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## A 2020 Census Portrait of America's Largest Metro Areas: Population growth, diversity, segregation, and youth

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# A 2020 Census Portrait of America's Largest Metro Areas

## Population growth, diversity, segregation, and youth

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*Both the 2000-2010 decade and, even more so, the 2010-2020 decade displayed lower national population growth than the 1990s, as immigration shifted downward, fertility declined, and deaths rose as the population aged. And in both decades, economic and non-economic forces triggered sharp geographic and temporal growth variations.*

The nation's major metropolitan areas—those with populations exceeding 1 million, which are home to nearly six in 10 Americans—have been a focal point of the nation's economic vibrancy,<sup>1</sup> politics,<sup>2</sup> and racial and ethnic diversity.<sup>3</sup> The 2020 census provides an opportunity to see how they fared in the 2010-2020 decade. Unlike the previous decade, major metro areas grew more sharply than their smaller-sized counterparts, and their cities showed growth surges even in a decade when the nation's population registered historically low growth.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the increased racial and ethnic diversity that characterized the nation is especially concentrated in major metro areas and, in particular, among their youth populations.

This report examines 2020 census results to provide an overview of the nation's 56 major metro areas to better understand their growth, city and suburb population shifts, racial and ethnic diversity, neighborhood segregation, and youth populations. A final section focuses on major metros areas located in the Mountain West region of the country.

### Highlights

- Major metro areas (those with populations exceeding 1 million) grew more slowly in the 2010s than in several prior decades, but still at higher rates than smaller areas across the country.
- The states with the most fast-growing metro areas are Texas and Florida.
- Compared with the 2000s, cities grew faster and suburbs grew slower.
- All major metro areas became more racially diverse due to slow or negative growth of their white populations and continued dispersion of Latino or Hispanic and Asian American populations.
- Neighborhood racial segregation varied widely across metro areas and showed modest declines for Black and Latino or Hispanic Americans.
- Many major metro areas showed youth population declines, while all showed greater youth diversity.
- Major metro areas in the Mountain West registered slower but still high growth.

## Major metro areas grew slower than in previous decades, but faster than smaller metro areas

Major metropolitan areas have seen both short- and long-term volatility in their population growth.<sup>5</sup> During the 1970s, deindustrialization and something of a rural renaissance sharply reduced metropolitan growth, particularly in the industrial Midwest.<sup>6</sup> A small but mixed metropolitan growth revival occurred during the 1980s. But it was in the 1990s, when the nation's population growth swelled via immigration and millennial births, that metropolitan growth rebounded sharply, particularly in new parts of the Sun Belt and in areas with diversifying economies. At the time, this seemed to foreshadow continued major metropolitan growth in the 2000s.

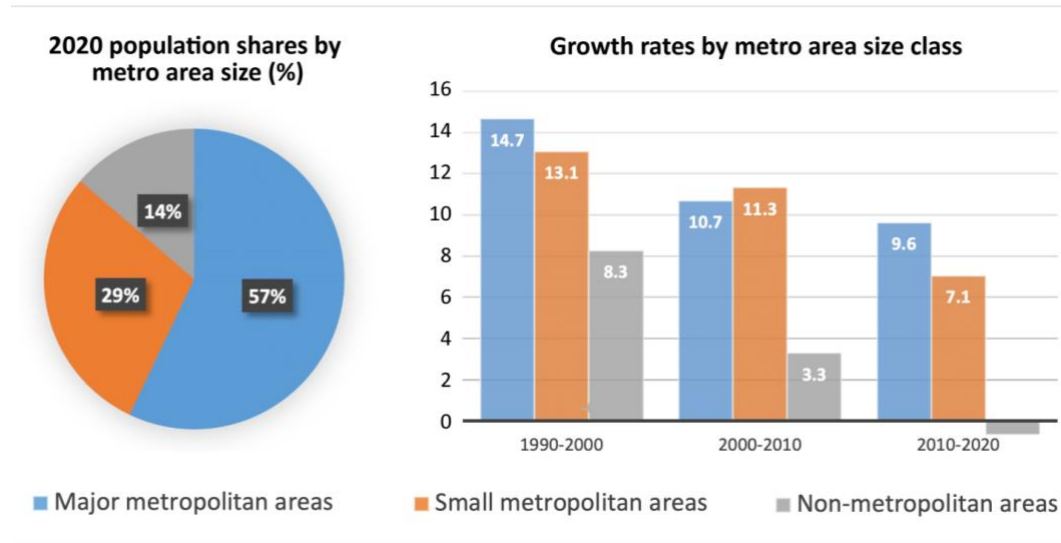
However, this expectation was far from realized. Both the 2000-2010 decade and, even more so, the 2010-2020 decade displayed lower national population growth than the 1990s, as immigration shifted downward, fertility declined, and deaths rose as the population aged.<sup>7</sup> And in both decades, economic and non-economic forces triggered sharp geographic and temporal growth variations.

