

WHERE WE STAND

Where We Stand tracks the health of the St. Louis region among the 50 most populous MSAs.¹ These metro areas, known as the peer regions, are our domestic competition and provide a consistent yardstick to gauge “Where We Stand.”

This update looks at the trends of racial segregation from 1970 to 2011-2015 in the St. Louis region, including how we compare to peer metropolitan regions.

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Racial Segregation, 1970 to 2011-2015

Where a person lives should theoretically be constrained only by what is affordable and by personal preference. However, it is widely documented that where a person lives has been constrained (or facilitated) by one’s race. Historically this has taken place through government policies, neighborhood covenants, and unfair lending practices (Gordon 2008).

Many well-known legal forms of racial segregation ended by the late 1960s, and in the following decades many parts of the country became more racially integrated. Nevertheless, patterns of racial segregation persist throughout the country, including in the St. Louis region (Goodman and Gilbert 2013). Even with rising incomes, research finds that minorities are still more likely to live in communities with fewer resources than whites (Logan 2014).

The effects of segregation raise important questions for policy makers. Some researchers have found evidence that higher rates of segregation negatively affect economic growth for an entire region, including the region’s urban and surrounding suburban areas (Li et al 2013). Other studies have shown that where a person lives has a significant effect on mental health, life expectancy, educational attainment, and lifetime earnings (Ludwig et al 2008; Purnell 2015; Chetty et al 2016).

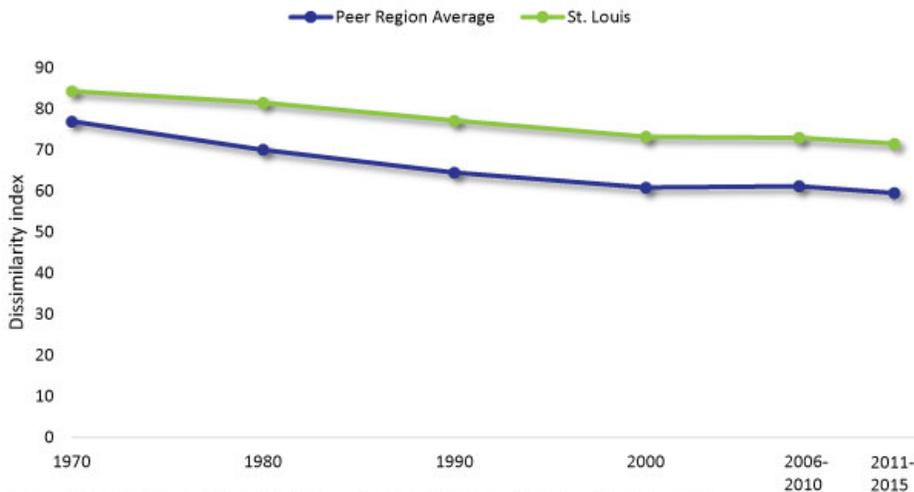
This update takes a closer look at the trends of racial segregation from 1970 to 2011-2015 in the St. Louis region, including how St. Louis ranks among the 50 most populous regions (the peer regions). The report uses multiple measures of segregation with each providing a different perspective (See Box 1, Page 2). Generally, this report finds that diversity and integration have increased in St. Louis but not

at the same rate as in many of the peer regions. Further, the white and black isolation indexes show that although the region as a whole has become more integrated, most communities in St. Louis are still highly segregated.²

Since 1970, segregation has declined in the St. Louis region and throughout the country. However, over the last decade, the decline in segregation has slowed and even reversed in some regions (Logan and Stults 2010). In St. Louis, the pace of integration over the last 15 years was slower than in the 1980s and 1990s.³ As seen on Figure 1, the trend has been similar among the peer regions, although many peer regions have had lower levels of segregation.

Despite the steady pace of integration in St. Louis, the region continues to be one of the most segregated of the peer regions. St. Louis ranks among the 10 most segregated peer regions according to multiple measures. The region ranks as the 7th most segregated between black and white residents, 4th highest in terms of white isolation, and 9th highest in terms of black isolation.

Figure 1: Black and White Segregation
St. Louis MSA and the Peer Regions, 1970 to 2011-2015



Source: US 2010 Project; U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

1 MSAs (Metropolitan Statistical Areas) are geographic entities delineated by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). MSAs are areas with “at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more population, plus adjacent territory that has a high degree of social and economic integration with the core as measured by commuting ties.”
 2 In this report, discussion of white or black residents specifically refers to non-Hispanic or non-Latino white and non-Hispanic or non-Latino black residents for all years except 1970. The U.S. Census did not begin to report Hispanic or Latino origin until the 1980 census.
 3 Data from the U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS) provides accurate population estimates during years outside of the decennial census. The ACS collects and averages survey data over five-year ranges. The resulting averages are a reflection of the entire five-year span, rather than one year in particular. The ACS data used in this report covers two five-year ranges from 2006 to 2010 and from 2011 to 2015. Throughout the report, these five year ranges are noted as 2006-2010 and 2011-2015, respectively.

Segregation in 1970

In 1970, the St. Louis Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) was more segregated than many of the peer regions. Many of the region's Midwest peers were also among the most segregated.

Regional Diversity

The racial make-up of the St. Louis region has not changed substantially in the past 45 years. Figures 2 and 3 show that the nonblack minority population grew for the United States while the St. Louis population remained mostly white and black. In 1970, 83.7 percent of the St. Louis population was white, 15.9 percent of the population was black, and less than 1 percent of the population identified as other nonblack minorities. The St. Louis region was relatively diverse compared with the peer regions, ranking 18th on the diversity index.

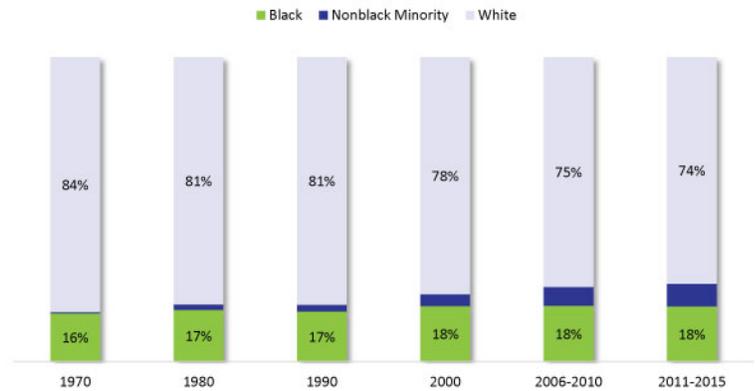
Residential Segregation

In spite of this diversity, most white and black residents lived in racially isolated communities. The average white St. Louisan lived in a census tract that was 95.0 percent white, and the average black St. Louisan lived in a census tract that was 75.3 percent black.

