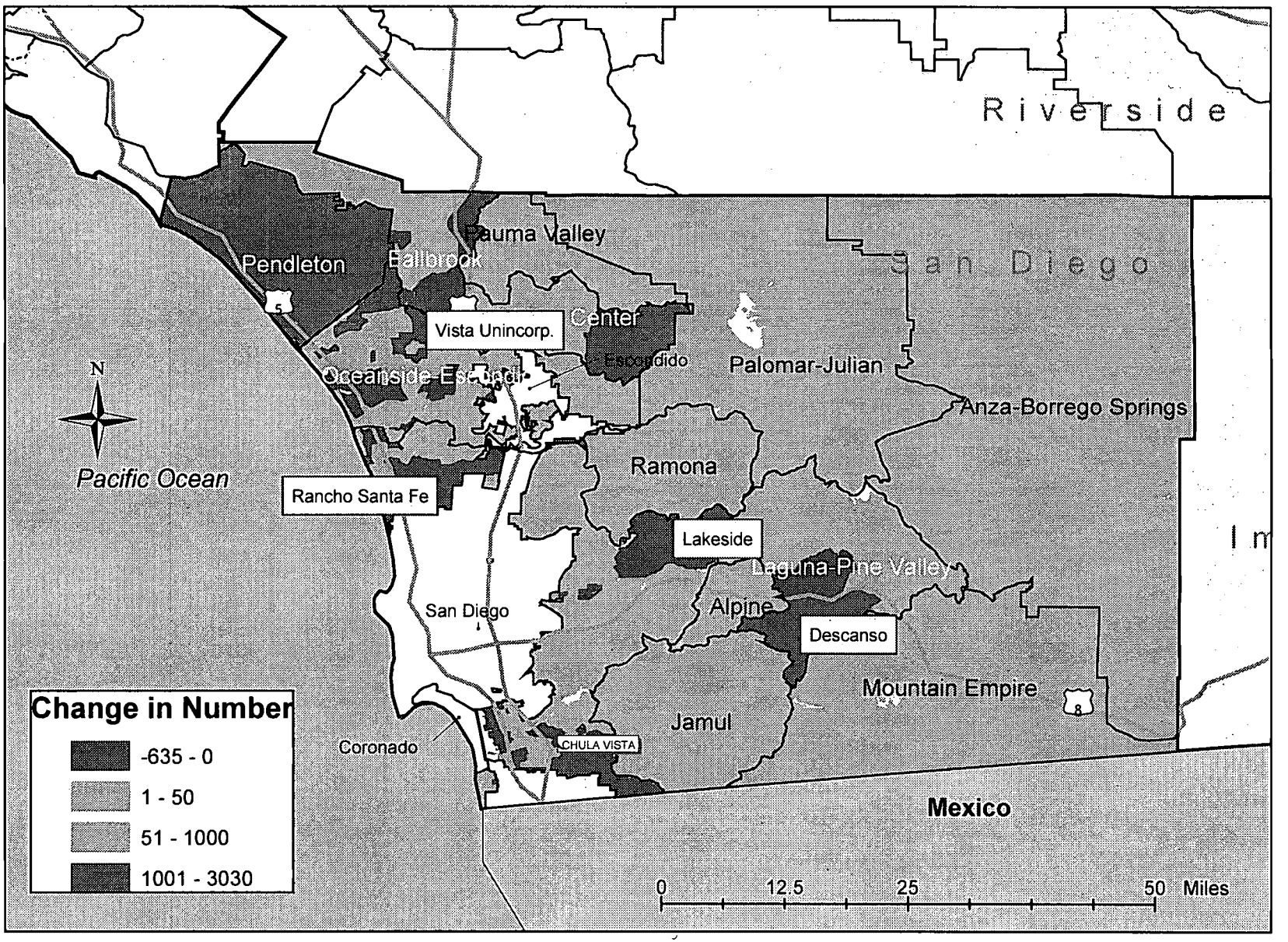


Figure 3a

Asian Share of Population: 2000
San Diego Suburbs

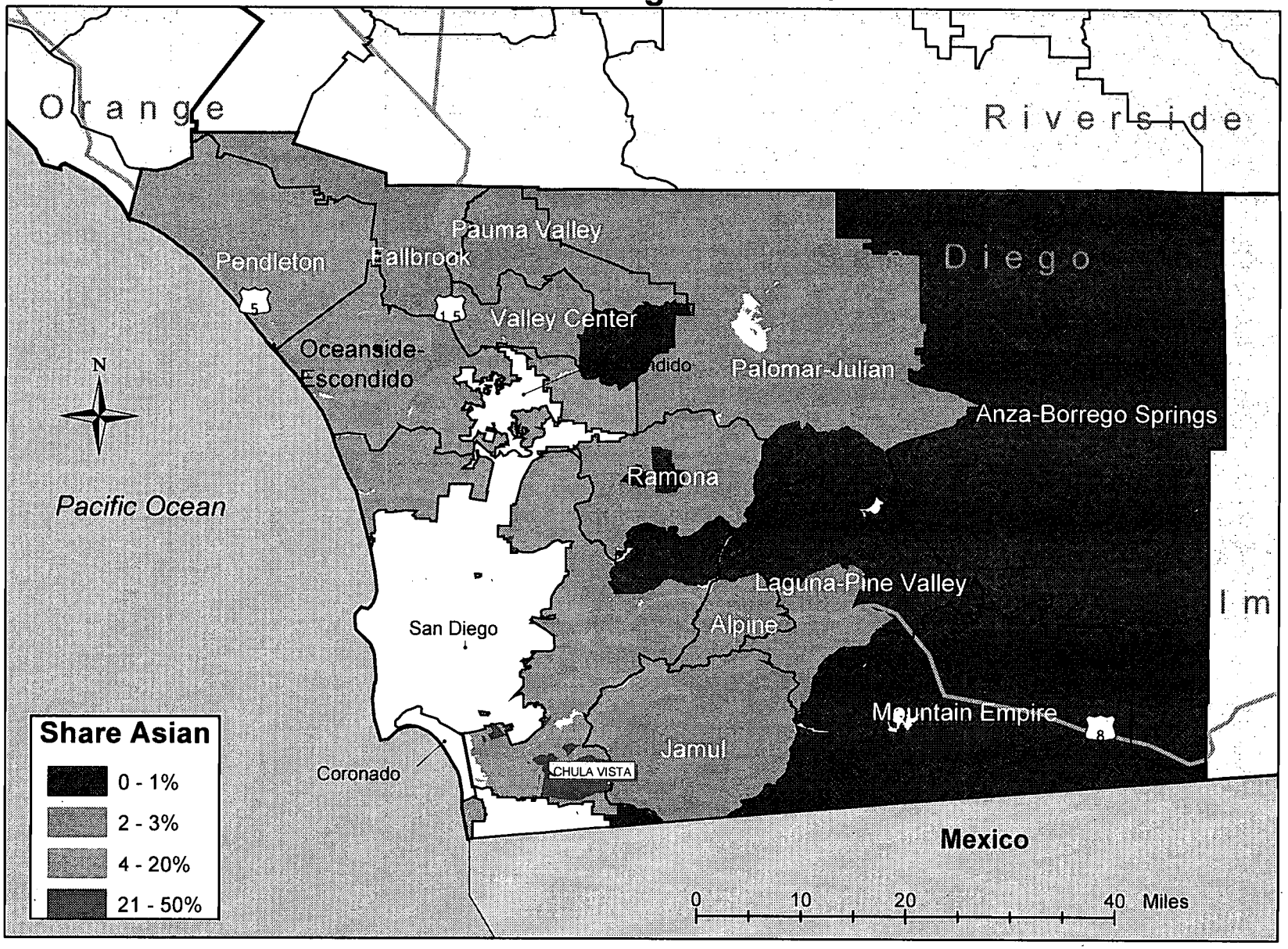
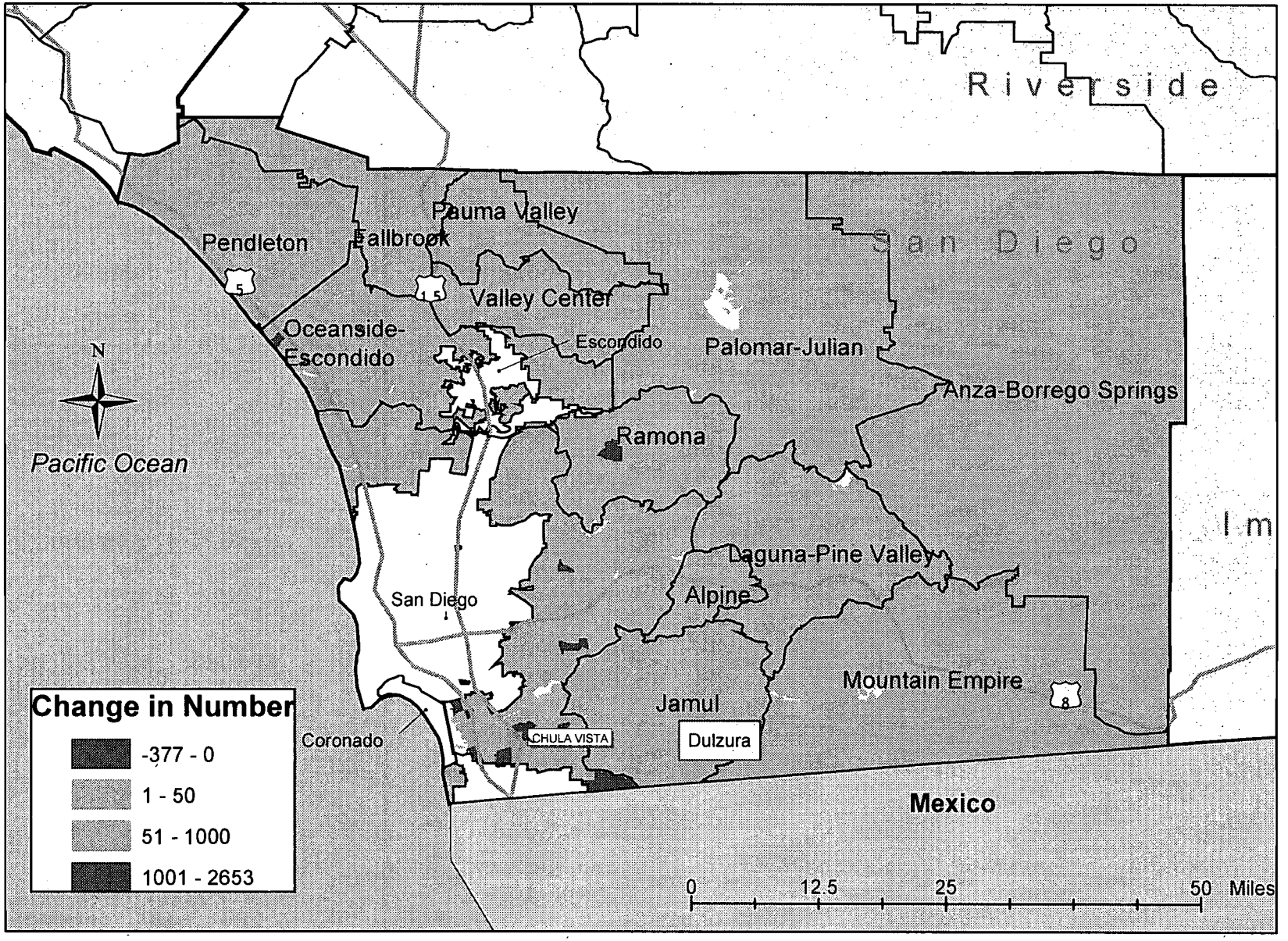


Figure 3b

Change in Asian Population: 1990-2000
San Diego Suburbs



continued to see black increases, Pendleton itself experienced a substantial decrease. **[Figures 4a and 4b]**

The suburban white population declined by roughly 3 percent over the 1990s. Areas with the highest white shares are in the central portion of the county, in Laguna-Pine Valley, Ramona, and Alpine, and also in certain tracts to the north of the City such as Rancho Santa Fe and Encinitas and to the far north in parts of Fallbrook. Growth has been strongest in these areas as well as in Pauma Valley and Pala. The white population is in the minority in many tracts between the southern border of the City and the Mexican border; just south of Pendleton and in Pauma Valley. White losses have been greatest on the southern and eastern edges of the City in Chula Vista, Spring Valley and Cajon and also Pendleton and parts of Vista to the north. Smaller losses have occurred in Palomar-Julian and Anza-Barrego Springs to the West. **[Figures 5a and 5b]**

City of San Diego Population Growth

As in the suburbs, the City of San Diego grew solely because of increases in the minority population. White declines in the City were twice that of the suburbs. Meanwhile, Latinos increased by over 310,000, adding another third to their 1990 population. Interestingly, while comprising over a quarter of the City, Latinos actually make up a smaller share of the City than they do of the suburbs. Latinos comprise the largest shares in the Southern portions, in areas such as Barrio Logan and Logan Heights and along the Mexican Border in San Ysidro and Otay Mesa. Few live in tracts within La Jolla, Pacific Beach, and La Playa in the Western parts of the City and Carmel Valley and Rancho Bernardo in the north. Areas which saw the greatest Latino growth during the 1990s included City Heights East and West and Lincoln Park in the southern section of the City and San Ysidro along the Mexican Border. In contrast, tracts in Carmel Valley to the north and Midway, Little Italy, Harborview, and Sherman Heights in the Southwest saw the strongest declines. **[Figures 6a and 6b]**

Asians were the only group to show stronger absolute population growth in the City (65,000 people) than in the suburbs (41,000 people) as they increased by over 50 percent. Asians now comprise about one sixth of the City population. Asian shares of the population are largest in the far southeast corner of the City in parts of Bay Terraces, Alta Vista and Encanto as well as in certain parts of Sorrento Valley and Mira Mesa to the North. Most rapid growth is occurring primarily to the North in tracts within Mira Mesa, Ranch Penasquitos and Carmel Mountain. Areas of Asian decline are few and widely scattered, mostly in the southern part of the City in portions of Midway District, Linda Vista, Chollas View and Otay Mesa. **[Figures 7a and 7b]**

Blacks now make up a smaller share of the City than they did in 1990, adding less than 5,000 people to their numbers, and their growth rate significantly lagged those of other minority groups. Black concentration is highest in the southeast parts of the City, in neighborhoods such as Webster, Emerald Hills, Skyline, Valencia Park and Mountain View. They also comprise a sizeable share in parts of Miramar and Scripps Ranch in the