The 2000-2010 decade began with a modest recession at the end of the so-called “dot-com” bubble and continued with a housing bubble prompted by easy credit and uncommon growth in different parts of the country. The decade ended with both a financial crisis that led to the near collapse of the housing market along with job reductions associated with the 2007-2009 Great Recession.

The 2010-2020 decade began with after-effects of the Great Recession continuing to put the brakes on job and housing availability, especially for the millennial generation, which was coming of age at the time. The economy revived somewhat as the decade continued, but population growth dipped dramatically—the result of a downturn in births as millennials put off childbearing<sup>8</sup> as well as restrictive immigration policies put forth by the federal government between 2017 to 2020.<sup>9</sup> Then, a few months before the 2020 census was conducted, the COVID-19 pandemic hit.

The impact of these trends on the nation's metropolitan population growth is evident from Figure 1. In the 1990s, major metropolitan areas as a group reached a growth rate peak of 14.7%, only to dip to 10.7% in 2000-2010 and to 9.6% in 2010-2020. The low growth rates across all metropolitan categories—major metro areas, small metro areas, and non-metro areas—mirror the historically low national population growth of the most recent decade.

**Figure 1. US population by metro area size class and growth, 1990-2000, 2000-10, 2010-20**



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 1990-2020

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Moreover, the decade-wide growth patterns of the past two decades reflect population shifts of the intra-decade forces discussed above. In the first part of the 2000-2010 decade, there was a clear population dispersion from major metro areas to smaller-sized areas and suburbs within those areas, as jobs and the hot housing market lured movers away from larger urban settlements. This dispersion was stalled, however, as the late-decade Great Recession led some major metro areas and their cities to hold on to would-be migrants. Thus, the decade's slightly lower growth rate for major metro areas (10.7%) than for smaller metro areas (11.3%) reflected the dispersion tendencies of the early to middle part of the decade.<sup>10</sup>

The 2010-2020 decade tells somewhat the opposite story. Here, the growth rate for major metro areas was noticeably higher than for smaller metro areas (9.6% versus 7.1%). This reflects the high early decade growth of major metro areas, as movers (especially millennials) were attracted to those places—and also were to some degree “stuck” there until job and housing markets picked up later in the decade. Nonetheless, compared to the prior decade, the 2010-2020 decade was a good one for major metro area growth.

## A shift in the fastest-growing major metro areas across the Sun Belt

The nationwide metropolitan growth patterns discussed above overlie those of individual major metro areas across the past three decades. Between 1990 and 2020, the fastest-growing major metro areas were located in different parts of the Sun Belt (South and West regions), although most individual metro areas grew less in the 21st century than in the high-flying 1990s (see Table 1).

The 1990s' fastest-growing areas were characterized by their location in the interior parts of the Sun Belt, as jobs grew in lower-cost states away from the coasts. Three Mountain West metro areas—Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Denver—ranked first, fourth, and seventh, respectively, in terms of growth. Also on the fast-growth list were southeastern interior metro areas (Raleigh, N.C.; Atlanta; and Charlotte, N.C.) and Texas metro areas (Austin and Dallas).

Driven by the hot housing market in low-cost states, the 2000-2010 period continued to show gains in many of the same interior Sun Belt metro areas, with Riverside in California's "inland empire" as well as Houston and San Antonio being added to the list of the 10 fastest-growing major metro areas (Denver, Dallas, and Portland, Ore. fell out of the top 10).

Yet in the 2010-2020 decade, the interior Sun Belt growth levels dipped—especially in the Mountain West, as none of that region's metro areas were among the top 10 fastest-growing. As inward population dispersion slowed in this decade, six of the fastest-growing metro areas were located in the traditional Sun Belt magnet states of Texas (Austin, Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio) and Florida (Orlando and Jacksonville), along with three southeastern metro areas (Raleigh, N.C.; Charlotte, N.C.; and Nashville, Tenn.) and Seattle.