St. Louis' rate of white isolation, although high by today's standards, was similar to that of many of the peer regions. In 1970, St. Louis ranked 25th among the 50 peer regions in terms of white isolation. The average rate of white isolation for the peer regions (93.8 percent) was just 1.2 percentage points lower than the St. Louis rate.

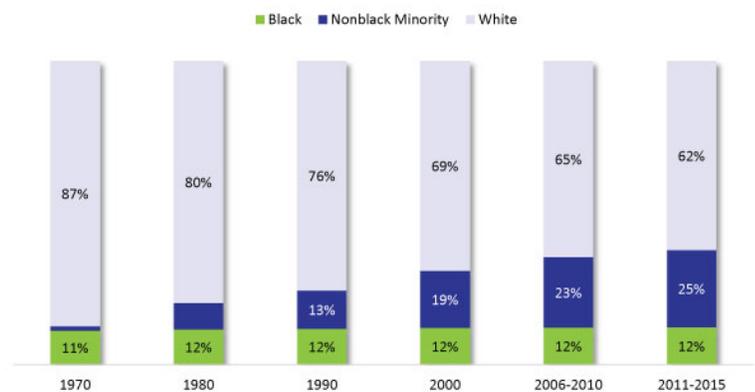
Black residents were generally more isolated in St. Louis than in many of the peer regions. Black isolation in St. Louis was higher than in 38 of the 50 peer regions, with a rate that was 16.3 percentage points higher than the peer average (59.0 percent).

Figure 2: Racial Make-Up of St. Louis MSA
1970 to 2011-2015



Source: US2010 Project; U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Figure 3: Racial Make-Up of the United States
1970 to 2011-2015



Source: Minnesota Population Center, NHGIS; U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

As measured by the dissimilarity index, segregation between black and white residents in St. Louis was also high relative to the peer regions. In 1970, the region ranked 12th in terms of black and white segregation, with 84.3 percent of whites or blacks needing to move in order to achieve complete integration.

Box 1: Measures of Residential Segregation

The Diversity Index provides an understanding of the racial composition of a population across multiple groups. It is generally interpreted as the likelihood of encountering two people of different races in a given area. For the purposes of this report, this index measures diversity among white, black, and other nonblack minorities. The index ranges from zero to 66.7. A geography comprised of just one race would receive a score of zero. Alternatively, a geography would receive a score of 66.7 if it were one-third white, one-third black, and one-third nonblack minority.

Black-White Segregation: The Dissimilarity Index looks at segregation between two groups. It is useful for regional comparisons. Since St. Louis is 92.6 percent black and white, this report looks at segregation between blacks and whites. This index represents the proportion of the population from either group that would need to move in order to achieve complete integration. If two racial groups were completely segregated within a region, the dissimilarity index would be 100. That is, 100 percent of either population would need to move in order to achieve complete integration. If two racial groups are completely integrated, the dissimilarity index would be zero.

The Racial Isolation Index provides a better sense of what is happening on a local level and from the perspective of one race at a time. This index shows the proportion of the population living in a community that is of the same race as an average individual. For example, a white isolation index score of 70 indicates that the average white resident lives in a community that is 70 percent white. A higher index score is indicative of higher racial isolation and higher segregation.

Black-White Segregation

Based on the dissimilarity index, 1970

1	Chicago	90.2
2	Milwaukee	89.3
3	Oklahoma City	89.3
4	Los Angeles	88.7
5	Cleveland	88.0
6	Detroit	87.9
7	Miami	86.6
8	Dallas	85.5
9	Buffalo	85.3
10	Kansas City	84.9
11	Denver	84.8
12	St. Louis	84.3
13	Las Vegas	84.0
14	Tampa	82.4
15	Indianapolis	81.3
16	Jacksonville	80.9
17	Baltimore	80.1
18	Portland	80.1
19	Louisville	80.0
20	Cincinnati	79.9
21	Washington, D.C.	79.6
22	Atlanta	79.2
23	Columbus	79.0
24	Minneapolis	78.2
25	Memphis	77.3
26	Boston	77.0
Peer Average		76.9
27	San Francisco	76.8
28	Philadelphia	76.7
29	Nashville	76.6
30	Hartford	75.9
31	Richmond	75.8
32	San Diego	75.6
33	Houston	75.4
34	Phoenix	75.0
35	New York	74.8
36	San Antonio	73.4
37	New Orleans	73.2
38	Seattle	73.1
39	Pittsburgh	72.2
40	Austin	72.2
41	Virginia Beach	71.4
42	Orlando	70.7
43	Providence	69.1
44	Sacramento	66.4
45	Riverside	65.5
46	Salt Lake City	62.6
47	Birmingham	62.5
48	Charlotte	60.9
49	Raleigh	57.5
50	San Jose	50.0

Source: US2010 Project

Diversity

Based on the diversity index, 1970

1	Memphis	47.1
2	New Orleans	43.1
3	Birmingham	41.9
4	Virginia Beach	40.6
5	Washington, D.C.	38.6
6	Richmond	38.1
7	Baltimore	37.1
8	Raleigh	35.2
9	Atlanta	34.9
10	Jacksonville	34.6
11	Houston	32.6
12	Charlotte	32.5
13	Chicago	30.4
14	San Francisco	29.9
15	Detroit	29.3
16	Nashville	29.2
17	Philadelphia	29.2
18	St. Louis	27.4
19	New York	27.1
20	Cleveland	26.4
21	Miami	25.8
22	Orlando	25.6
23	Dallas	25.2
Peer Average		23.2
24	Los Angeles	22.6
25	Kansas City	22.0
26	Louisville	21.8
27	Columbus	21.3
28	Austin	21.1
29	Indianapolis	21.1
30	Tampa	19.8
31	Oklahoma City	19.4
32	Las Vegas	19.1
33	Cincinnati	18.8
34	Sacramento	16.2
35	Buffalo	16.1
36	Milwaukee	15.2
37	San Antonio	14.8
38	San Diego	14.6
39	Pittsburgh	13.6
40	Riverside	12.3
41	Hartford	12.2
42	Seattle	11.8
43	Denver	11.2
44	San Jose	10.9
45	Phoenix	10.5
46	Boston	8.8
47	Portland	7.4
48	Minneapolis	5.4
49	Providence	5.3
50	Salt Lake City	3.8