Figure 4a

Black Share of Population: 2000
San Diego Suburbs

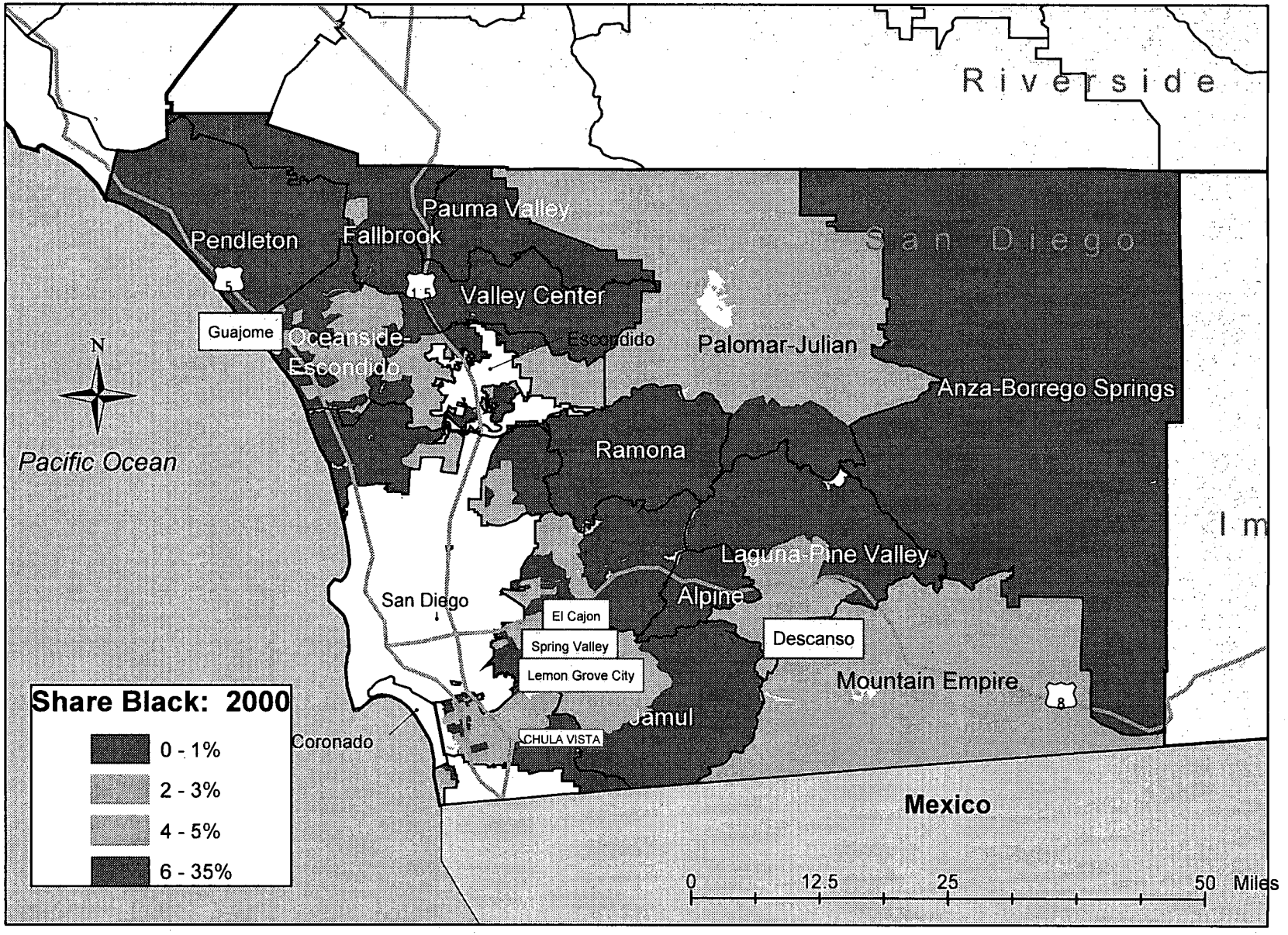


Figure 4b

Change in Black Population: 1990-2000
San Diego Suburbs

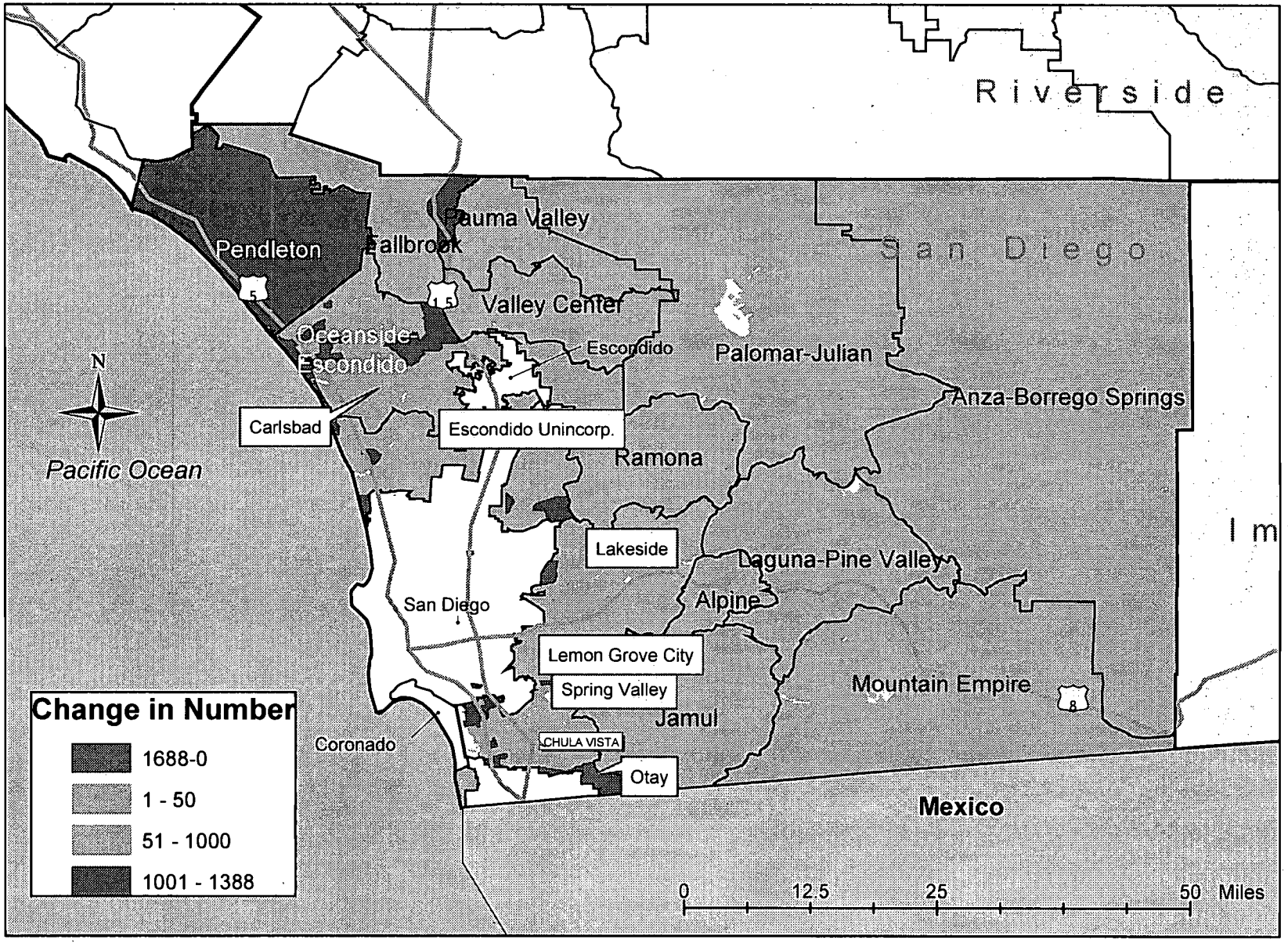


Figure 5a

White Share of Population: 2000
San Diego Suburbs

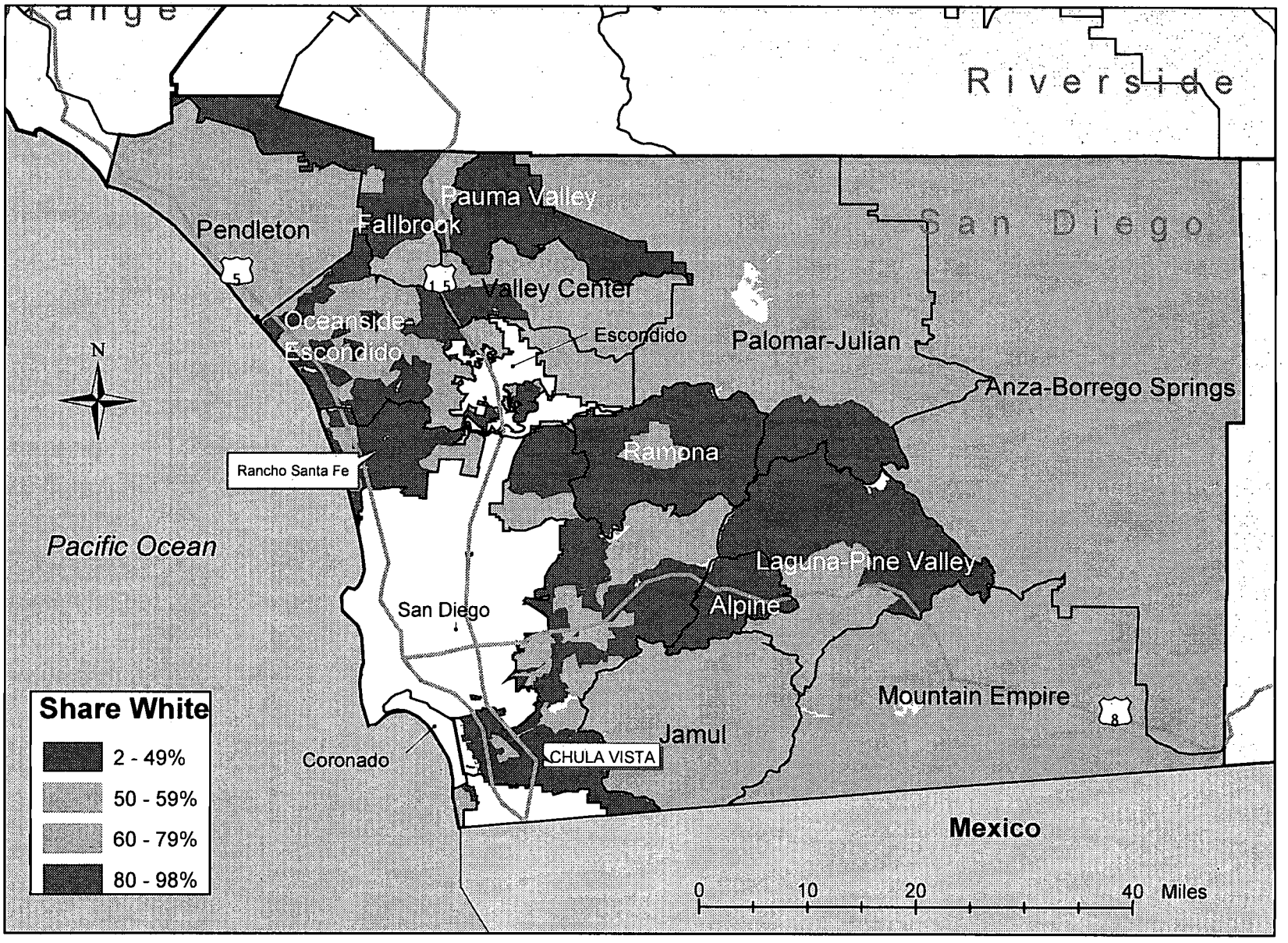


Figure 5b

Change in White Population: 1990-2000
San Diego Suburbs