With few exceptions, a common theme among the slowest-growing major metro areas is their location in the Midwest and Northeast regions, with Cleveland, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, N.Y., and Rochester, N.Y. appearing on the top 10 slowest-growing list for all three decades. Also on these lists are two Sun Belt metro areas: New Orleans in the 1990s and 2000s (the latter decade reflecting the impact of Hurricane Katrina) and Memphis, Tenn. in the 2010s.

The 2010-2020 decade is notable in that no major metro area lost population, while five did in 2000-2010 and two in 1990-2000. Yet, reflecting the national slow growth of the 2010s, 43 of the 56 major metro areas grew more slowly than in the 2000s. An especially sharp decline is observed for Las Vegas: While still growing at the reasonably brisk pace of 16.1% in the 2010s, it represents a fall from much higher rates in the prior two decades (see Appendix A).

**Table 1. Fastest and slowest growing decade growth rates among major metro areas, 1990-2020**

RANK	Metro Area	1990-2000	Metro Area	2000-2010	Metro Area	2010-2020
		Rate		Rate		Rate
<b>Fastest Growth Rates</b>						
1	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	85.5	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	41.8	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	33.0
2	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	47.7	Raleigh-Cary, NC	41.8	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	25.3
3	Raleigh-Cary, NC	47.3	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	37.3	Raleigh-Cary, NC	25.1
4	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	45.3	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	29.8	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	20.9
5	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	38.3	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	29.8	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	20.3
6	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	34.3	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	28.9	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	20.0
7	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	30.7	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	28.8	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	19.4
8	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	29.4	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	26.1	Jacksonville, FL	19.3
9	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	27.6	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	25.2	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	18.6
10	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	26.5	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	24.0	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	16.8
<b>Slowest Growth/Decline Rates</b>						
1	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	(1.6)	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	(11.1)	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	0.1
2	Pittsburgh, PA	(1.5)	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	(3.5)	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	0.5
3	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	2.2	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	(3.3)	Pittsburgh, PA	0.6
4	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	2.2	Pittsburgh, PA	(3.1)	Rochester, NY	1.0
5	Rochester, NY	3.6	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	(3.0)	St. Louis, MO-IL	1.2
6	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	4.1	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	1.1	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	1.2
7	St. Louis, MO-IL	4.5	Rochester, NY	1.6	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1.6
8	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	4.6	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	3.1	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	1.7
9	Urban Honolulu, HI	4.8	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	3.7	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	2.2
10	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	4.8	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	3.7	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	2.8

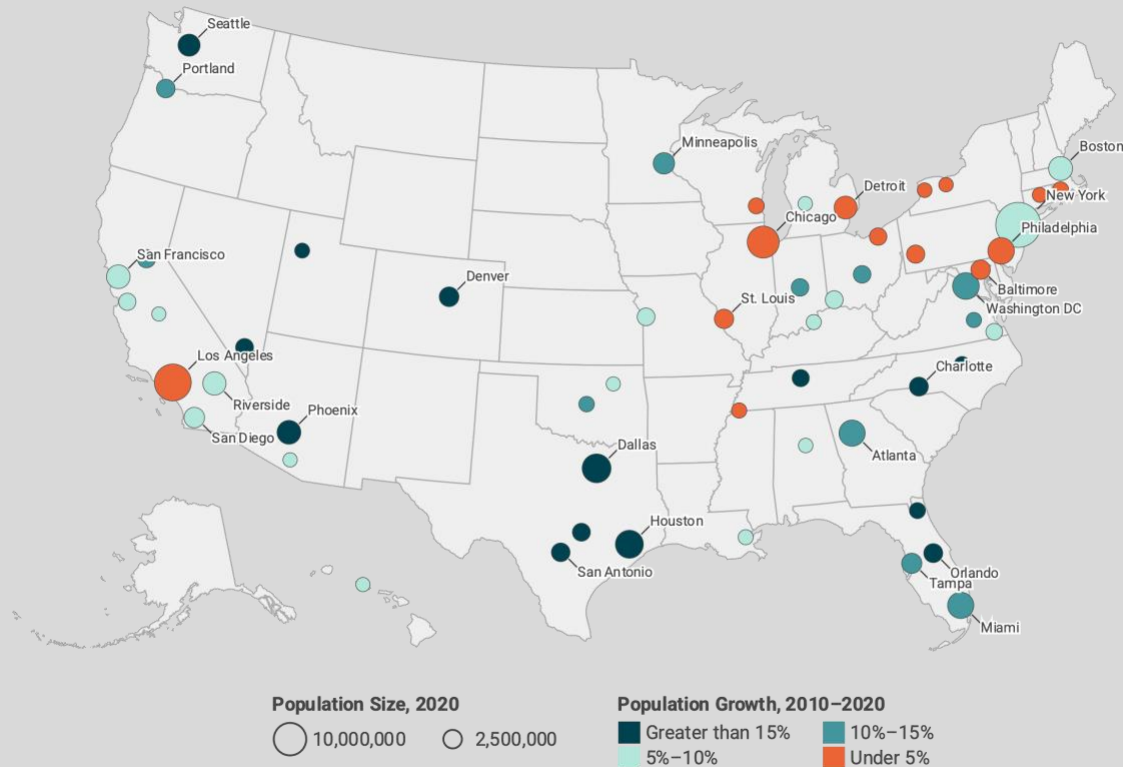
Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 1990-2020