Source: US2010 Project

White Isolation

White population in the community of the average white resident, 1970

1	Salt Lake City	98.1
2	Minneapolis	97.9
3	Providence	97.7
4	Boston	97.6
5	Milwaukee	97.2
6	Portland	97.2
7	Denver	96.9
8	Buffalo	96.8
9	Hartford	96.6
10	Las Vegas	96.0
11	Phoenix	96.0
12	Pittsburgh	95.9
13	Chicago	95.8
14	Cleveland	95.7
15	Tampa	95.6
16	Kansas City	95.6
17	Miami	95.5
18	Seattle	95.5
19	Oklahoma City	95.4
20	Cincinnati	95.3
21	Dallas	95.3
22	Louisville	95.3
23	Indianapolis	95.2
24	San Antonio	95.2
25	St. Louis	95.0
26	Detroit	94.9
27	Riverside	94.6
28	Columbus	94.6
29	San Diego	94.5
30	San Jose	94.5
31	Los Angeles	94.2
Peer Average		93.8
32	Austin	93.4
33	Nashville	93.0
34	Jacksonville	93.0
35	Sacramento	92.9
36	Atlanta	92.8
37	Philadelphia	92.7
38	Baltimore	92.4
39	Orlando	92.1
40	New York	92.1
41	Washington, D.C.	91.2
42	Houston	90.8
43	Richmond	90.4
44	San Francisco	89.5
45	Charlotte	88.7
46	Virginia Beach	87.8
47	New Orleans	87.0
48	Memphis	87.0
49	Raleigh	86.6
50	Birmingham	83.2

Source: US2010 Project

Black Isolation

Black population in the community of the average black resident 1970

1	Chicago	84.2
2	Memphis	78.4
3	Cleveland	77.9
4	Baltimore	77.3
5	Detroit	77.0
6	Jacksonville	76.4
7	Miami	76.3
8	Washington, D.C.	76.1
9	Atlanta	75.7
10	Dallas	75.4
11	Oklahoma City	75.3
12	St. Louis	75.3
13	Las Vegas	74.8
14	Milwaukee	72.9
15	Richmond	72.3
16	New Orleans	71.5
17	Kansas City	71.2
18	Los Angeles	70.3
19	Buffalo	69.6
20	Virginia Beach	69.2
21	Nashville	68.3
22	Louisville	67.4
23	Philadelphia	66.3
24	Tampa	66.3
25	Indianapolis	65.6
26	Houston	65.0
27	Columbus	61.5
28	Denver	61.3
29	Cincinnati	60.9
30	Birmingham	60.2
Peer Average		59.0
31	New York	58.9
32	Charlotte	55.9
33	Orlando	55.8
34	San Francisco	55.3
35	Raleigh	54.7
36	Boston	54.4
37	Austin	53.2
38	Hartford	52.6
39	Pittsburgh	49.6
40	San Antonio	49.1
41	San Diego	42.9
42	Portland	41.5
43	Phoenix	37.7
44	Minneapolis	35.2
45	Seattle	33.9
46	Riverside	25.5
47	Sacramento	25.5
48	Providence	20.3
49	San Jose	5.7
50	Salt Lake City	4.7

Source: US2010 Project

The figures above are based on population counts that do not distinguish Hispanic or Latino origin. The U.S. Census Bureau did not report Hispanic or Latino origin until the 1980 census.

Trends from 1980 to 2000

Segregation declined in all of the peer regions from 1980 to 2000 but to a lesser extent in many Midwest regions. In each decade from 1980 to 2000, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Milwaukee were consistently among the five most segregated regions. During this time, St. Louis was also one of the most segregated regions, ranking 6th or 7th in 1980, 1990, and 2000.

These five regions have also had relatively slow population growth. From 1980 to 2000, population growth in Milwaukee, Detroit, and Cleveland were among the 10 regions with the slowest rates of population growth. The population in the St. Louis region grew by 11.8 percent during this time, which ranks 40th among the peer regions.

Generally, regions with larger population growth had larger declines in segregation. Las Vegas, Austin, Atlanta, Orlando, and Phoenix all saw their populations double from 1980 to 2000.⁴ Each of these regions also experienced a double-digit decline in segregation.⁵

Diversity

Some researchers have found that increases in Hispanic or Asian populations have fostered integration between black and white residents (Logan and Zhang 2011). This trend is reflected in the tables on page 5. Many regions with large declines in segregation also experienced large increases in diversity. The regions with the largest increases in diversity during this time include Orlando, Las Vegas, Seattle, Boston, and Dallas. As seen on page 5, all of these regions, except for Boston, were among the 10 regions with the steepest declines in segregation.

In St. Louis, the increase in diversity during this time was below the peer average, ranking 44th among the 50 peer regions. The region's nonblack minority population increased from 1.7 percent of the population in 1980 to 3.8 percent in 2000, an increase smaller than all but two of the peer regions. The region's ranking on diversity among the peer regions declined from the 31st most diverse in 1980 to 37th in 2000.

Racial Isolation

Between 1980 and 2000, white residents in the St. Louis region continued to live in highly isolated communities. In 1980, the average white St. Louis resident lived in a census tract that was 92.8 percent white. By 2000, this rate of isolation declined to 88.4 percent.

As shown on the tables on page 5, this decline was one of the smallest of the peer regions—43 of the 50 peer regions experienced a steeper decline. Many regions with the steepest declines in white isolation were in the Sun Belt region, including Riverside, San Jose, Las Vegas, Orlando, and Miami. In 2000, St. Louis' rate of white isolation ranked 8th among the peer regions, up from a ranking of 14th in 1980.

Black residents in the St. Louis region also lived in highly isolated communities during this time, although to a lesser extent than white residents. In 1980, the average black resident lived in a census tract that was 72.7 percent black, the 5th highest rate of black isolation at the time. By 2000, black isolation had declined to 64.3 percent, and the region's ranking among the peer regions declined to 9th. As shown on page 5, St. Louis' decline in black isolation during this period was close to the peer average. Again, many regions with the steepest declines in black isolation were in the Sun Belt region, including Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Dallas, Austin, and San Francisco.

“The region’s ranking on diversity among the peer regions declined from the 31st most diverse in 1980 to 37th in 2000.”

⁴ Regional boundaries for all years are based on 2013 OMB definitions.

⁵ See Ewgateway.org/www for an Appendix with additional data including 1980, 1990, and 2000 data for the peer regions for each of the segregation measures.