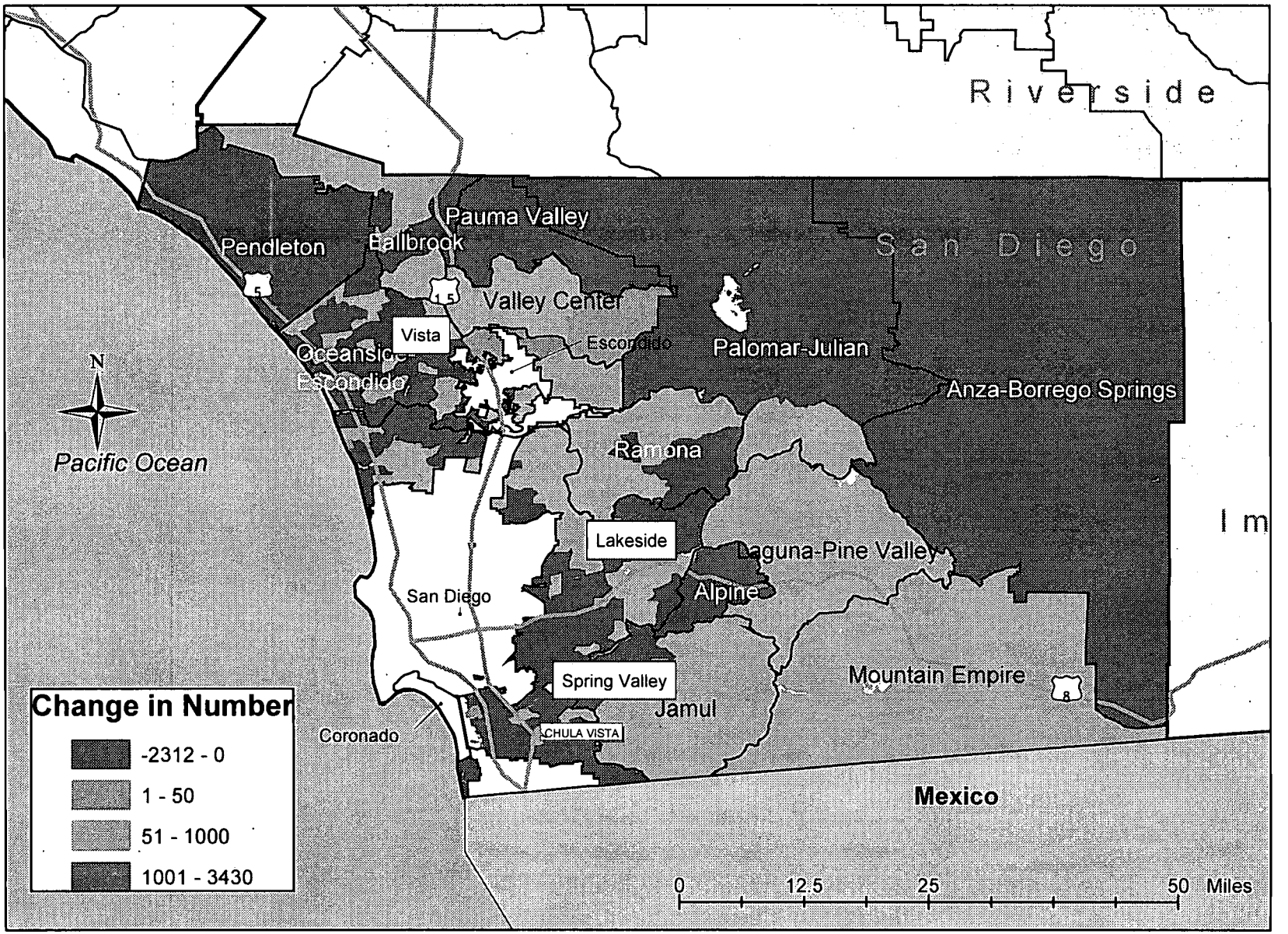


Figure 6a

Latino Share of Population: 2000
City of San Diego

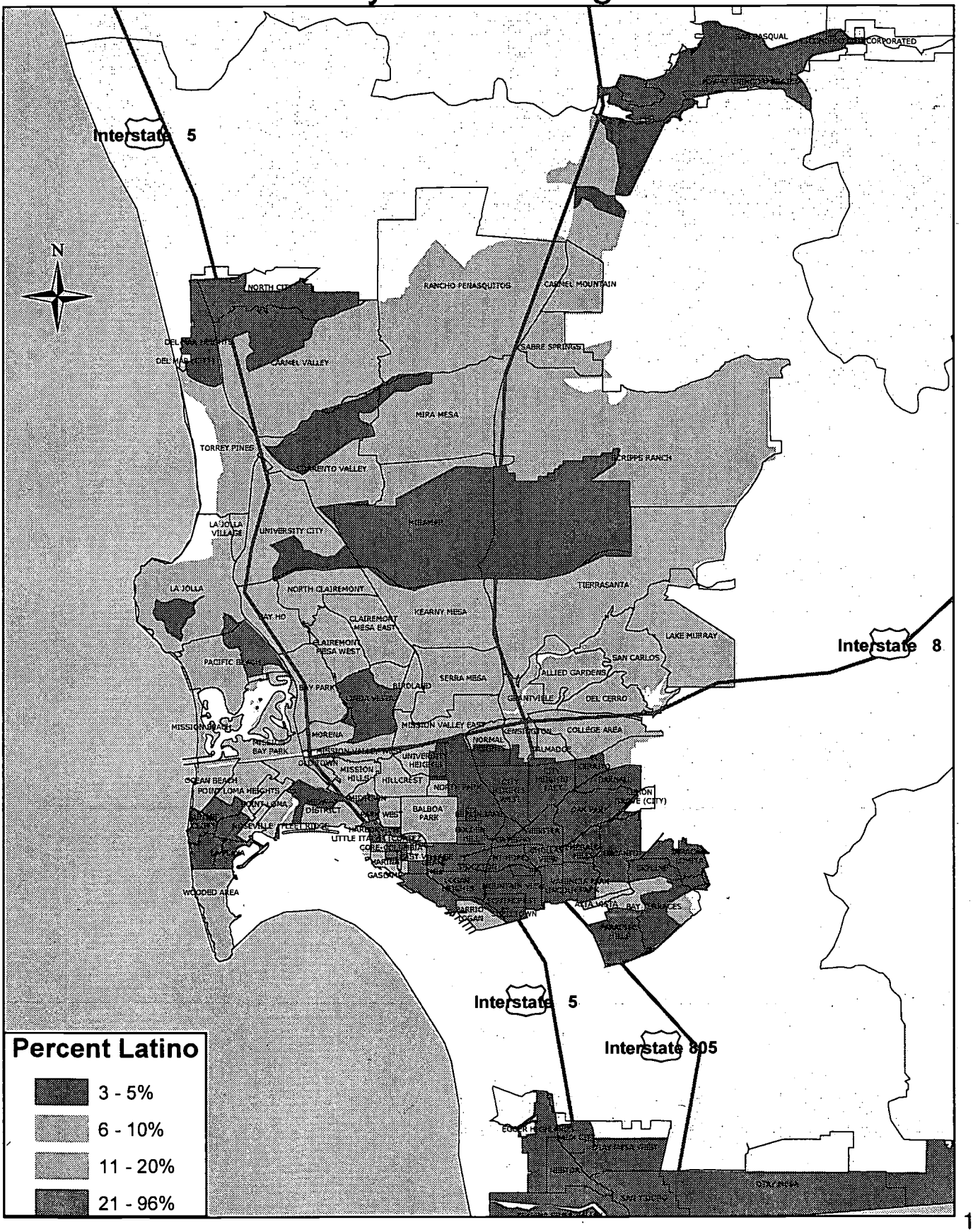


Figure 6b

Change in Latino Population: 1990-2000
City of San Diego

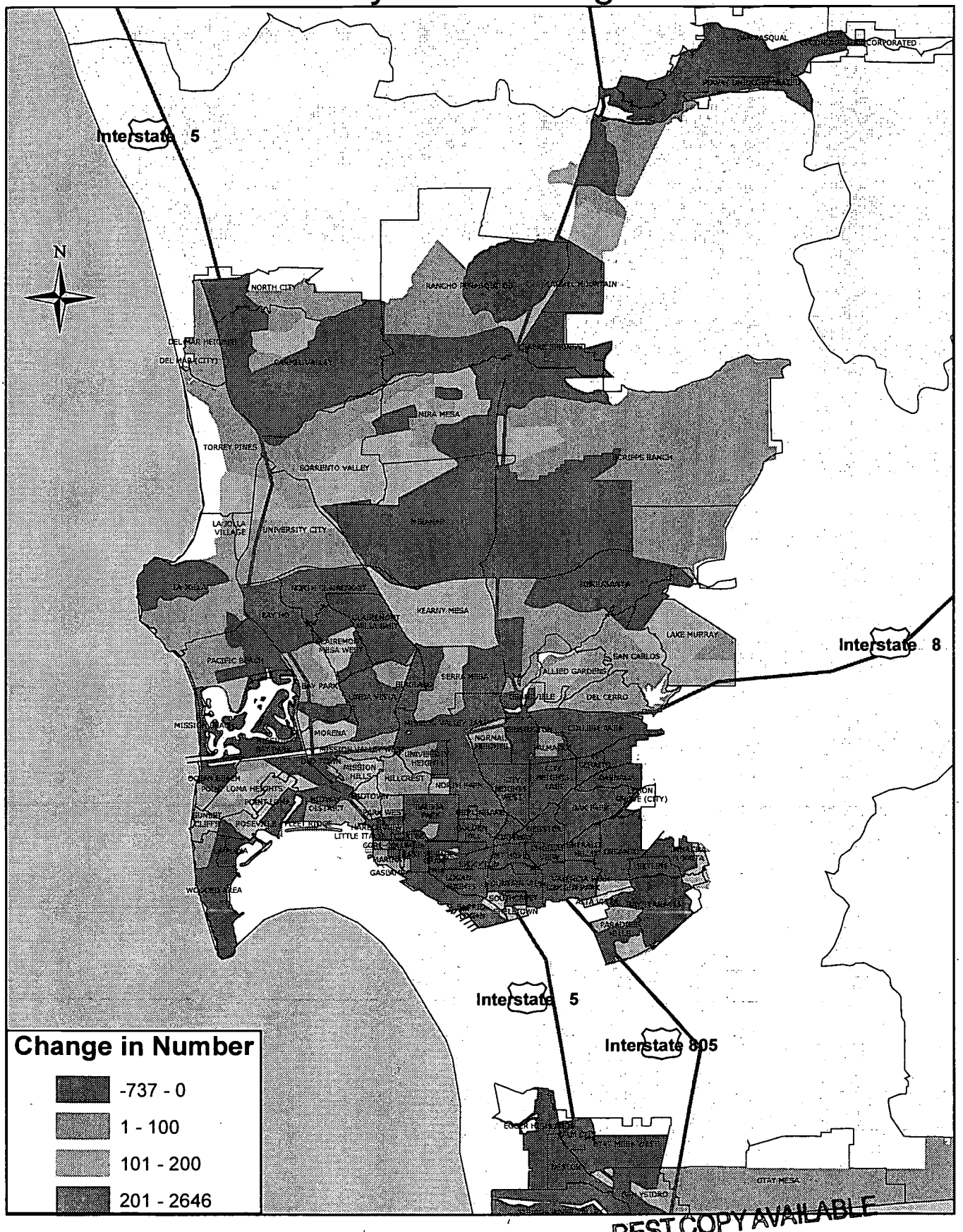


Figure 7a

Asian Share of Population: 2000
City of San Diego

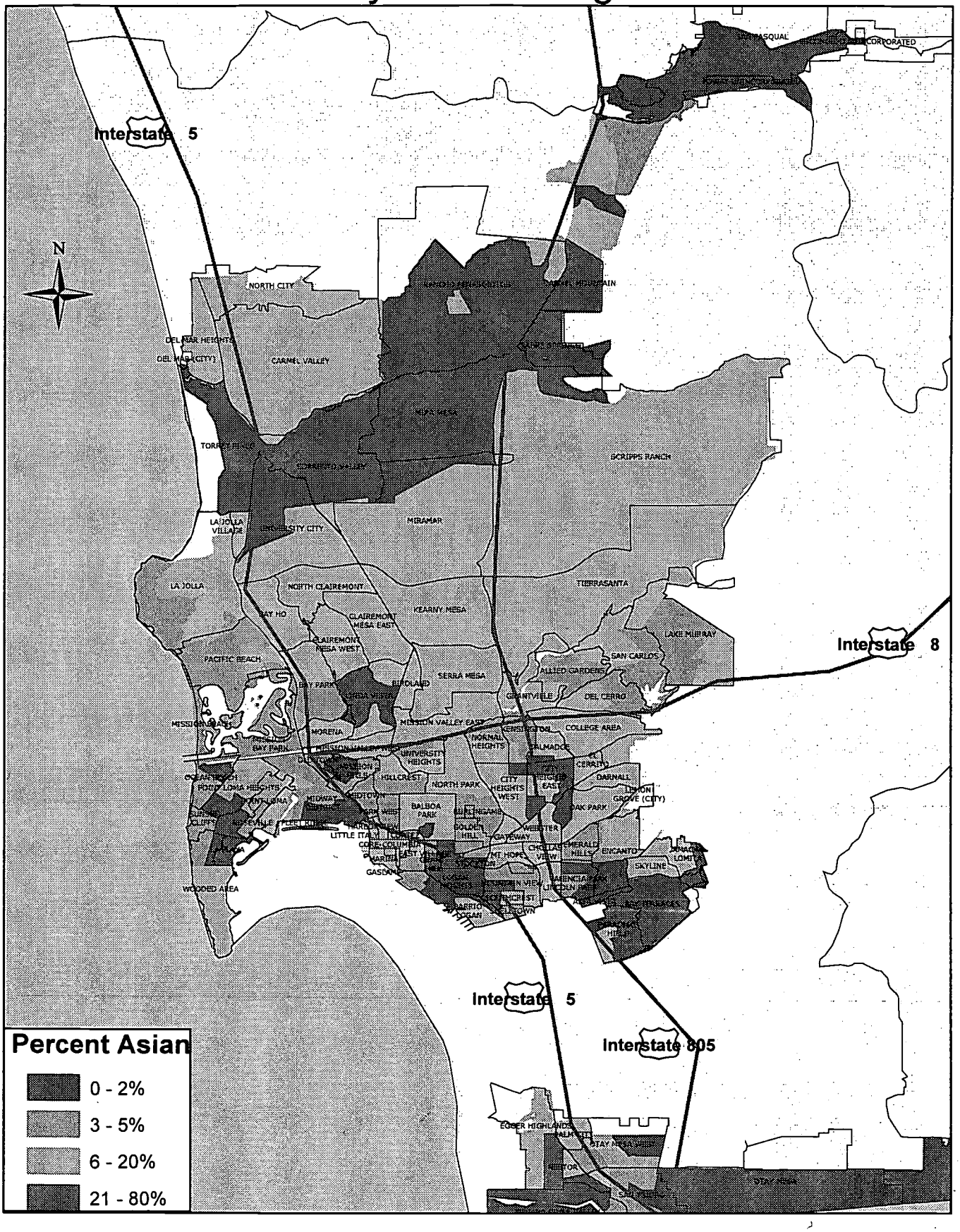
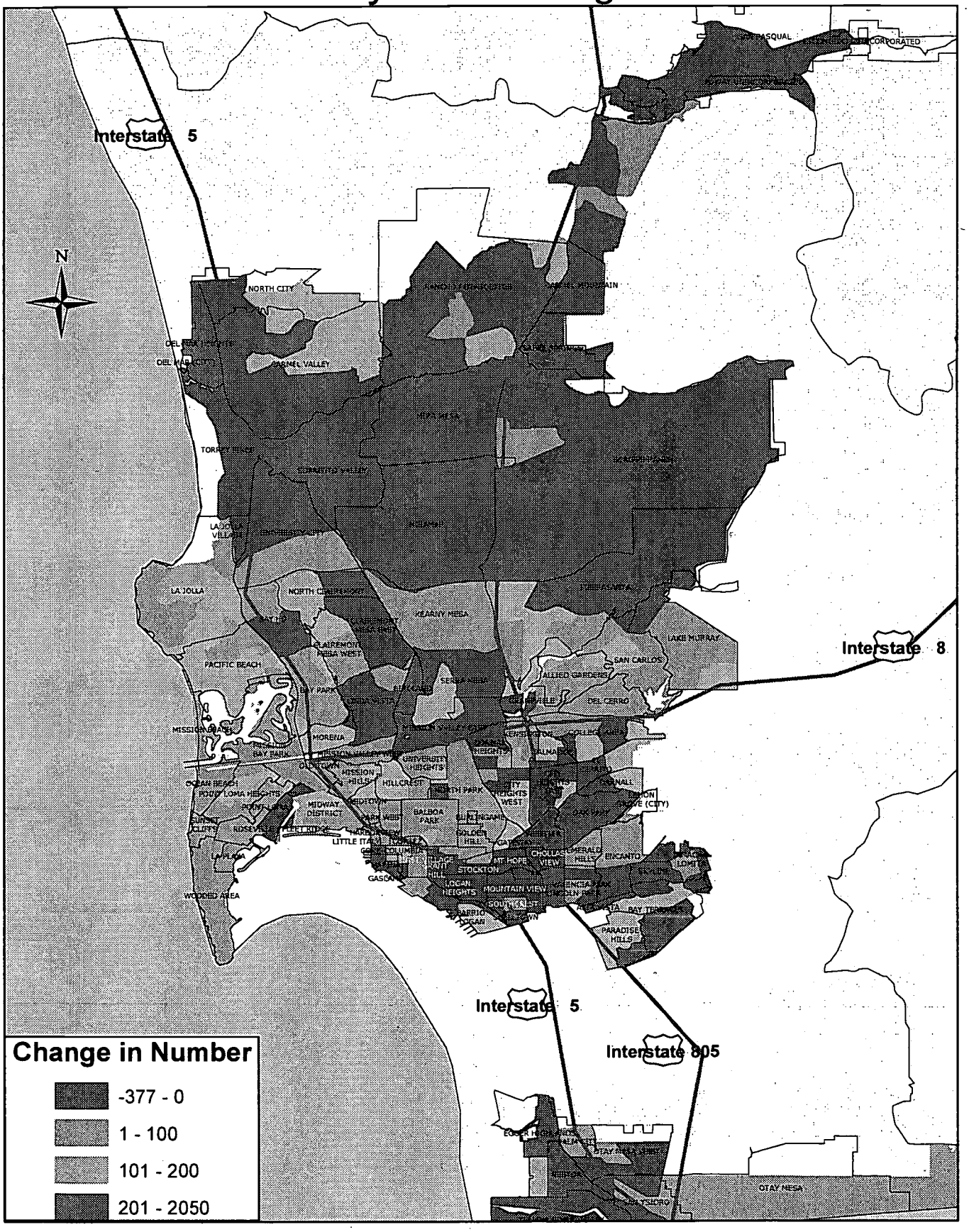