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Even in this slow-growth decade, there are wide variations in major metro area growth across the country. As Map 1 indicates, the high-low growth disparities lie largely along regional lines, in that all of the metro areas with greater than 10% growth are located in the South and West regions except three (Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis; and Minneapolis-St Paul). The lower-growth areas are somewhat more dispersed across regions. Especially noteworthy is the relatively lower growth in California metro areas, both on the state's coasts (Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco) and interior (Riverside, Fresno). Also, Tucson, Ariz. is an outlier for the Mountain West because of its relatively slow growth.

**Map 1. Growth of major metro areas, 2010 to 2020**



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2010-20

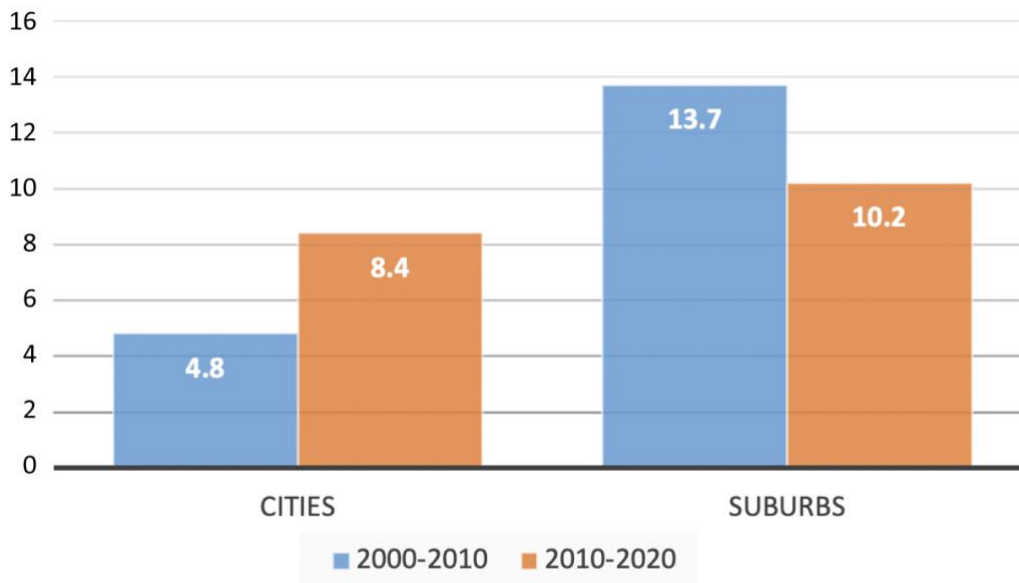
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## A growth rebound for cities in the 2010s

The broad 2000-2010 population dispersion followed by some contraction during the 2010s decade not only impacted growth rates of major metro areas—it also affected city-suburban growth within them. The easy credit in the early to middle part of the 2000s drove accelerated migration and growth to suburban areas in this period. However, the housing crisis and Great Recession at the end of the decade spilled over into the 2010s—enough to stall suburbanization as would-be movers (especially millennials) choose to relocate to or remain in central cities.

As a consequence, the 2010s saw uncommonly large growth in city populations while suburban growth tended to sputter. As Figure 2 shows, nationally, the primary cities of major metro areas almost doubled their growth, from 4.8% in 2000-2010 to 8.4% in 2010-2020.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, these metro areas' suburban growth diminished from 13.7% to 10.2%.