Change in Black and White Segregation

Difference in the dissimilarity index score, 1980 to 2000

1	New Orleans	-0.9
2	Charlotte	-1.3
3	Sacramento	-1.7
4	Milwaukee	-1.8
5	New York	-1.9
6	Detroit	-2.2
7	Birmingham	-2.8
8	Memphis	-3.1
9	Buffalo	-3.2
10	Pittsburgh	-4.8
11	Raleigh	-5.2
12	Cincinnati	-5.2
13	Hartford	-6.2
14	Baltimore	-6.2
15	Philadelphia	-6.6
16	Washington, D.C.	-6.7
17	Denver	-7.0
18	Riverside	-7.0
19	Chicago	-7.5
20	Indianapolis	-7.7
21	San Francisco	-7.8
22	San Jose	-7.9
23	Kansas City	-8.1
24	Houston	-8.1
25	St. Louis	-8.2
26	Cleveland	-8.3
27	Richmond	-8.4
28	Nashville	-8.6
29	Boston	-8.6
30	Columbus	-9.1
31	Minneapolis	-9.1
	Peer Average	-9.2
32	Louisville	-9.3
33	San Antonio	-9.4
34	San Diego	-10.2
35	Providence	-12.2
36	Los Angeles	-12.7
37	Salt Lake City	-12.8
38	Atlanta	-13.1
39	Miami	-13.1
40	Virginia Beach	-13.1
41	Austin	-13.6
42	Jacksonville	-13.8
43	Tampa	-14.5
44	Seattle	-15.0
45	Orlando	-15.7
46	Oklahoma City	-17.5
47	Phoenix	-18.0
48	Dallas	-18.6
49	Portland	-21.3
50	Las Vegas	-23.6

Source: US2010 Project

Change in Diversity

Difference in the diversity index score, 1980 to 2000

1	Orlando	21.4
2	Las Vegas	19.0
3	Seattle	17.3
4	Boston	17.2
5	Dallas	16.6
6	Portland	16.3
7	Minneapolis	16.1
8	Sacramento	16.0
9	Riverside	15.9
10	Milwaukee	15.8
11	Hartford	15.6
12	Providence	15.6
13	Salt Lake City	15.5
14	Oklahoma City	15.2
15	Phoenix	14.1
16	Atlanta	14.1
17	San Diego	13.4
18	Tampa	12.7
19	New York	12.4
20	Denver	11.7
21	Miami	11.6
22	Washington, D.C.	11.4
23	Houston	10.5
24	Chicago	10.5
	Peer Average	10.4
25	Philadelphia	9.7
26	San Jose	9.2
27	Raleigh	9.2
28	Buffalo	9.1
29	Austin	8.5
30	Charlotte	8.5
31	Columbus	8.4
32	San Francisco	8.2
33	Detroit	8.2
34	Cleveland	7.9
35	Kansas City	7.2
36	Indianapolis	7.1
37	Virginia Beach	6.9
38	Jacksonville	6.7
39	Baltimore	6.5
40	Nashville	5.6
41	Richmond	5.3
42	New Orleans	5.0
43	St. Louis	4.8
44	Louisville	4.7
45	Cincinnati	4.7
46	Birmingham	4.2
47	Memphis	4.0
48	Pittsburgh	3.9
49	Los Angeles	-0.1
50	San Antonio	-1.0

Source: US2010 Project

Change in White Isolation

Difference in the isolation index score, 1980 to 2000

1	Pittsburgh	-2.1
2	Cincinnati	-3.2
3	Birmingham	-3.5
4	Buffalo	-3.8
5	Louisville	-4.1
6	Detroit	-4.3
7	St. Louis	-4.4
8	New Orleans	-4.8
9	Nashville	-5.0
10	Cleveland	-5.0
11	Indianapolis	-5.0
12	Columbus	-5.4
13	Charlotte	-5.5
14	Kansas City	-5.6
15	Milwaukee	-5.9
16	Providence	-6.1
17	Philadelphia	-6.4
18	Baltimore	-6.8
19	Minneapolis	-6.9
20	Memphis	-7.1
21	Hartford	-7.3
22	Richmond	-7.3
23	Denver	-7.8
24	Boston	-7.9
25	Raleigh	-8.0
26	Jacksonville	-8.1
27	Salt Lake City	-8.4
28	Tampa	-8.6
	Peer Average	-9.1
29	San Antonio	-9.7
30	Virginia Beach	-9.7
31	New York	-9.9
32	Portland	-10.1
33	Chicago	-10.3
34	Phoenix	-10.4
35	Austin	-10.8
36	Sacramento	-11.1
37	Seattle	-11.2
38	Oklahoma City	-11.4
39	Washington, D.C.	-11.7
40	Atlanta	-12.8
41	San Diego	-13.0
42	San Francisco	-13.2
43	Houston	-13.4
44	Dallas	-15.0
45	Los Angeles	-16.0
46	Miami	-16.1
47	Orlando	-16.4
48	Las Vegas	-17.1
49	San Jose	-19.6
50	Riverside	-20.1

Source: US2010 Project

Change in Black Isolation

Difference in the isolation index score, 1980 to 2000

1	New Orleans	1.3
2	Detroit	0.7
3	Salt Lake City	0.3
4	Birmingham	-1.2
5	Milwaukee	-2.2
6	Memphis	-2.2
7	San Jose	-2.5
8	Riverside	-3.0
9	Sacramento	-3.5
10	Minneapolis	-4.3
11	Buffalo	-4.3
12	New York	-4.5
13	Pittsburgh	-4.6
14	Charlotte	-6.0
15	Baltimore	-6.1
16	Cleveland	-6.3
17	Cincinnati	-6.3
18	Richmond	-6.5
19	Philadelphia	-6.7
20	Providence	-7.6
21	Hartford	-7.8
22	Virginia Beach	-8.1
23	Washington, D.C.	-8.2
24	St. Louis	-8.4
25	Columbus	-8.5
26	Chicago	-9.9
27	Seattle	-10.1
	Peer Average	-10.1
28	Raleigh	-10.3
29	Miami	-10.3
30	Atlanta	-10.5
31	Louisville	-10.7
32	Nashville	-11.3
33	San Diego	-11.8
34	Indianapolis	-11.9
35	Jacksonville	-13.0
36	Kansas City	-13.9
37	Boston	-13.9
38	Phoenix	-14.0
39	San Antonio	-14.6
40	Tampa	-15.7
41	Portland	-15.8
42	Orlando	-16.7
43	Houston	-17.3
44	Oklahoma City	-18.5
45	Denver	-18.5
46	San Francisco	-18.8
47	Austin	-21.9
48	Dallas	-25.6
49	Los Angeles	-25.8
50	Las Vegas	-29.5

Source: US2010 Project

The figures above are based on population counts of non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks.

Segregation between 2000 and 2006-2010

During the first decade of the new millennium, the trend of steady integration of black and white residents changed across the country. In the St. Louis region, the pace of integration slowed, and in half of the peer regions the trend reversed. Similar trends have been observed in other reports as well (see Logan and Stults 2010; Hall et al 2015). There are likely many reasons for this change in the three decade long trend. Two potential causes are discussed here—the slow growth of the nonwhite population and the foreclosure crisis.