Figure 7b

Change in Asian Population: 1990-2000
City of San Diego



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mid part of the City. Interestingly, while these more central areas continue to see black increase, many of the southeastern sections with large black shares experienced absolute black declines over the last decade. **[Figures 8a and 8b]**

The City went from being almost being 60 percent non-Latino white in 1990 to being "majority-minority" in 2000 as the white population declined by almost 50,000. Whites have the highest concentrations in Rancho Bernardo to the far north and La Jolla, Pacific Beach, Pt. Loma Heights, Roseville/Fleet Ridge, and La Playa along the coast. Their concentrations are lowest in the southeast portions of the City as well as along the Mexican border. Strongest white growth occurred mostly in the northern portions of the City, in Carmel Valley, Carmel Mountain, Ranch Penasquitos, and parts of Sabre Springs and Scripps Ranch. White declines were most concentrated in the South, Midway District, Bay Terraces, Barrio Logan, Kensington, Normal Heights and in certain tracts in Tierrasanta, Clairmont Mesa East and Sorrento Valley. [**Figures 9a and 9b**]

Trends in Residential Segregation

While residential segregation between most racial groups within San Diego remained relatively unchanged over the 1990s, segregation between whites and Latinos increased, particularly in the suburbs **(Table 10.)** In 2000, 50.6 percent of Latinos would have to move to another census tract in order for the racial composition of each tract to mirror the racial composition of the metro as a whole, up from 45.7 percent in 1990. This measure, the dissimilarity index, ranges from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation.) In the suburbs 44.5 percent of Latinos would have to move to another census tract in order for the racial composition of each tract to mirror the racial composition of the suburbs as a whole, up from 38.4 percent in 1990. Latino/white segregation also rose in the City and is at a substantially higher level than in the suburbs. Latino/white segregation in the City is now at a level equal to black/white segregation, reflecting an increase in the former and decrease in the latter. However, the suburban trend is especially troubling since most population growth is occurring in suburban areas. [**Figure 10**]

In the metropolitan area as a whole, black/white segregation appears to have declined. However, this result may be due largely to the faster growth of blacks in the suburbs, where overall segregation rates are lower. Within the City and suburban portions individually, dissimilarity indices fell only marginally.

The worsening of Latino/white segregation, especially in the suburbs, can also be seen by examining exposure indices that measure the racial composition of tracts occupied by average members of each racial group. For example, the suburbs went from being 20.3 percent Latino in 1990 to 27 percent Latino in 2000, an **increase of 33 percent**. But the neighborhood occupied by the average white resident went from 16.6 percent Latino to 20.3 percent Latino, an **increase of just 22 percent**. Meanwhile, the suburbs went from being 70.4 percent white to 59.8 percent white, a **decrease of 15.1 percent**. But the neighborhood occupied by the average Latino resident went from being 57.6 percent