**Figure 2. Primary City-Suburban Growth for Major Metro Areas, 2000-2010 and 2010-2020**



Source: Author's analysis of US Decennial Censuses, 2000-2020  
 Note: Primary cities are defined by Brookings Metro and include up to three cities in metropolitan area name with populations exceeding 100,000; Suburbs are defined as the metropolitan area lying outside of primary cities

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These aggregate figures held for most individual metro areas. Comparing both decades' growth rates, primary cities in 39 of the 56 major metro areas grew faster in the 2010s than in the 2000s, while 43 of these metro areas' suburban populations grew slower (see Appendix A).

Table 2 shows primary city and suburban growth rates for the 10 largest metro areas. In all but one (Miami), city growth increased over the two decades, and in all but two (New York and Boston) suburban growth decreased. Atlanta's experience is noteworthy, as its city growth increased nearly eight-fold (from 2.3% to 18.1%) while its suburban growth diminished (from 26.9% to 14.9%). Other metro areas that showed outsized shifts include Phoenix and Denver in the Mountain West.



**Table 2. Primary city and suburb growth, 2000-10 and 2010-20**

10 largest metropolitan areas

Metro Area	Primary City Growth*			Suburban Growth*		
	2000-2010	2010-2020	Difference	2000-2010	2010-2020	Difference
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	2.1	8.1	6.1	4.0	5.2	1.2
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	2.4	2.6	0.3	4.5	3.0	(1.5)
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	(5.6)	2.2	7.8	9.0	1.4	(7.5)
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	12.1	13.6	1.5	31.0	23.6	(7.5)
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	9.2	10.3	1.1	38.9	26.2	(12.7)
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	6.7	14.6	7.9	18.7	12.7	(6.0)
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	0.6	5.1	4.5	6.5	4.5	(1.9)
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	12.1	10.9	(1.2)	11.0	10.2	(0.8)
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	2.3	18.1	15.8	26.9	14.9	(12.0)
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	4.7	9.9	5.2	3.5	8.3	4.8

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2000-20  
 \* Primary cities are defined by Brookings Metro and include up to three cities in metropolitan area with populations exceeding 100,000. Suburbs are defined as the metropolitan area lying outside of primary cities.