Residential Integration and Segregation

In the St. Louis region, the pace of integration in the 2000s was substantially slower than in the previous two decades. Between 2000 and 2006-2010, segregation in St. Louis declined by just 0.2 percentage points based on the dissimilarity index, from 73.2 to 73.0 percent. Comparatively, during the 1990s, the decline in segregation was more than 10 times faster, declining by 3.9 percentage points.

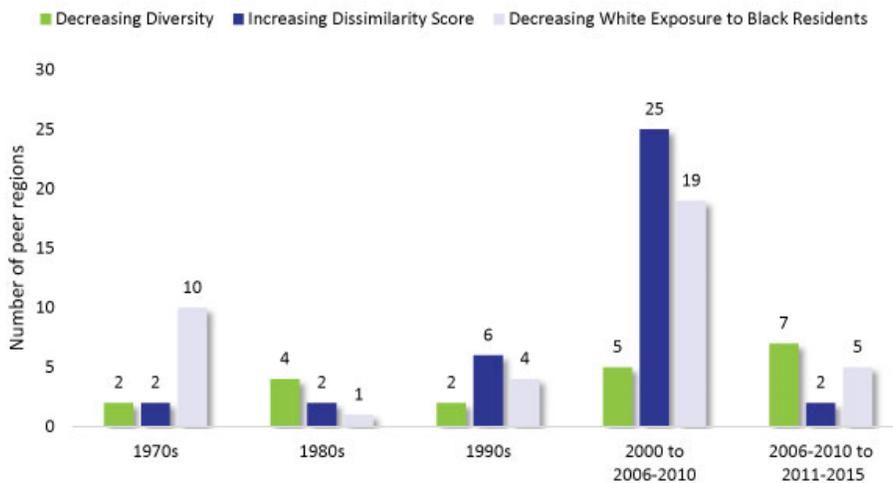
Integration was slow in many of the peer regions as well. Further, as seen on Figure 4, from 2000 to 2006-2010, half of the peer regions actually saw an increase in segregation based on the dissimilarity index. A much smaller number of regions saw an increase in segregation in the previous three decades.

Diversity

One potential cause for this slowdown is that growth in diversity also slowed. The nonwhite population in St. Louis grew by 15.0 percent in the first decade of the 2000s compared with 23.4 percent in the 1990s. On the diversity index, the region's score increased from 35.9 percent in 2000 to 39.4 percent in 2006-2010, an increase of 3.5 percentage points. In the 1990s, diversity increased by 4.7 percentage points. Growth in diversity also slowed nationally. In the 1990s, the nonwhite population grew by 43.4 percent compared with 23.6 percent in the following decade.

“In the St. Louis region, the pace of integration in the 2000s was substantially slower than in the previous two decades.”

Figure 4: Regions with Increasing Segregation
Peer Regions, 1970 to 2011-2015



Source: US2010 Project; U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

The Foreclosure Crisis

Another potential cause for the slowing pace of integration is the foreclosure crisis. The foreclosure crisis had an effect on people of all races, but it disproportionately affected minority households. A report from the Center for Responsible Lending estimated that 7.9 percent of homes owned by black borrowers foreclosed between 2007 and 2009 compared with 4.5 percent of homes owned by white borrowers (Bocian et al 2010).

This pattern is similar to what was seen locally. Between 2007 and 2008, areas with the highest foreclosure rates were located in predominately black communities—in the northern areas of the city of St. Louis, the northern inner-ring of St. Louis County, and throughout much of East St. Louis, Sauget, and Cahokia (See Map 1, Page 10). Areas with the lowest foreclosure rates were generally located in the region’s more affluent and predominantly white communities—throughout the central and western portions of St. Louis County, and the southern portion of St. Charles County.^{6,7}

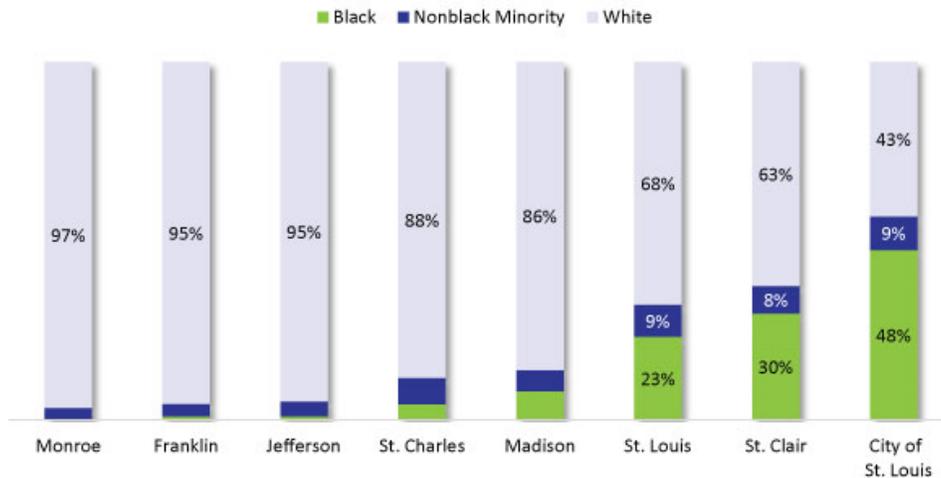
According to a 2015 study, the foreclosure crisis resulted in one of the largest migration events in U.S. history, effectively relocating an estimated 10 million households. In the midst of this crisis, white residents who were able generally moved away from the neighborhoods that were most affected by the crisis, while black and other minority residents were more likely “to move into poor, racially isolated neighborhoods” (Hall et al 2015).

“The foreclosure crisis had an effect on people of all races, but it disproportionately affected minority households.”

Trends identified in this report partially support the findings of the 2015 study. Between 2000 and 2006-2010, whites in many of the peer regions became more integrated with nonblack minorities, but they became more segregated from blacks. In all of the peer regions, the rate of white isolation continued to decline during this time. However, as shown on Figure 4 (Page 6), the black population in the community of the average white resident declined in 19 of the 50 peer regions.

The decline in white exposure to black residents could have happened in one of two ways—whites could have moved into neighborhoods with fewer black residents, or blacks could have moved away from neighborhoods with white residents. With this measure, it is not possible to say which was predominant, but the measure does show that in 19 regions, blacks and whites became more segregated.

Figure 5: Racial Make-Up of Counties
St. Louis Region, 2011-2015



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

6 Foreclosure estimates come from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP2). The estimated foreclosure rate is calculated as foreclosure starts and mortgages that were serious delinquent divided by the total number of outstanding mortgages between 2007 and 2008.

7 Areas with the highest foreclosure rates are areas where at least an estimated 16.1 percent of mortgages were foreclosed. Areas with the lowest foreclosure rates are areas where the foreclosure rate was 4.5 percent or lower. These levels are one standard deviation above and below average foreclosure rate for the eight county region, respectively.