Figure 8a

Black Share of Population: 2000
City of San Diego

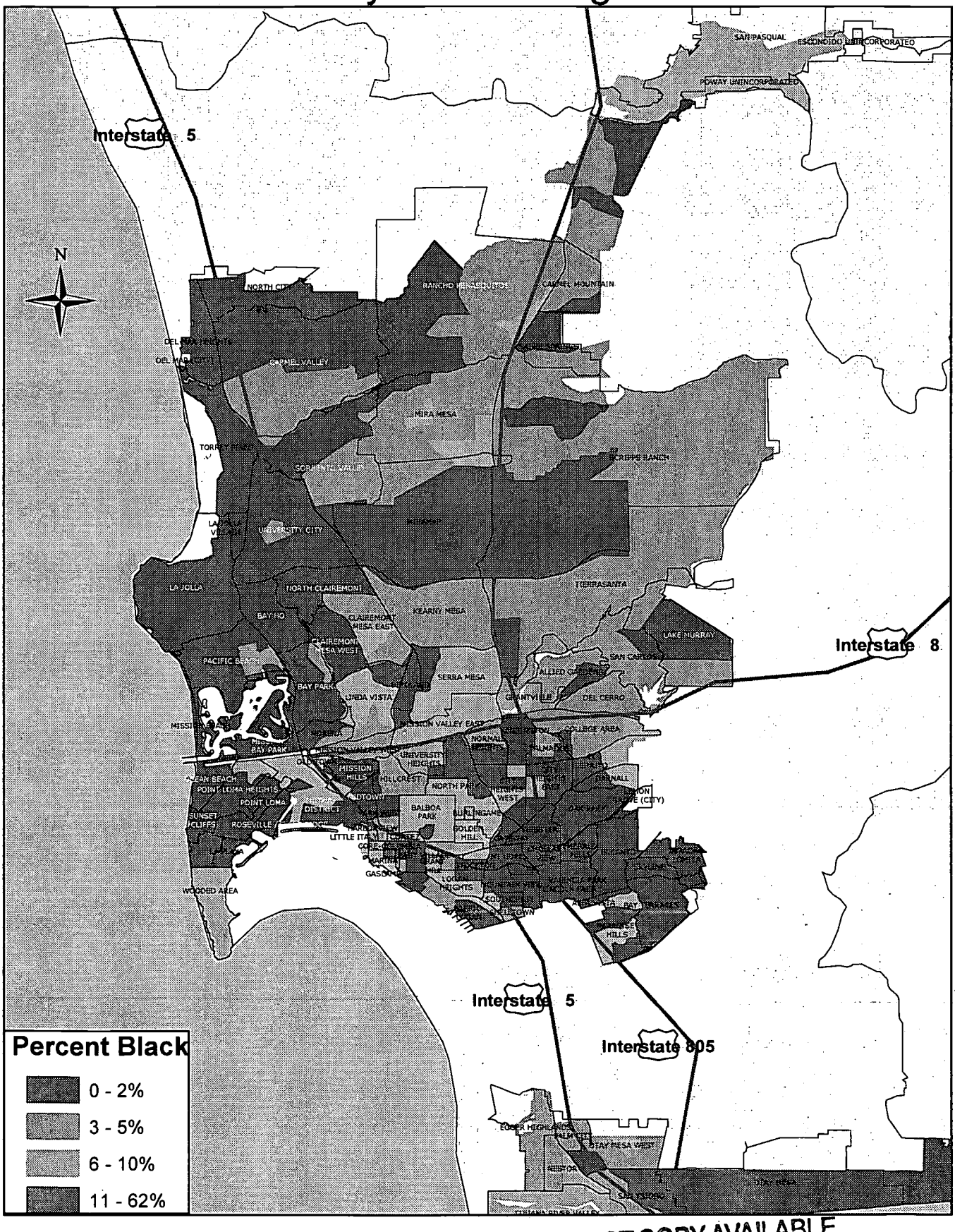

Figure 8b Change in Black Population: 1990-2000
City of San Diego

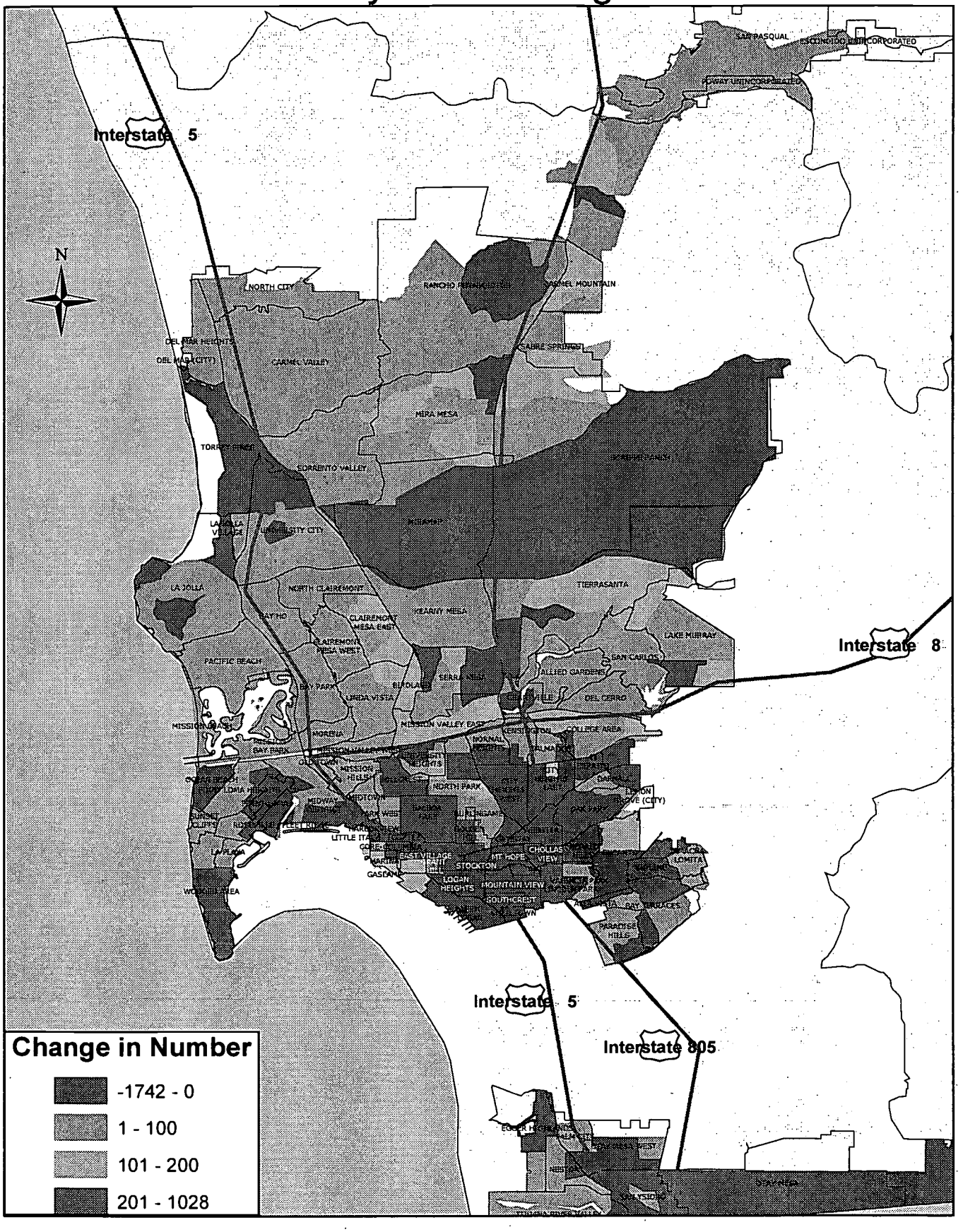

Figure 9a

White Share of Population: 2000
City of San Diego

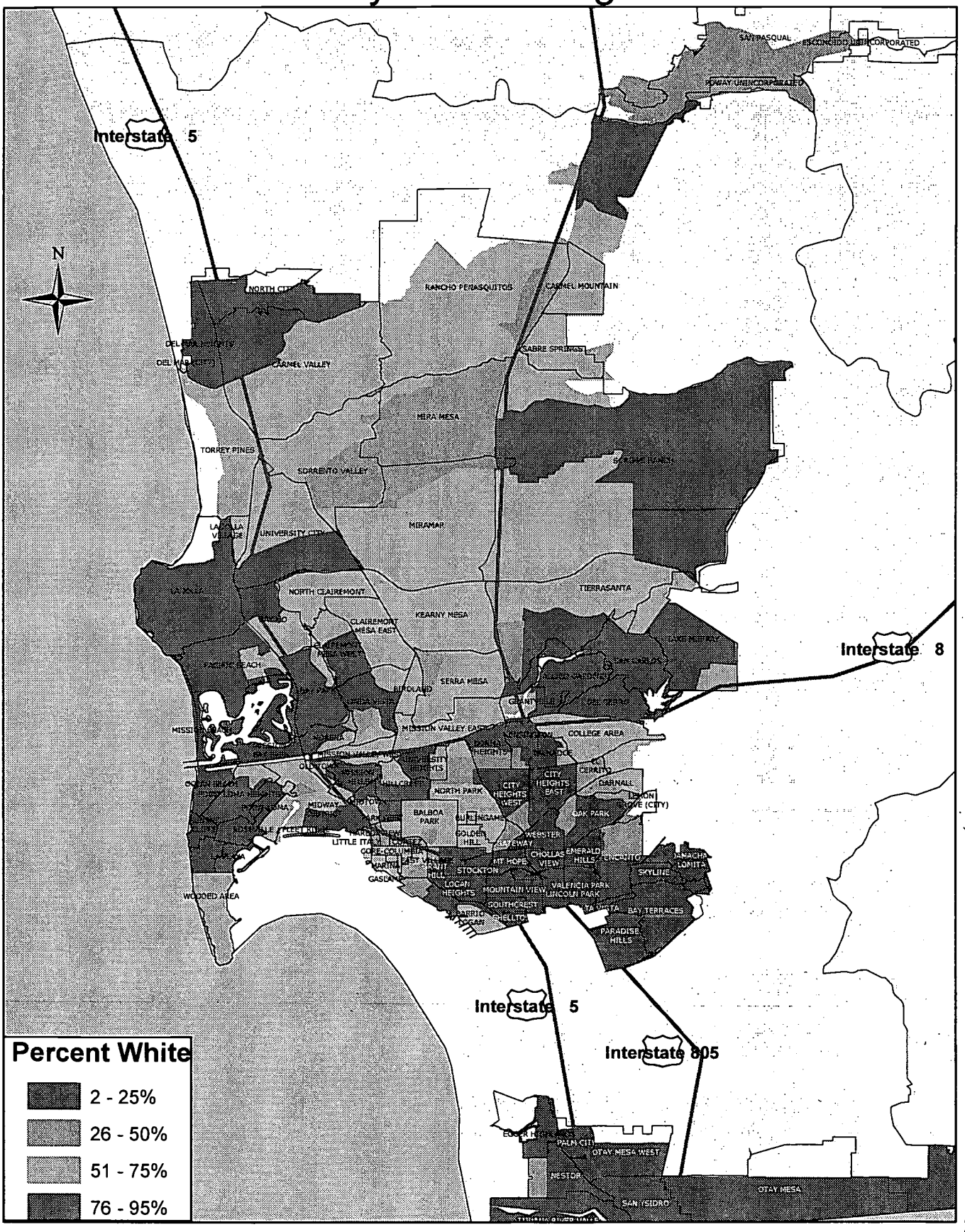

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Figure 9b Change in White Population: 1990-2000
City of San Diego

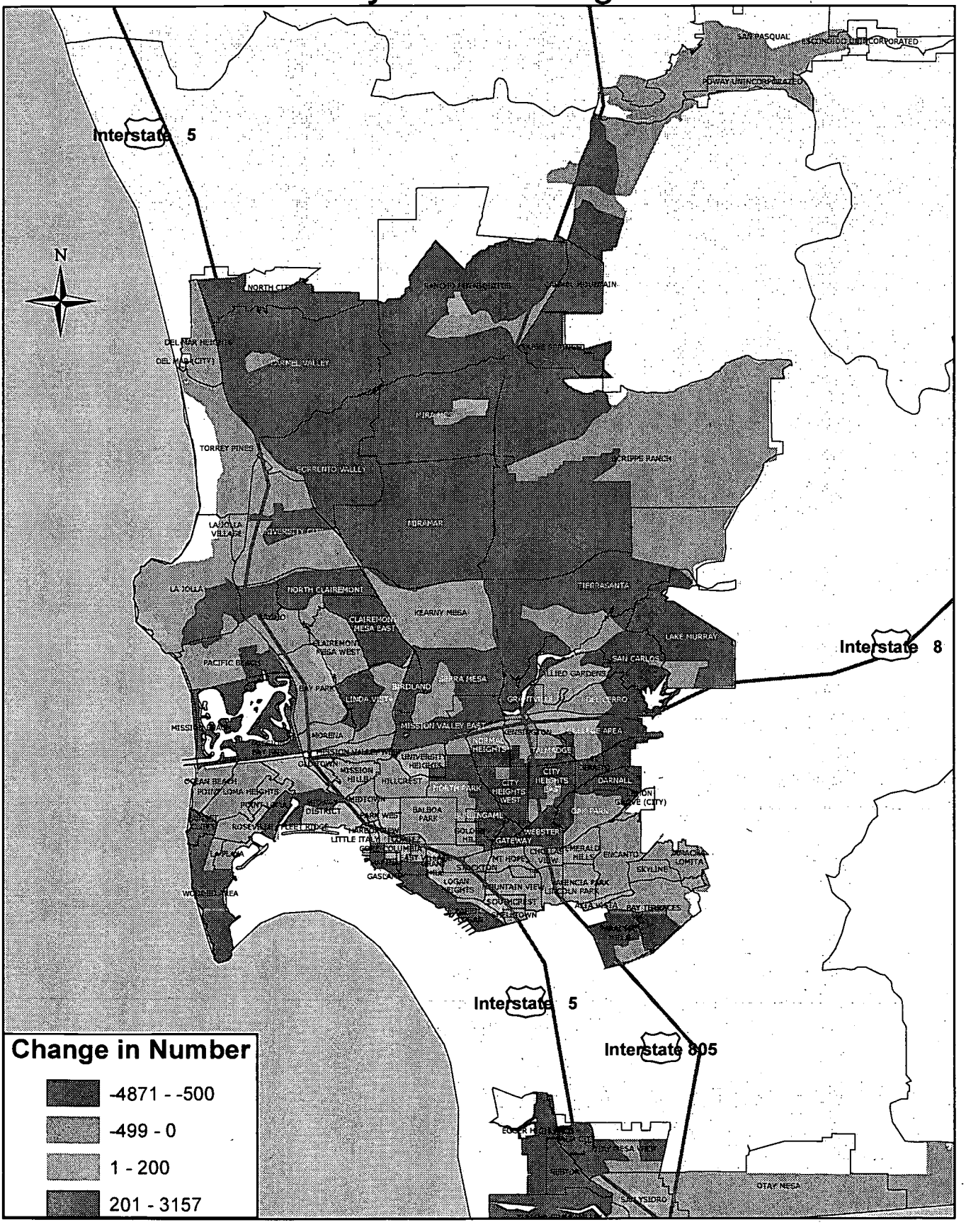


Figure 10

Change in San Diego Segregation: 1990-2000
(Dissimilarity Indices)

	Total Population			Under Age 18		
	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Metro Area						
White/Black	58.8	53.8	-5.0	61.3	57.3	-4.0
White/Latino	45.7	50.6	4.9	50.3	56.0	5.7
White/Asian	48.3	46.7	-1.6	51.6	48.1	-3.5
Black/Latino	44.4	39.8	-4.6	45.9	41.0	-4.9
Black/Asian	45.0	42.9	-2.1	43.6	42.6	-1.0
Latino/Asian	42.6	44.6	2.0	46.8	47.3	0.5
City of San Diego						
White/Black	62.6	60.7	-1.9	64.3	65.3	1.0
White/Latino	56.0	60.0	4.0	62.1	68.5	6.4
White/Asian	49.8	47.6	-2.2	48.7	47.8	-0.9
Black/Latino	40.0	37.2	-2.8	42.8	39.8	-3.0
Black/Asian	49.0	47.5	-1.5	46.9	46.8	-0.1
Latino/Asian	45.7	48.3	2.6	48.3	51.1	2.8
Suburbs						
White/Black	48.7	46.4	-2.3	50.5	48.5	-2.0
White/Latino	38.4	44.5	5.7	42.1	48.6	6.5
White/Asian	37.6	38.2	0.6	38.1	38.8	0.7
Black/Latino	38.4	35.4	-3.0	39.3	36.2	-3.1
Black/Asian	36.3	35.2	-1.1	35.9	35.7	-0.2
Latino/Asian	29.9	33.3	3.4	33.0	37.1	4.1

Notes: "Suburbs" exclude the tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the city boundaries of San Diego,Coronado, and Escondido.

Segregation is measured by the Dissimilarity Index which expresses the share of minorities that would have to move to another area (Census tract in this case) to achieve an even distribution across all areas. For this table, it ranges from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (total segregation.)

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

white to 45.1 percent white, a **decrease of 21.7 percent**. Thus Latinos' and whites' exposure to each other has decreased to a greater degree than could be explained merely by the rate of racial population change in the suburbs as a whole. This pattern is evident in the City as well. **[Figure 11]**

These exposure indices also indicate that:

- The average white City resident lives in a tract that is much "whiter" than the City as a whole, and that the white share of the population in these tracts is falling more slowly than is the white share of the City overall.

- The average black City resident lives in a tract that has roughly twice the black representation than the City overall, but their exposure to other blacks has fallen to a greater degree than would be expected based on overall black population change. Blacks continue to live in tracts with relatively high shares of Latinos and low shares of whites.

- The average Asian City resident lives in a tract with higher Asian representation than found in the City overall, but their exposure to other Asians in these tracts has risen more slowly than has the Asian share of the overall population.

All of these trends are evident in the suburbs as well, with small modifications.

Segregation of Children

The San Diego metro's child (under age 18) population is both more heavily minority and more racially segregated than the population as a whole. The number of white children in both the City and suburbs has fallen faster than the overall white population. Within the City of San Diego, minorities now comprise two thirds of all children. Latinos make up the largest single share of children in the City (38 percent,) having added 32,000 over the decade. The number of white children fell by 11,000 over the same period. Blacks added 4,000 to their number but now comprise a smaller share of the child population than they did in 1990. The number of Asian children increased by 11,000, and Asians now make up a sixth of the City's children. **[Figure 12]**

The suburbs are also now "majority-minority" in terms of the child population. Whites still comprise the single largest racial group (48 percent,) but their numbers declined by 14,000 over the decade. In contrast, the number of Latino children increased by over 50,000. The number of suburban black and Asian children also increased by over 50 percent, and Asian children now substantially outnumber blacks.

Racial segregation among children is higher than for the overall population, but, on the whole, it is following similar trends. Overall, segregation rates have changed little over the decade. However, segregation between white and Latino children has grown even more markedly than for the total population. Latino children in both the City and suburbs now face segregation rates at least as high as blacks. Segregation between Asian and

Figure 11

Racial Composition of Census Tracts Occupied by Average Resident of Each Race: 1990 and 2000

San Diego Metro

Tract Composition	Composition of Total Area			Composition of Tracts Occupied by Average Resident of Specified Race											
				White			Black			Asian			Latino		
	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change
% Black	6.0	6.2	3.3	3.9	4.3	10.3	18.9	15.1	-20.1	8.7	7.8	-10.3	7.8	7.5	-3.8
% White	65.4	55.0	-15.9	74.4	67.2	-9.7	42.8	38.0	-11.2	51.5	44.7	-13.2	48.2	37.8	-21.6
% Asian	7.4	10.5	41.9	5.8	8.5	46.6	10.7	13.1	22.4	17.6	21.6	22.7	7.8	9.7	24.4
% Latino	20.5	26.7	30.2	15.1	18.3	21.2	26.7	32.3	21.0	21.6	24.7	14.4	35.3	43.6	23.5

City of San Diego

Tract Composition	Composition of Total Area			White			Black			Asian			Latino		
	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change
% Black	8.9	8.5	-4.5	5.2	5.1	-1.9	24.1	19.5	-19.1	10.5	9.0	-14.3	12.0	11.0	-8.3
% White	58.7	49.4	-15.8	72.7	66.1	-9.1	34.3	29.7	-13.4	46.8	41.0	-12.4	36.0	28.0	-22.2
% Asian	11.1	15.4	38.7	8.9	12.8	43.8	13.1	16.5	26.0	22.3	27.3	22.4	10.6	13.0	22.6
% Latino	20.7	25.4	22.7	12.7	14.4	13.4	27.8	33.1	19.1	19.7	21.4	8.6	40.8	46.9	15.0

Suburbs

Tract Composition	Composition of Total Area			White			Black			Asian			Latino		
	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change
% Black	3.8	4.6	21.1	3.2	3.9	21.9	9.1	9.0	-1.1	5.2	5.6	7.7	4.7	5.3	12.8
% White	70.4	59.8	-15.1	75.5	68.2	-9.7	58.8	49.9	-15.1	59.8	50.3	-15.9	57.6	45.1	-21.7
% Asian	4.6	6.8	47.8	3.9	5.8	48.7	6.2	8.3	33.9	8.5	12.1	42.4	5.8	7.8	34.5
% Latino	20.3	27	33.0	16.6	20.3	22.3	24.9	31.1	24.9	25.8	30.6	18.6	30.9	40.1	29.8

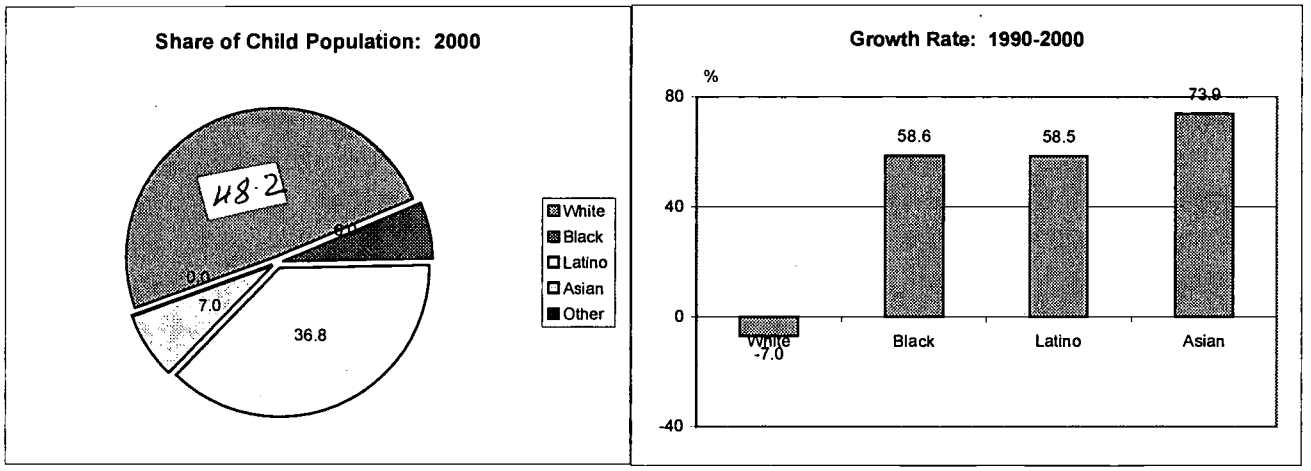
Notes: Latinos may be of any race.
Other racial groups contain only non-Latino members. Asians include Pacific-Islanders.
Notes: "Suburbs" exclude the tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the city boundaries of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