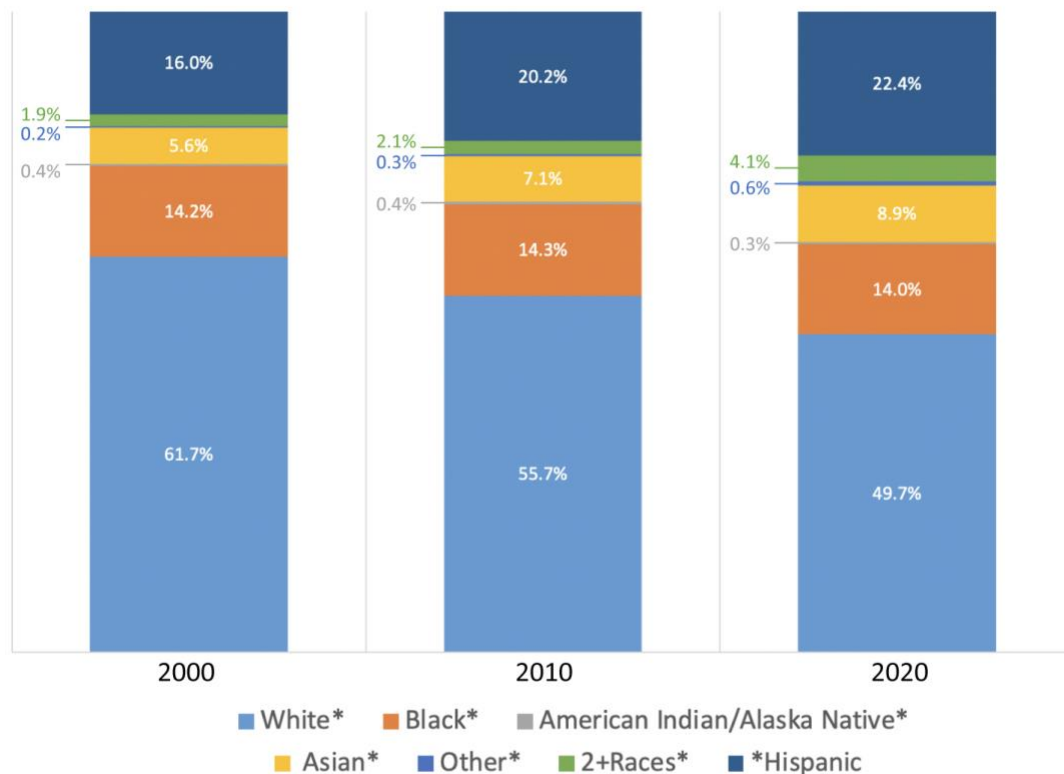


This pattern was most dramatic within fast-growing major metro areas, where suburbs dominated growth in the 2000s but far less so in the 2010s. The 2010s were unusual in that for a substantial number of major metro areas (24 of the 56), city growth exceeded suburban growth after decades of fairly pervasive suburbanization. Nonetheless, it should be kept in mind that the bulk of city growth occurred in the first part of the decade; in most metro areas, suburban growth began to re-emerge as the economy picked up in the latter half of the 2010s.<sup>12</sup>

## Major metro areas are becoming more racially diverse

The 2010-2020 decade continues the nation’s “diversity explosion” that was already evident in the 2000s.<sup>13</sup> This was especially the case in the nation’s major metro areas. While people of color (those identifying as Latino or Hispanic, Black, Asian American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Native American, or as two or more races) together comprise more than two-fifths (42%) of the U.S. population, they now comprise over half (50.3%) of the combined populations of major metro areas. In those areas, Latino or Hispanic and Asian Americans comprised nearly one-third of residents (see Figure 3).

**Figure 3. Race-Ethnic Profiles: Major Metro Areas, 2000-2020**



Source: Author’s analysis of 2000-2020 US decennial censuses  
 \* Non- Hispanic members of group; Asian includes persons identified as Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander

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Major metropolitan areas have historically been the focus of minority settlement in the U.S. going back to the immigrant waves a century ago and continuing with African American movement to largely northern cities. Therefore, it is not surprising that Latino or Hispanic and Asian Americans, with substantial immigrant roots, would be more heavily concentrated in major metro areas than in the general population, despite some large recent dispersal.

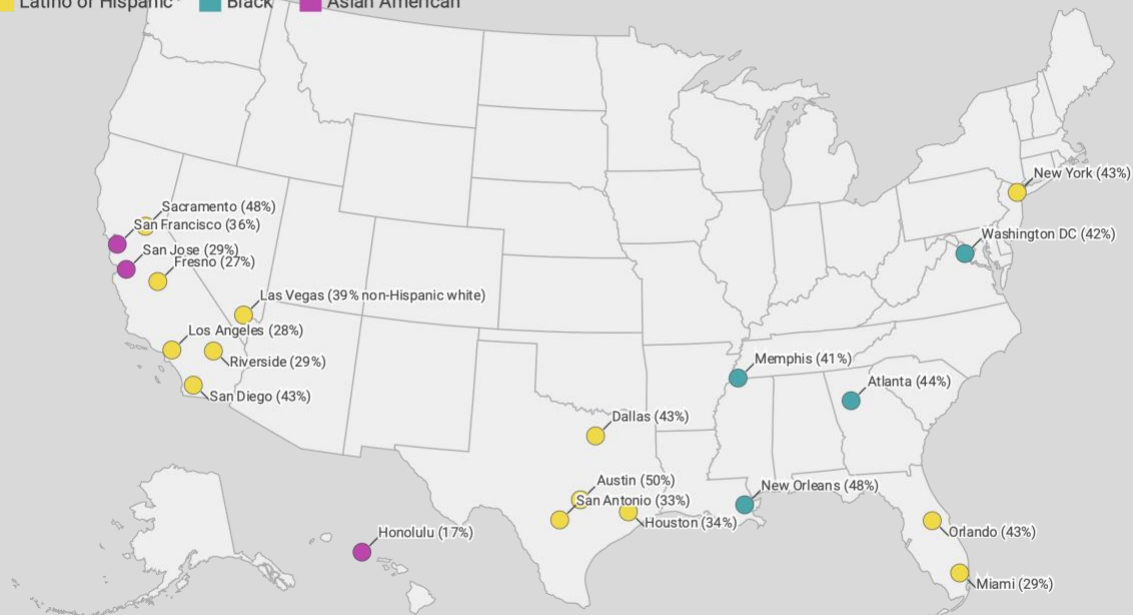
The impact of this minority concentration is most apparent for 20 of the 56 major metropolitan areas where people of color now comprise more than half of the 2020 population (see Appendix B). This was the case for only 14 major metro areas in 2010 and just nine in 2000. The newcomers to this category are metropolitan Dallas; Orlando, Fla.; Atlanta; Sacramento, Calif.; New Orleans; and Austin, Texas. As shown in Map 2, most of these are located in California and Texas, where the greatest minority populations tend to be Latino or Hispanic Americans. Metropolitan Chicago is close to being next in tipping to minority-white status.