Segregation in 2011-2015

Based on the most recent data available the St. Louis population is moderately diverse relative to the peer regions but continues to be among the most segregated. Between 2006-2010 and 2011-2015, segregation continued to decline throughout the most of the peer regions. However, in 15 of the peer regions, segregation was still higher in 2011-2015 than it was in 2000.

Segregation continued to decline in St. Louis during this time, but the rate of decline was slow relative to previous decades. Between 2000 and 2011-2015, segregation declined by 1.7 percentage points compared with 3.9 percentage points in the 1990s. Twenty-two of the peer regions experienced a steeper decline than St. Louis from 2000 to 2011-2015.

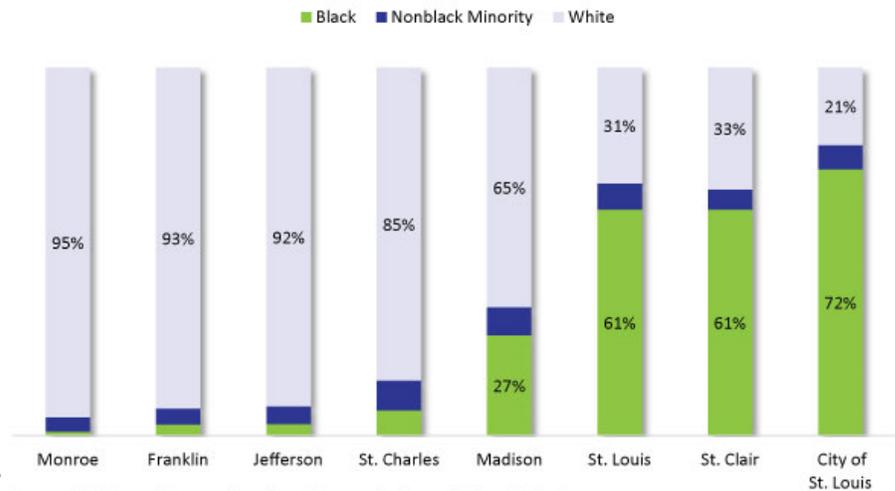
Kansas City, for example, had the second largest decline in segregation. In 2000, St. Louis and Kansas City were similar in terms of segregation, ranking 7th and 11th, respectively. By 2011-2015, however, segregation in Kansas City declined by 9.8 percentage points and now ranks 25th on the dissimilarity index. In St. Louis, the rate of segregation continues to be one of the highest of the peer regions, ranking 7th on the dissimilarity index.

Black Isolation

Compared to the peer regions, black and white residents of St. Louis were still among the most racially isolated in 2011-2015. The region's population was 18.2 percent black, but the average black resident lived in a census tract that was 60.6 percent black. This rate of black isolation ranked 9th among the peer regions and was 23.2 percentage points higher than the peer average.

A disproportionate share of the black population in St. Louis lives within the region's urban core but even within these communities, the population is racially segregated. Around 91.0 percent of the region's black population resides within the city of St. Louis, St. Louis County, and St. Clair County, although these three counties are home to 56.6 percent of the total regional population. As seen on Figure 6, black isolation is highest within these counties. In the city of St. Louis, for example, 47.5 percent of the population is black (See Figure 5, Page 7), and the average black resident lives in a census tract that is 72.3 percent black. In both St. Clair and

Figure 6: Average Census Tract Demographics for Black Residents
St. Louis Region, 2011-2015



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

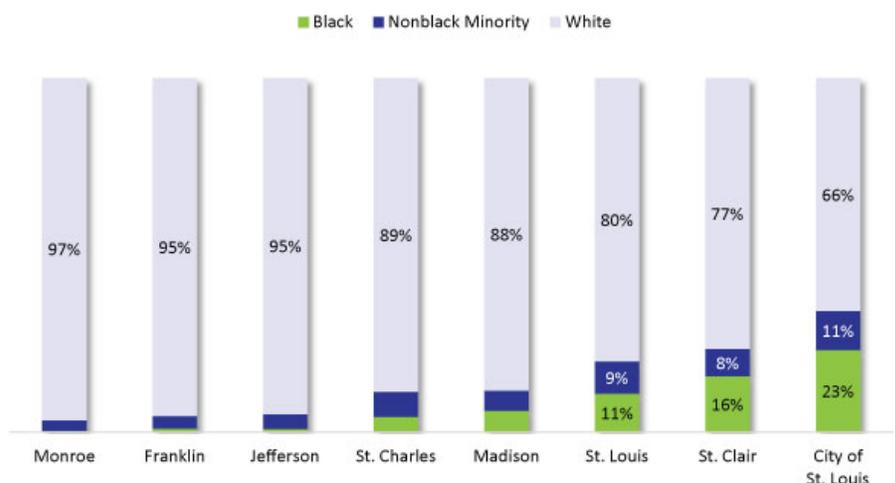
St. Louis counties, the rate of black isolation is 61.5 percent.

White Isolation

White residents of the region, on average, live in even more isolated communities than the average black resident. The average white St. Louis resident lives in a community that is 84.9 percent white, a rate of white isolation that ranks 4th among the peer regions. As shown on Figure 7, within the region white isolation is highest in the rural counties of the region. White isolation is also disproportionately high in the most diverse counties relative to their racial composition.

In Franklin, Jefferson, and Monroe counties, white residents comprise over 90 percent of the population and white isolation is greater than 90 percent. In the city of St. Louis, the population is 43.1 percent white, but the average white resident lives in a census tract that is 65.8 percent white. In St. Clair and St. Louis counties, white isolation is 76.6 percent and 80.1 percent, respectively.

Figure 7: Average Census Tract Demographics for White Residents
St. Louis Region, 2011-2015



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Black-White Segregation

Based on the dissimilarity index, 2011-2015

1	Milwaukee	80.7
2	New York	76.8
3	Chicago	75.9
4	Detroit	74.1
5	Cleveland	73.5
6	Buffalo	72.5
7	St. Louis	71.5
8	Los Angeles	68.0
9	Cincinnati	67.5
10	Philadelphia	67.4
11	Pittsburgh	66.6
12	Hartford	66.3
13	Boston	65.8
14	New Orleans	64.7
15	Birmingham	64.6
16	Baltimore	64.6
17	Indianapolis	64.5
18	Miami	64.3
19	Columbus	63.1
20	Denver	62.9
21	San Francisco	62.1
22	Washington, D.C.	61.7
23	Houston	61.4
24	Memphis	60.3
Peer Average		59.5
25	Kansas City	59.4
26	Atlanta	58.7
27	Louisville	58.4
28	Providence	57.7
29	Dallas	57.5
30	Sacramento	57.2
31	Minneapolis	56.4
32	Tampa	55.8
33	Nashville	54.7
34	Charlotte	53.5
35	Jacksonville	53.0
36	San Diego	52.9
37	Richmond	52.4
38	Oklahoma City	52.2
39	Seattle	52.2
40	Salt Lake City	51.2
41	Austin	51.1
42	Portland	50.9
43	San Antonio	49.3
44	Orlando	49.2
45	Phoenix	49.2
46	Virginia Beach	47.5
47	Riverside	47.3
48	San Jose	44.8
49	Raleigh	42.0
50	Las Vegas	39.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Diversity