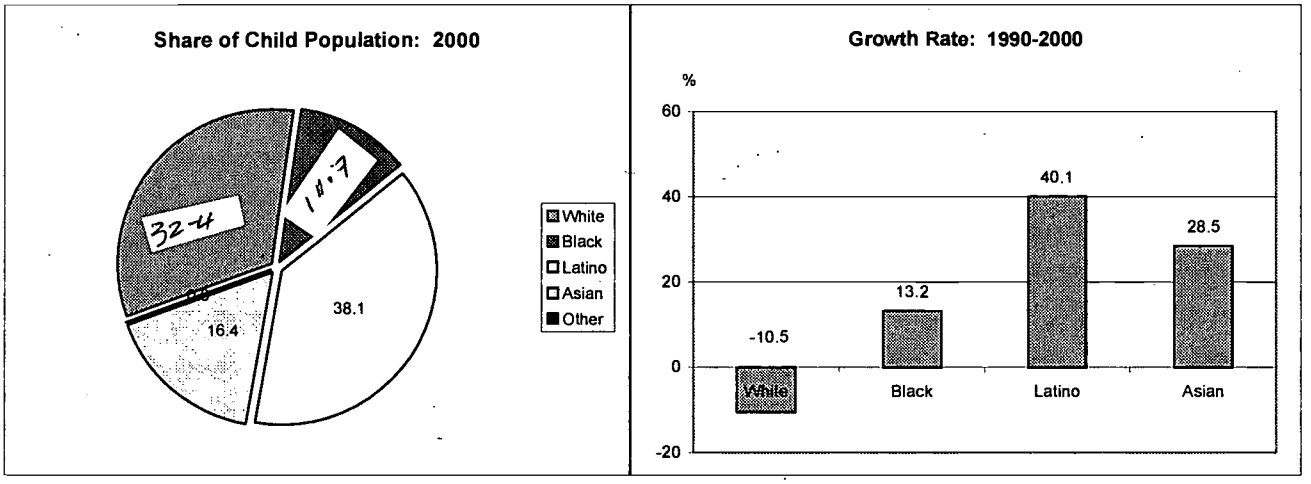
Figure 12

Over Half of Suburban and 2/3 of City Children are Minority

San Diego Suburbs



City of San Diego



Notes: Latinos may be of any race.
Other racial groups contain only non-Latino members. Asians include Pacific-Islanders.
Notes: "Suburbs" exclude the tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the city boundaries of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.

Latino children has also increased, particularly in the suburbs, while segregation between black and Latino children has declined moderately **[Figure 10.]**

Exposure indices reinforce most of these findings. Within both the City and suburbs, white and Asian children now face less exposure to Latino children in the tracts where they live than would be explained merely by overall population changes. For example, in the City of San Diego, while the Latino share of all children grew from 31.2 percent in 1990 to 38.1 percent in 2000, and **increase of 22.2 percent**, the tracts occupied by the average white child went from 17.2 percent Latino to just 18.7 percent Latino, **an increase of just 8.7 percent. [Figure 13]**

Exposure indices for children also show that:

- White children continue to be more exposed to other white children in the tracts where they live relative to the white representation in the metro area as a whole. Though the white share of the overall population is declining, the tract occupied by the average white child has seen a more moderate decline in white representation.

- The tract occupied by the average black child has two times the black presence than that found in the City or suburbs overall, but exposure to other black children is falling to a greater degree in these tracts than in the overall population.

- Asian children in the City have higher than expected exposure to other Asian children but lower exposure to Latino children. This latter finding does not hold in the suburbs, however, where the tract occupied by the average Asian child is roughly 37 percent Latino, the same share found in the suburbs as a whole.

Growth and Segregation of Homeowners

Homeownership rates in the San Diego metro area inched upward during the 1990s, from 53.8 percent in 1990 to 55.4 percent in 2000, reflecting a net increase of almost 74,000 owners. Growth of Latino homeowners outpaced that of whites, both in absolute terms (24,000 versus 22,000 owner growth) and in percent change (52 percent vs. 6 percent.) The number of Asian owners also increased by over 50 percent over the decade. **[Figure 14]**

Sixty percent of total owner growth and 80 percent of black owner growth occurred in the suburbs. In contrast, most of the increase in Asian owners--about two thirds--occurred in the City.

One might expect that racial segregation among homeowners of different racial groups might be less than among the overall population, given higher levels of owner income and lack of the type of subsidized housing that has helped to concentrate renters by race

Figure 13

Racial Composition of Census Tracts Occupied by Average Child of Each Race: 1990 and 2000

City of San Diego	Composition of Total Area			Composition of Tracts Occupied by Average Resident of Specified Race											
				White			Black			Asian			Latino		
Neighborhood Composition	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change
% Black	11.9	11.7	-1.2	6.6	6.7	1.5	25.8	22.3	-13.6	12.8	11.9	-7.0	13.1	12.7	-3.1
% White	41.5	32.4	-21.9	63.0	57.2	-9.2	23.1	18.5	-19.9	35.4	31.1	-12.1	22.9	15.9	-30.6
% Asian	14.7	16.4	12.0	12.5	15.8	26.4	15.8	16.6	5.1	25.9	27.9	7.7	11.8	12.0	1.7
% Latino	31.2	38.1	22.2	17.2	18.7	8.7	34.3	41.3	20.4	25.1	27.9	11.2	51.5	58.4	13.4
Suburbs															
	Composition of			White			Black			Asian			Latino		
Neighborhood Composition	Total Area 1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change	1990	2000	% Change
% Black	4.6	6.0	32.8	3.7	5	35.1	10.0	10.8	8.0	6.2	7.1	14.5	5.2	6.5	25.0
% White	61.8	48.2	-22.1	69.9	61.1	-12.6	50.6	39.6	-21.7	53.1	42.5	-20.0	47.4	33.6	-29.1
% Asian	4.8	7.0	45.6	4.1	6.2	51.2	6.6	8.3	25.8	8.0	11.8	47.5	5.5	7.1	29.1
% Latino	27.7	36.8	32.7	21.3	25.7	20.7	31.8	39.4	23.9	31.8	37.1	16.7	40.7	51.1	25.6

Notes: Latinos may be of any race.
Other racial groups contain only non-Latino members. Asians include Pacific-Islanders.

Notes: "Suburbs" exclude the tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the city boundaries of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

Figure 14

Change in Number of Homeowners by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000

	Number of Owners: 2000				Absolute Change in Owners (Minimum)				Percent Change in Owners (Minimum)			
	Non-Latino White	Latino	Black	Asian	Non-Latino White	Latino	Black	Asian	Non-Latino White	Latino	Black	Asian
San Diego Metro	411,838	71,740	17,596	39,561	21,827	24,475	3,313	14,198	5.6	51.8	23.2	56.0
City of San Diego	155,032	27,789	11,405	25,066	5,992	7,549	530	8,611	4.0	37.3	4.9	52.3
Other Central Cities												
Coronado	3,692	186	7	69	209	48	3	22	6.0	34.8	75.0	46.8
Escondido	17,979	3,695	259	984	9	1,993	146	427	0.1	117.1	129.2	76.7
Suburbs	235,135	40,070	5,925	13,442	15,617	14,885	2,634	5,138	7.1	59.1	80.0	61.9

Notes: Latinos may be of any race. Asian category also includes Pacific Islanders. Black and Asian groups contain Latino members of those racial groups. Changes represent minimum changes over 1990-2000, as 2000 race figures refer to people who chose that racial group alone and exclude those who chose two or more racial groups.

"Suburbs" exclude the tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the city boundaries of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.

in the past. But segregation between white and minority homeowners is not substantially lower than segregation levels among the overall population and in some cases is noticeably higher. Black homeowners in the City of San Diego clearly experience the highest segregation levels[7]. Almost seventy percent of black owners in the City would have to another to another census tract in order that their representation relative to white owners in each tract match the City as a whole. While black segregation in the suburbs is considerably less, it is still higher than that of other racial/ethnic groups. Latino owners are less segregated than blacks but also experience lower levels of segregation in the suburbs than in the City. On the other hand, Asians, who are the least segregated from whites overall, have roughly equal dissimilarity indices in both the City and suburbs. **[Figure 15]**

Stability of Integrated Areas

Dramatically diverging growth rates of different racial groups raise the concern that rapid racial transition will destabilize previously moderately-integrated neighborhoods. In fact, none of the moderately-integrated San Diego metro census tracts underwent dramatic racial change during the 1990s, and only one underwent even substantial racial change. We define a Census tract as "moderately-integrated" if it was 10-19 percent black, 10-19 percent Latino, or 10-19 percent Latino and black combined in 1990. Dramatic racial change is defined as becoming 50 percent or more of a particular racial group by 2000. Substantial change is defined as becoming 40-49 percent of a particular group by 2000.

In the City of San Diego, the majority of moderately-integrated tracts stayed moderately-integrated, though a sizable number increased their minority shares to 20-39 percent. **[Figure 16]** Tracts that were moderately integrated with regards to Latinos were more likely to increase their Latino share of the population than were moderately integrated black tracts to increase their black share. Of the 65 moderately-integrated Latino tracts in 1990, 26 saw their Latino share increase to 20-39 percent of the total population by 2000. In contrast, of the 39 moderately-integrated black tracts in 1990, only 5 saw their black share increase to 20-39 percent of the total population.

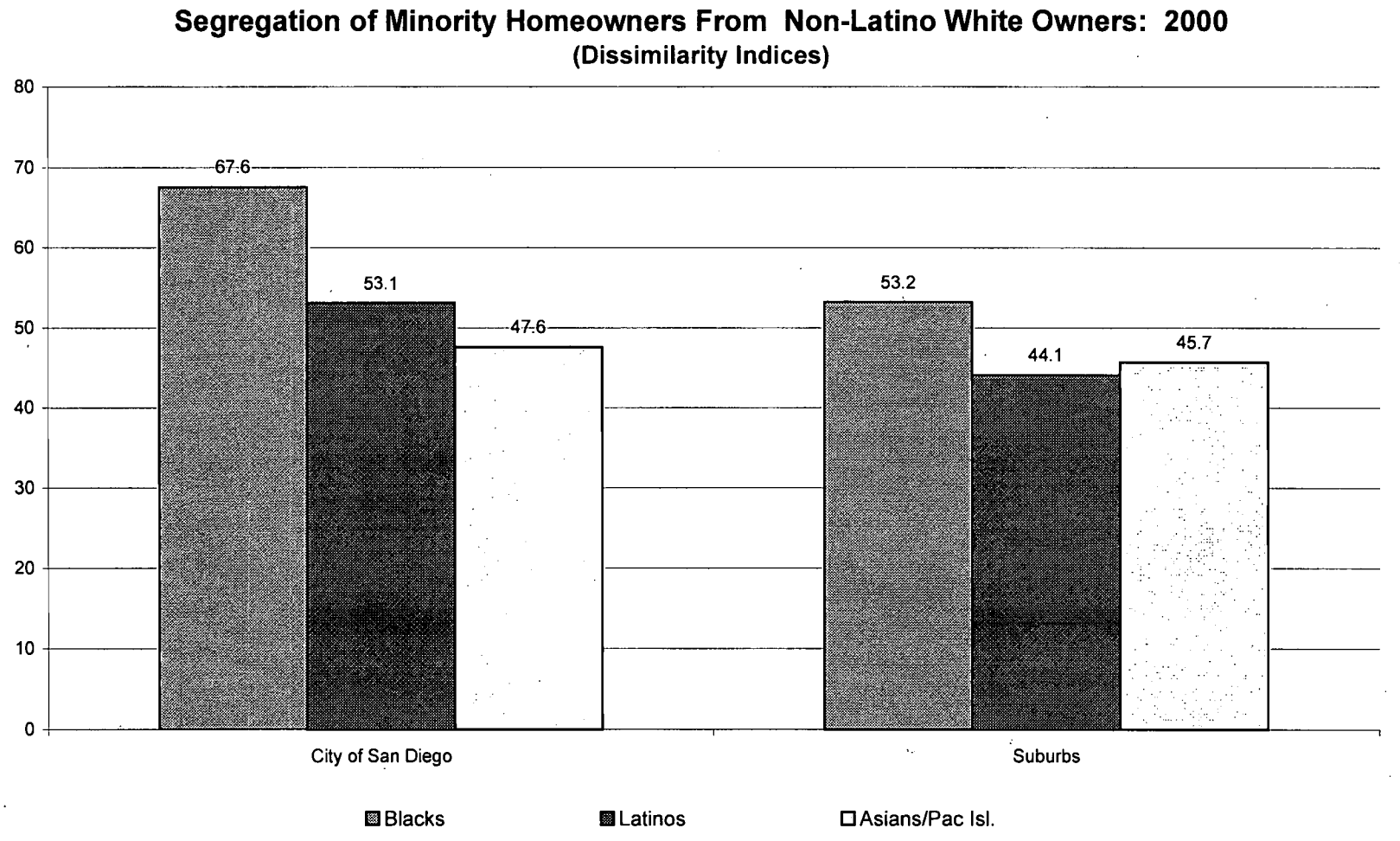
In the suburbs, the pattern was much the same. Most moderately integrated tracts remained moderately-integrated, and Latino tracts were more likely to experience increasing Latino shares than moderately-integrated black tracts were to experience increasing black shares of the total population.

Multi-Ethnic Census Tracts

Given the substantial growth of the Latino and Asian populations, it is not surprising that the number of multi-ethnic census tracts increased significantly in the City of San Diego

[7] Segregation rates between homeowners and population are not strictly comparable. For the overall population, the black and Asian racial categories exclude Latino members. For the homeowners analysis, Latinos are included in both the Latino ethnicity category and in the black or Asian racial category, as appropriate. Whites are "non-Latino" whites for both the population and homeowner analysis. Further, the homeowner analysis includes only those people who indicated only one racial category.