Based on the diversity index, 2011-2015

1	Washington, D.C.	63.7
2	Miami	63.1
3	Houston	62.3
4	Atlanta	61.8
5	New York	61.4
6	Dallas	60.8
7	Orlando	60.5
8	Chicago	59.5
9	New Orleans	58.9
10	Las Vegas	58.8
11	Memphis	57.7
12	Virginia Beach	57.3
13	San Francisco	56.2
14	Baltimore	56.0
15	Richmond	55.6
16	Austin	55.3
17	Sacramento	55.0
18	San Diego	54.4
19	Raleigh	54.0
20	Riverside	53.4
21	Charlotte	53.2
22	Philadelphia	53.0
23	San Antonio	52.9
24	Phoenix	52.6
25	Jacksonville	51.7
26	Los Angeles	50.6
27	Tampa	50.5
28	Birmingham	50.0
Peer Average		49.9
29	Oklahoma City	49.6
30	Milwaukee	48.7
31	Detroit	48.7
32	Denver	48.6
33	Seattle	47.8
34	San Jose	47.7
35	Hartford	46.5
36	Cleveland	44.9
37	Kansas City	42.5
38	Nashville	42.5
39	Boston	42.2
40	Indianapolis	41.5
41	St. Louis	40.8
42	Columbus	40.2
43	Salt Lake City	39.8
44	Portland	38.6
45	Minneapolis	37.2
46	Louisville	37.0
47	Providence	36.1
48	Buffalo	36.1
49	Cincinnati	32.9
50	Pittsburgh	24.6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

White Isolation

White population in the community of the average white resident, 2011-2015

1	Pittsburgh	89.9
2	Buffalo	87.2
3	Cincinnati	86.5
4	St. Louis	84.9
5	Providence	84.6
6	Louisville	84.0
7	Cleveland	83.5
8	Milwaukee	82.7
9	Minneapolis	82.2
10	Indianapolis	82.2
11	Columbus	82.2
12	Detroit	82.0
13	Boston	81.1
14	Kansas City	80.6
15	Nashville	80.1
16	Hartford	80.0
17	Birmingham	78.6
18	Philadelphia	77.8
19	Salt Lake City	77.7
20	Portland	77.3
21	Baltimore	73.8
22	Charlotte	73.3
23	Denver	73.2
24	Tampa	73.1
25	Jacksonville	73.0
26	Oklahoma City	71.9
Peer Average		71.2
27	Chicago	71.1
28	Seattle	70.8
29	New Orleans	70.4
30	Richmond	70.0
31	New York	69.6
32	Raleigh	69.0
33	Phoenix	68.4
34	Virginia Beach	66.6
35	Memphis	66.1
36	Atlanta	65.9
37	Sacramento	63.9
38	Dallas	62.6
39	Austin	62.6
40	Washington, D.C.	62.3
41	Orlando	60.5
42	San Diego	59.8
43	Houston	56.2
44	Miami	55.6
45	San Francisco	55.0
46	Las Vegas	54.3
47	Los Angeles	52.4
48	San Antonio	49.7
49	Riverside	47.5
50	San Jose	46.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

Black Isolation

Black population in the community of the average black resident, 2011-2015

1	Detroit	68.1
2	Memphis	67.9
3	Milwaukee	64.3
4	New Orleans	63.8
5	Chicago	63.8
6	Cleveland	63.2
7	Birmingham	61.8
8	Baltimore	60.8
9	St. Louis	60.6
10	Atlanta	57.5
11	Philadelphia	54.5
12	Buffalo	53.8
13	Washington, D.C.	53.3
14	Richmond	51.2
15	Miami	50.6
16	New York	50.0
17	Virginia Beach	48.9
18	Jacksonville	46.6
19	Cincinnati	46.4
20	Louisville	44.1
21	Indianapolis	42.5
22	Columbus	42.2
23	Kansas City	41.2
24	Charlotte	40.6
25	Pittsburgh	39.7
26	Nashville	37.6
Peer Average		37.4
27	Hartford	36.3
28	Houston	36.0
29	Orlando	34.8
30	Dallas	34.3
31	Raleigh	33.8
32	Tampa	33.8
33	Boston	32.6
34	Oklahoma City	30.7
35	Los Angeles	26.7
36	Minneapolis	21.8
37	San Francisco	20.8
38	Denver	17.3
39	Las Vegas	16.9
40	San Antonio	15.1
41	Sacramento	14.3
42	Austin	14.1
43	Seattle	13.1
44	Providence	12.4
45	Riverside	12.1
46	San Diego	10.4
47	Phoenix	10.1
48	Portland	8.6
49	San Jose	4.2
50	Salt Lake City	4.2

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

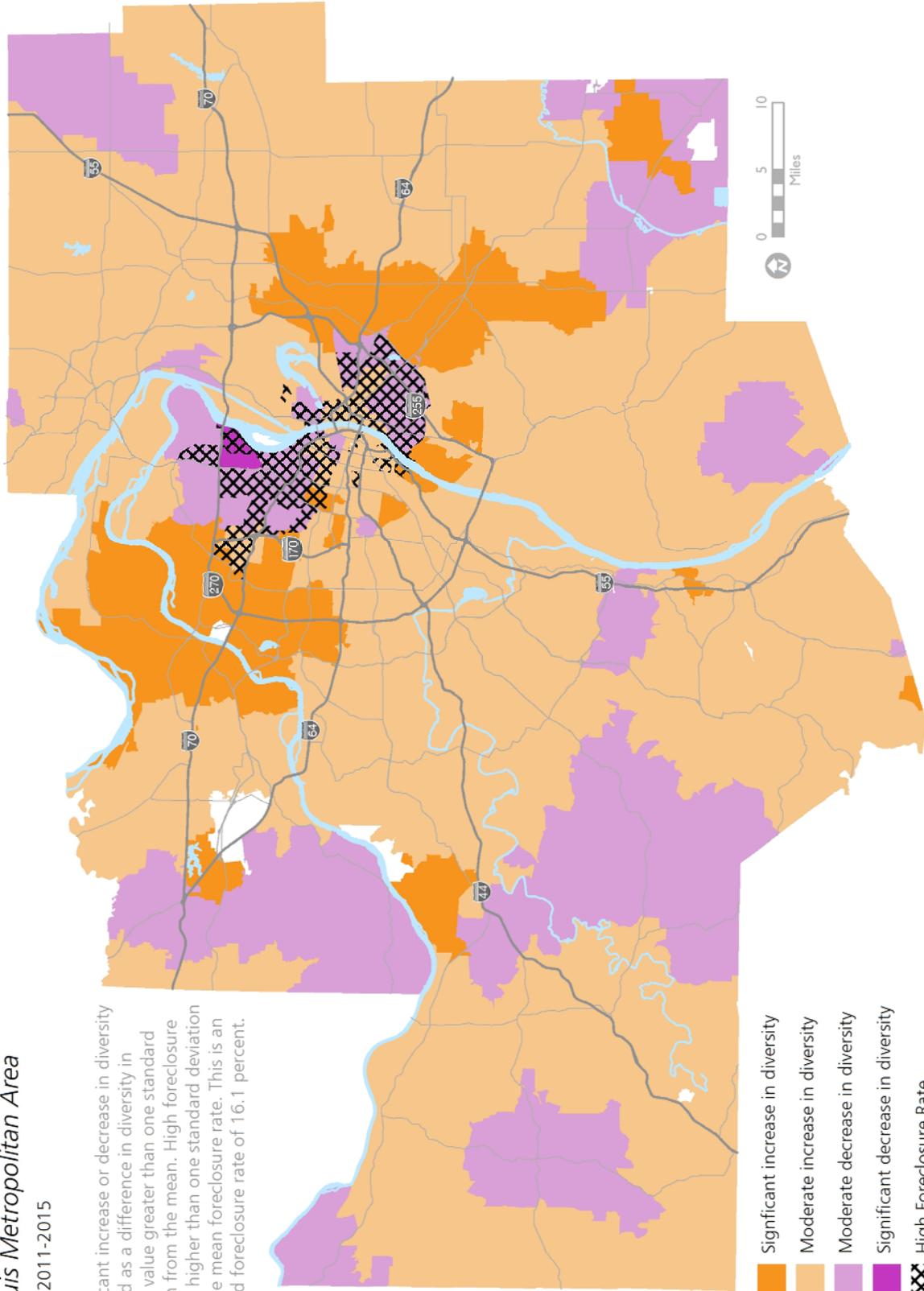
The figures above are based on population counts of non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks.

Map 1: Change in Diversity

St. Louis Metropolitan Area

2000 to 2011-2015

A significant increase or decrease in diversity is defined as a difference in diversity in absolute value greater than one standard deviation from the mean. High foreclosure rates are higher than one standard deviation above the mean foreclosure rate. This is an estimated foreclosure rate of 16.1 percent.



- Significant increase in diversity
- Moderate increase in diversity
- Moderate decrease in diversity
- Significant decrease in diversity
- High Foreclosure Rate

Data for diversity is depicted by ZIP Code Tabulation Areas (ZCTA). Data for foreclosures is depicted by 2000 census tracts. Zip code and tract boundaries are not shown on the map.

Sources: Minnesota Population Center, NHGIS;
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development,
Neighborhood Stabilization Program 2



Diversity

As a region, St. Louis has become slightly more diverse since 2000, with 21.1 percent growth in the region's nonwhite population, but the region is still less diverse than many of the peer regions. In 2011-2015, St. Louis ranked 41st on the diversity index. Despite this increased diversity, some parts of the region experienced a decline in diversity.

Map 1 (Page 10) shows areas of the region that saw significant changes in diversity relative to other communities of the region. Some of the change in diversity of neighborhoods can likely be attributed to the foreclosure crisis, but the changes also appear to display a continuation of migration patterns the region has seen for the past 50 to 60 years. Generally, white residents continued to move to the outer parts of the region and black residents moved from the inner core to more suburban communities. The following paragraphs describe these patterns, but it should be noted that there are a variety of factors contributing to these changes. Not all of the neighborhoods highlighted in Map 1 perfectly fit these descriptions.

Decreasing Diversity

Within the eight-county St. Louis region, 25.3 percent of ZIP codes experienced a decrease in diversity from 2000 to 2011-2015. Generally, these areas saw a large decrease in white population and slight increase in minority populations.

As seen on Map 1, many of the areas with the highest foreclosure rates also experienced a decrease in diversity—areas within the region's inner core. These areas include the northern parts of the city of St. Louis, the northern inner-ring of St. Louis County, East St. Louis, Sauget, and Cahokia. Collectively, ZIP codes in these areas lost over 42,000 white residents, a decline of 47.4 percent from 2000 to 2011-2015. The decline in white population was slightly offset by modest increases in black and nonblack minority residents (increases of 480 and 2,400, respectively), however, in total, these ZIP codes lost over 39,000 residents, or a decline of 12.1 percent.

Increasing Diversity

Most communities saw an increase in diversity (74.7 percent of ZIP codes). ZIP codes that experienced a significant increase in diversity (dark orange on the map), generally, saw population increases and were largely in more suburban areas of the region.⁸ Collectively, these ZIP codes experienced a 5.4 percent increase in total population from 2000 to 2011-2015 (nearly 29,000 residents), despite an 8.8 percent decrease in white population (over 38,000 white residents). The decline in white population was fully offset by sizeable increases in black and nonblack minority residents. Between 2000 and 2011-2015, these ZIP codes saw a 58.8 percent increase in black residents (nearly 38,000 black residents), and a 101.8 percent increase in nonblack minority residents (nearly 30,000 residents).

Much of these changes were driven by two clusters of ZIP codes: ZIP codes along either side of the Missouri River in the northwestern portion of St. Louis County and the eastern portion of St. Charles County; and ZIP codes running north and south along Illinois Route 159 in St. Clair and Madison counties. In the ZIP codes outside of these two clusters, the population trends are varied. For example, the 63367 (Lake St. Louis) and 63105 (Clayton) ZIP codes saw increases in both white and black residents. The 63112 ZIP code (north of Forest Park) saw an increase in white residents and a decrease in black residents.

Conclusion

Recent data indicates that the long-term trend of declining segregation in the United States is slowing, and in some areas even reversing. It has been widely documented that segregation can lead to significant health and economic disparities. Studies have also shown that segregation is an impediment to regional economic growth. The region is currently implementing major initiatives such as the Ferguson Commission Report, For the Sake of All, and Ready by 21 that seek to address these disparities. The persistence of segregation highlights the challenges that these initiatives face and the urgency of this task.

See Ewgateway.org/www for an Appendix and an Online Database that contain data for the measures of segregation reported in this Update as well as additional data that was discussed but not included in the report.

⁸ In this report, a significant increase or decrease in diversity is defined as a difference in diversity in absolute value greater than one standard deviation from the mean.

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