Figure 15



Note: Latinos may be of any race. Blacks and Asian groups contain Latino members of those groups.
Suburbs exclude tracts within the Cities of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.
Source: 2000 Census Summary File 1 data.

Figure 16

Racial Change of Moderately Integrated Tracts: 1990-2000

(Number of Census Tracts)

City of San Diego	Total Number of Tracts	Neighborhood Composition in 2000 (Distribution of Tracts)				
		50% or More	40-49%	20-39%	10-19%	Less than 10%
Neighborhood Composition in 1990						
10-19% Latino	65	0	0	26	37	2
10-19% Black	39	0	0	5	25	9
10-19% Latino and Black	67	0	0	14	51	2

Suburbs	Total Number of Tracts	Neighborhood Composition in 2000 (Distribution of Tracts)				
		50% or More	40-49%	20-39%	10-19%	Less than 10%
Neighborhood Composition in 1990						
10-19% Latino	107	0	1	47	51	8
10-19% Black	15	0	0	2	8	5
10-19% Latino and Black	95	0	0	40	48	7

Notes: " Moderately Integrated" defined as having a population which is 10-19 percent of the specified minority group.
"Neighborhood Composition in 2000" refers only to the minority group specified in the corresponding row.
Latinos may be of any race.

"Suburbs" exclude the tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the city boundaries of San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.

Source: Tabulations of the 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Files.

over the 1990s. Multi-ethnic tracts are defined as those in which three or more groups account for at least ten percent of the population. The number of such tracts grew from 79 in 1990 to 98 in 2000. The number having four groups that accounted for 10 percent or more of the population dropped slightly from 30 to 27. The most common multi-ethnic combination in the City by far was white/Latino/Asian (37 tracts), followed by the combination of all four groups (27 tracts,) Latino/black/Asian (18 tracts,) and white/Latino/black (16 tracts.) In contrast, in no tract did whites, blacks, and Asians alone each comprise at least ten percent of the tract's total population. [**Figures 17a and 17b**] Multi-ethnic tracts were already quite common in the Southeastern portion of the City by 1990. By 2000 they had also developed in the central and northern portions, especially in parts of Miramar, Mira Mesa, and Scripps Ranch.

In the suburbs the number of multi-ethnic tracts increased from 44 in 1990 to 67 in 2000. The number having four groups accounting for 10 percent or more of the population rose significantly from 4 to 13. As in the City, the white/Latino/Asian combination was most numerous (37 tracts,) followed by white/black/Latino (17 tracts) and all four groups in combination (13 tracts.) In no suburban tract did the white/black/Asian or Latino/black/Asian combination exist. Multi-ethnic tracts are most common to the south of the City and in the far north near Pendleton. New multi-ethnic areas developed mostly in the South but also along the Eastern border of the City and to the Northwest of Escondido. [**Figures 18a and 18b**]

Components of Population Change

The changing racial and ethnic make-up of the San Diego area is fundamentally attributable to three forces, natural increase (births less deaths,) foreign immigration, and domestic migration (net movement from/to San Diego from/to other parts of the U.S.) While the 2000 Census data that would allow for the analysis of these trends has not yet been released, Census Bureau estimates based on administrative records over the 1990 to 1999 period are illustrative.

Within the San Diego metro area, the primary driver of net population growth was natural increase, which added roughly 267,000 to the population over the decade. 136,000 persons were lost on net due to domestic migration while international migration drew in 164,000 people[8].

Foreign immigration played a larger role in City population growth than it did in the suburbs. 118,000[9] foreign-born people who entered the U.S. during the 1990s resided in the City in 2000, 10 percent of the total City population. In contrast, 98,000 foreign-born people who entered the U.S. during the 1990s resided in the suburbs in 2000, just 6 percent of the total suburban population.

[8] Census Bureau estimates from administrative records, 1990-1999.
[9] 2000 Census Summary File 1. These figures will differ somewhat from those gathered from administrative records.

Figure 17a

Multi-Ethnic Census Tracts: 1990
City of San Diego

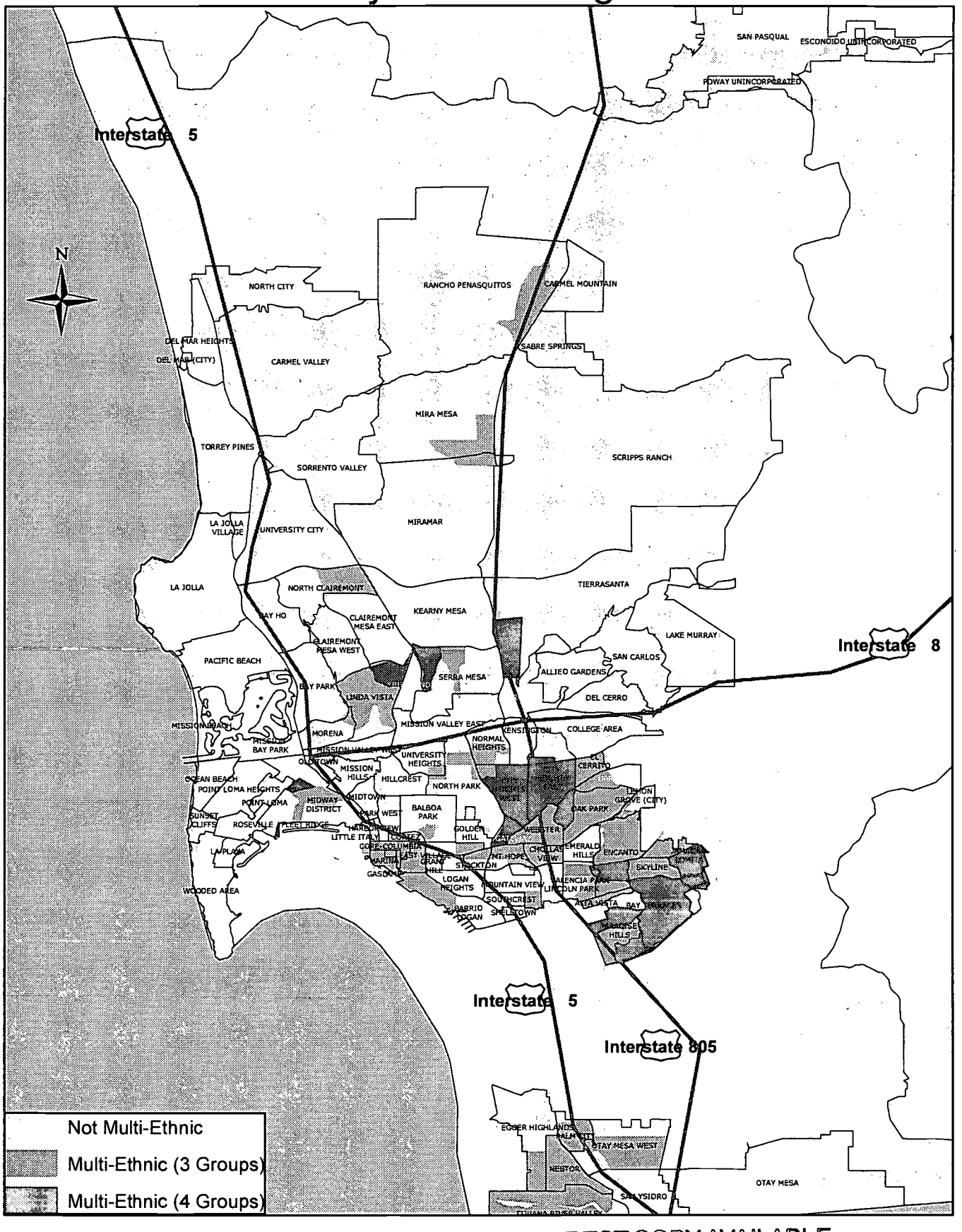


Figure 17b

Multi-Ethnic Census Tracts: 2000
City of San Diego

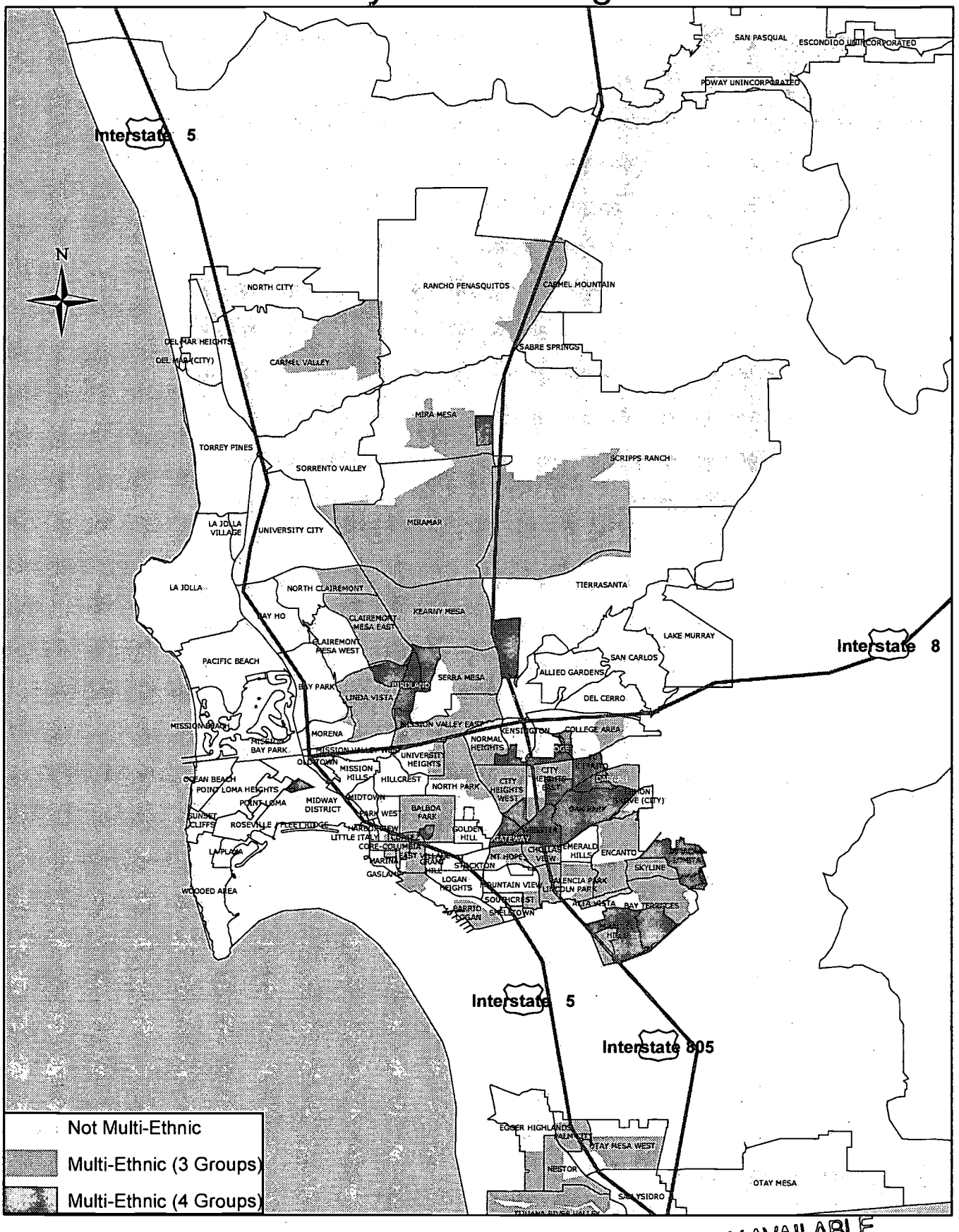


Figure 18a

Multi-Ethnic Census Tracts: 1990
San Diego Suburbs

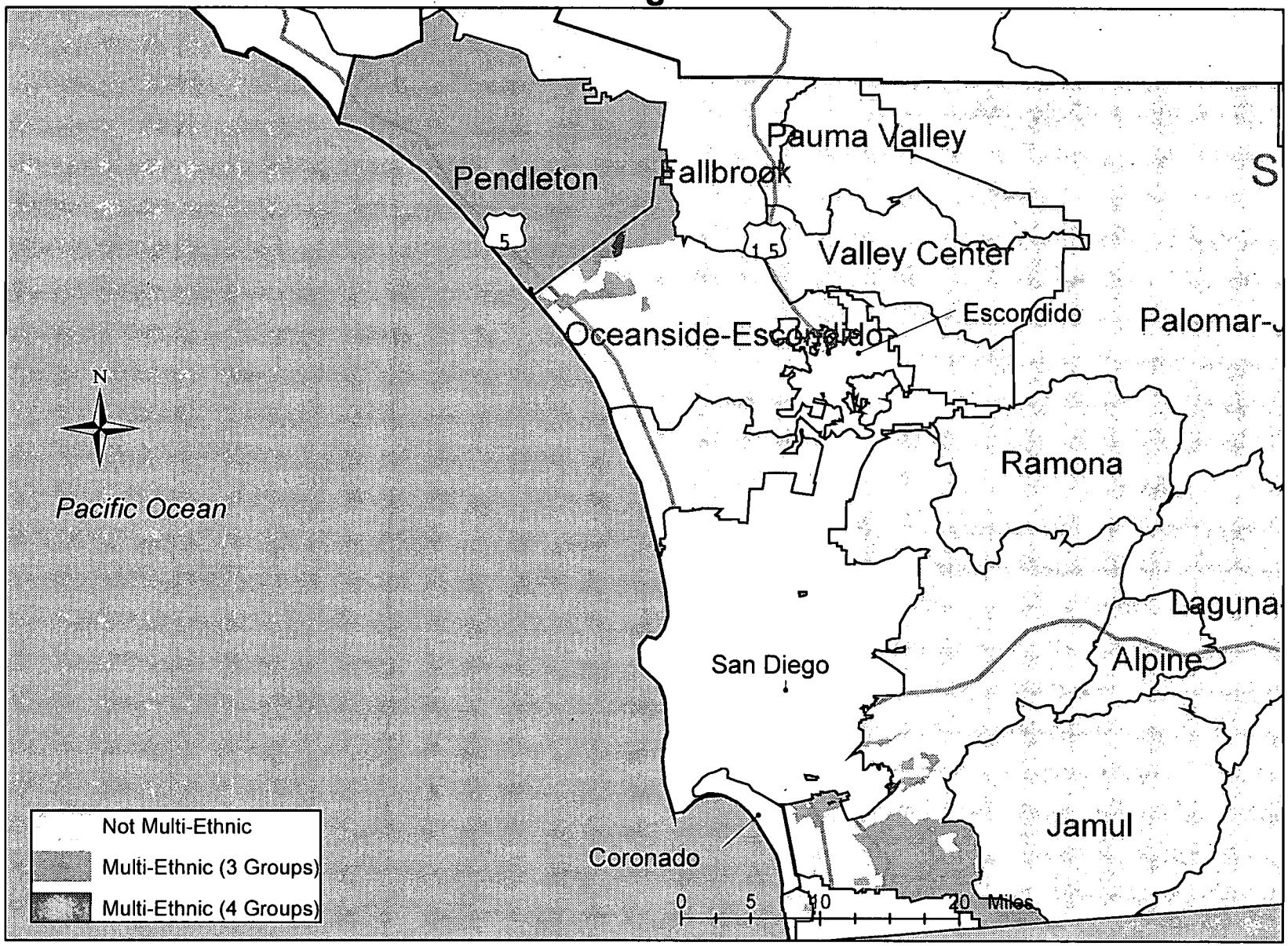
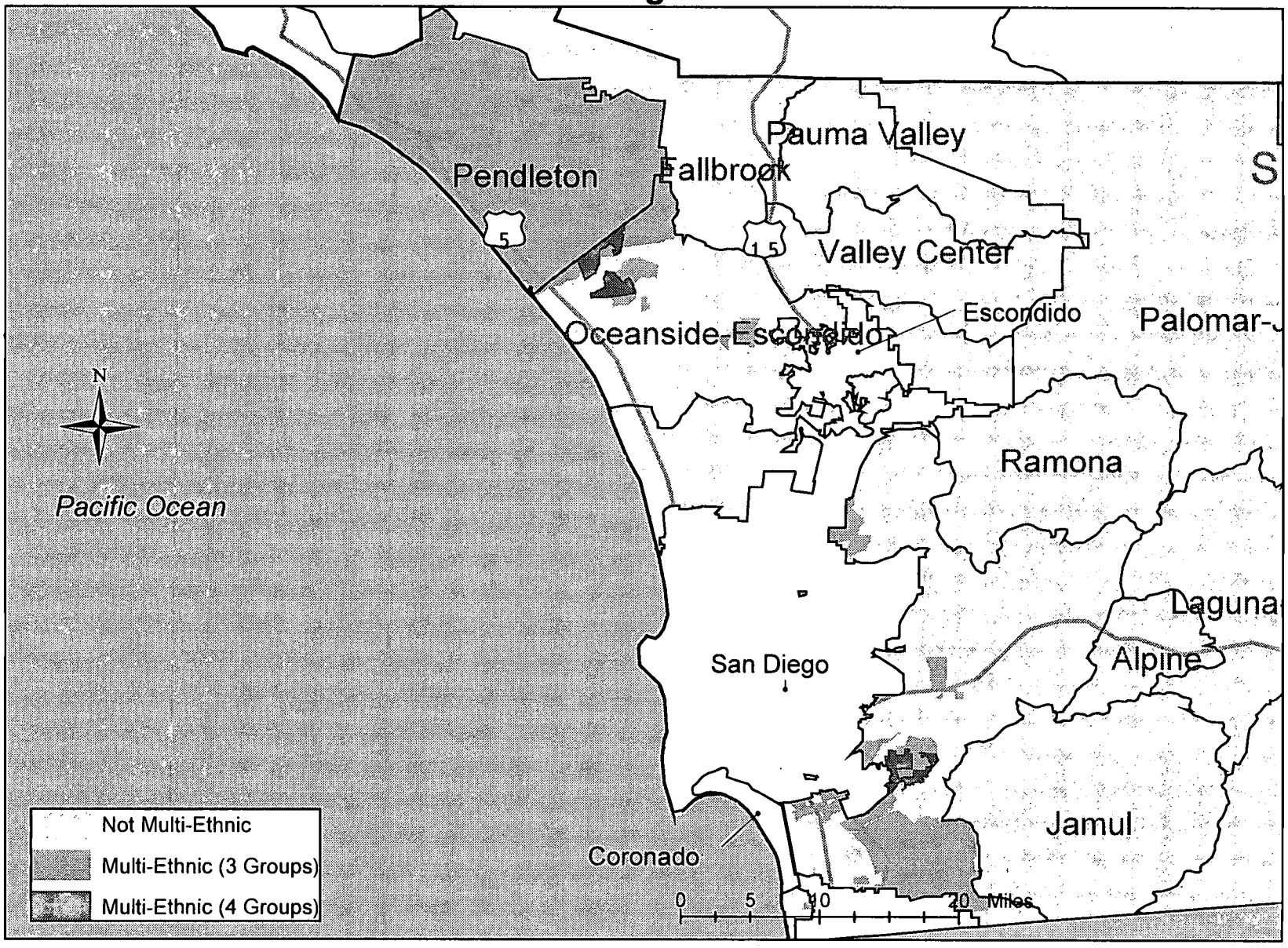


Figure 18b

Multi-Ethnic Census Tracts: 2000
San Diego Suburbs



Undoubtedly, these different growth drivers are intertwined with shifting racial and ethnic residential patterns. The release of 2000 Census small area data showing patterns of nativity and geographic mobility will allow for more specific analysis along these lines.

Conclusions

Minorities, spurred by foreign immigration, are the population growth engines of the San Diego metropolitan area. Although minorities have made substantial inroads into the suburbs, the disproportionate decline of whites in the City means that relatively little progress has been made in reducing residential segregation metro-wide. Latinos, responsible for three quarters of net population growth, have experienced particularly notable increases in segregation. That these segregation levels are rising faster for Latino children is especially troubling given the impacts of residential segregation on educational opportunities. Continued strong immigration and high Latino fertility assure that they will be an increasing presence, and barriers to residential access are best addressed sooner rather then later. School placement policies must insure that increasing levels of residential segregation in some areas do not translate into unequal educational opportunities according to race. Educational resources for the growing immigrant population are also necessary to insure successful transition into the economic mainstream. As the City in particular, but also certain suburban areas, become increasingly multi-ethnic; inter-racial cooperation and communication become even more important in stabilizing neighborhoods, ensuring political representation, and providing economic opportunities for all.

Blacks, while increasing much more slowly than other minority groups, have had a disproportionate amount of their growth occur in the suburbs. The high segregation levels of black homeowners reemphasize the need for Fair Housing and Fair Lending law enforcement. Asians, though the least segregated of minority groups and with the highest minority ownership rates, are by no means a monolithic group. Latino, Asian, and other immigrants face particular challenges in assimilating to their new communities. The question now looms: will metro San Diego, currently in its last decade with a white majority, move forcefully towards insuring equal residential access to all communities, regardless of race or ethnicity? Actions at all levels are needed to assure equal access to neighborhoods and educational opportunities.

Technical Notes

Defining Unique Racial Groups

The 2000 Census allowed respondents to choose one or more racial categories making exact comparison with 1990 racial groups difficult. For the purposes of this paper, we allocated persons who indicated more than one race to racial/ethnic groups in the following manner:

- We coded as "Latino" anyone who indicated that they are Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, regardless of what they answered for the race/ethnicity question.
- We coded as "non-Latino black" or "black" any non-Hispanic who indicated that they were African-American, regardless of any other race/ethnicity they may have indicated.
- Of those remaining, we coded as "Asian" any non-Hispanic who indicated that they were Asian, regardless of any other race/ethnicity they may have indicated.
- We coded as "non-Latino white" or "white" non-Hispanics who answered only "white" as their race.

Tracts that are Split by Central City Political Boundaries

Census tract boundaries and city political boundaries do not always exactly coincide. Therefore, when a tract was split by a central city's political boundary, we created two "pseudo tracts", one that contained the summed data for all the blocks that lay entirely within the city boundary, and another suburban tract, which contained the summed data for all blocks that lay outside or partially outside the city boundary.

The data used to compute dissimilarity indices for homeowners was allocated into "central city" and "suburban" tracts in a slightly different manner and is not exactly comparable to the data used in the population dissimilarity indices. Tracts that were split by a central city's political boundaries were allocated, in whole, to the "central city" if any portion of them fell within the central city boundaries, otherwise they were allocated, in whole, to the "suburbs." Secondly, the homeowner data for blacks and Asians includes Latino-blacks and Latino-Asians, unlike the population data, which is for non-Latino blacks and non-Latino owners.

The raw Census population data for the analysis is in this paper came from the "Census CD" produced by Geolytics, which adjusts 1990 Census tract and block boundaries to be consistent with 2000 Census boundaries. The homeownership data came from the Census Summary File 1 datafile.

Appendix 1

Change in Population by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000
San Diego Metro Area

	Population 1990	Population 2000	Percent Change	Absolute Growth	Share of Pop. (%) 1990	Share of Pop. (%) 2000
Metro Area						
Total	2,498,013	2,813,833	12.6	315,820		
White	1,633,035	1,548,833	-5.2	-84,202	65.4	55.0
Black	149,825	174,426	16.4	24,601	6.0	6.2
Latino	511,432	750,965	46.8	239,533	20.5	26.7
Asian	184,995	294,966	59.4	109,971	7.4	10.5
Other	18,726	44,643	138.4	25,917	0.7	1.6
City of San Diego						
Total	1,110,841	1,223,400	10.1	112,559		
White	651,941	603,892	-7.4	-48,049	58.7	49.4
Black	98,835	103,514	4.7	4,679	8.9	8.5
Latino	229,749	310,752	35.3	81,003	20.7	25.4
Asian	123,345	188,501	52.8	65,156	11.1	15.4
Other	6,971	16,741	140.2	9,770	0.3	0.6
Suburbs						
Total	1,251,887	1,432,774	14.4	180,887		
White	881,904	856,699	-2.9	-25,205	70.4	59.8
Black	47,973	66,265	38.1	18,292	3.8	4.6
Latino	254,087	386,151	52.0	132,064	20.3	27.0
Asian	57,031	98,087	72.0	41,056	4.6	6.8
Other	10,892	25,572	134.8	14,680	0.4	0.9

Notes: Suburbs exclude tracts or portions of tracts in San Diego, Coronado, and Escondido.
Latinos may be of any race. Other racial groups contain only non-Latino members of those groups.

Source: Tabulations of the 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Files.

Appendix 2

Community Areas with Greatest Population Change, by Race

Community Areas With Greatest Population Increase

Whites		Blacks		Latinos		Asians	
Community	Increase	Community	Increase	Community	Increase	Community	Increase
West Town	10,329	Chicago Lawn	19,119	Belmont Cragin	33,815	W. Ridge	6,437
Lake View	7,159	Ashburn	13,538	Brighton Pk.	22,365	Bridgeport	4,045
Near N. Side	5,777	Austin	7,494	Gage Pk.	20,505	Near N. Side	3,132
Near W. Side	3,059	S. Lawndale	5,210	Avondale	13,341	Near W. Side	2,883
Lincoln Park	2,373	Rogers Pk.	4,014	Irving Pk.	13,178	Lake View	1,886
Near S. Side	2,040	W. Ridge	3,215	W. Lawn	12,659	Armour Sq.	1,804
Loop	1,620	S. Chicago	1,987	Albany Pk.	11,003	N. Park	1,395
North Center	868	Beverly	1,820	Portage Pk.	10,603	Lincoln Pk.	1,346
Uptown	755	Belmont Cragin	1,515	E. Side	7,934	Loop	1,316
Dunning	357	Gage Pk.	1,506	Chicago Lawn	6,985	Portage Pk.	1,259

Community Areas With Greatest Population Decrease

Whites		Blacks		Latinos		Asians	
Community	Decrease	Community	Decrease	Community	Decrease	Community	Decrease
Ashburn	-16,108	Englewood	-8,336	West Town	-13,396	Rogers Pk.	-415
Chicago Lawn	-16,026	Grand Blvd.	-8,062	Lake View	-4,664	Chicago Lawn	-374
Belmont Cragin	-15,384	W. Englewood	-7,215	S. Chicago	-3,080	Albany Pk.	-353
Brighton Pk.	-11,131	N. Lawndale	-6,025	N. Center	-2,552	Humboldt Pk	-193
Gage Pk.	-10,008	New W. Side	-5,937	Lower W. Side	-1,084	Austin	-132
W. Ridge	-9,774	Washington Pk.	-5,368	Logan Sq.	-911	N. Center	-128
W. Lawn	-8,077	Douglas	-5,127	Lincoln Pk.	-727	Hermosa	-91
Avondale	-7,896	Auburn Gresham	-3,972	Calumet Heights	-173	Calumet Heights	-48
Irving Pk.	-7,280	Roseland	-3,728	Uptown	-120	Englewood	-29
Rogers Pk.	-6,857	E. Garfield Pk.	-3,292	W. Pullman	-74	Roseland	-18

Source: 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

Change in Child Population by Race/Ethnicity: 1990-2000

CHICAGO PMSA

	Population 1990	Population 2000	Percent Change	Absolute Growth	Share of Total Pop. (%) 1990	Share of Total Pop. (%) 2000
Metro Area						
Total	1,922,739	2,227,163	15.8	304,424		
White	1,084,991	1,080,100	-0.5	-4,891	56.4	48.5
Black	451,497	512,977	13.6	61,480	23.5	23.0
Latino	310,340	510,699	64.6	200,359	16.1	22.9
Asian	69,853	104,487	49.6	34,634	3.6	4.7
City of Chicago						
Total	722,819	759,840	5.1	37,021		
White	158,587	122,672	-22.6	-35,915	21.9	16.1
Black	337,866	337,761	0.0	-105	46.7	44.5
Latino	200,779	265,857	32.4	65,078	27.8	35.0
Asian	22,850	26,667	16.7	3,817	3.2	3.5
Suburbs						
Total	1,098,106	1,332,990	21.4	234,884		
White	870,061	896,782	3.1	26,721	79.2	67.3
Black	92,833	148,919	60.4	56,086	8.5	11.2
Latino	88,160	202,773	130.0	114,613	8.0	15.2
Asian	44,250	73,464	66.0	29,214	4.0	5.5

Notes: Population totals includes other small categories not shown separately.
White, black, and Asian groups include only non-Latino members.
Suburbs exclude tracts and portions of tracts that lie within the cities of Chicago, Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, Evanston, North Chicago, and DeKalb.

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census Redistricting Data.

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