**Map 2. Major metro areas with "minority-white" populations, 2020**

Percentages indicate the share of total population that identifies as non-Hispanic white

**Largest non-white group**

■ Latino or Hispanic
 ■ Black
 ■ Asian American



Source: Author's analysis of 2020 U.S. decennial census

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Rising diversity is not just specific to these minority-white metro areas. All 56 major metro areas registered a decline in their white population share since 2010 and, in 41, the decline was 5 percentage points or more. Metro area Seattle led all others, with a decline from 68% white in 2010 to 58% in 2020. Las Vegas experienced the largest 20-year change, from 60% white in 2000 to 39% white in 2020 (see Appendix B).

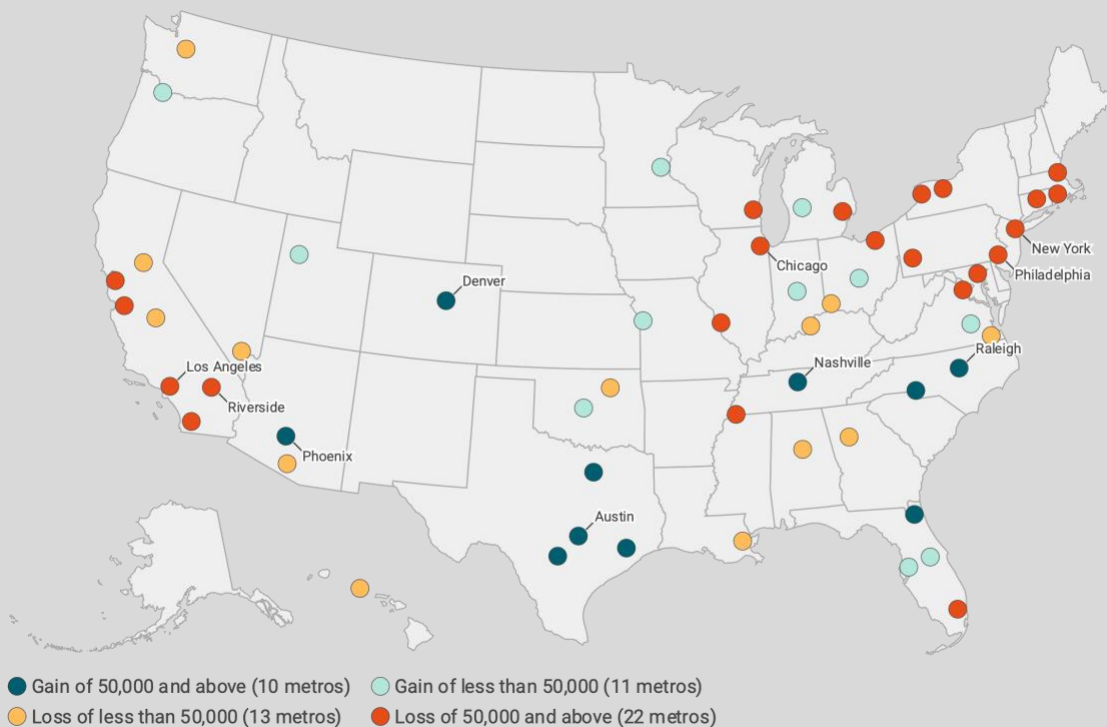
**White populations declined in most major metro areas**

The 2020 census showed a *decline* in the nation's white population between 2010 and 2020—a pattern which is projected to continue as a result of more deaths and fewer births for the aging white population.<sup>14</sup> This means that white population shifts within the U.S. are

becoming something of a zero-sum game: When some areas gain white migrants from other parts of the country, the white population in those origin areas often registers losses.

Map 3 displays white population gain and loss patterns among the nation's 56 major metro areas. Over the 2010-2020 period, 35 of these areas sustained white population losses. These include areas with high costs of living, such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, as well as less economically vibrant places. Many of the latter are located in the industrial Midwest, but they are also prevalent in interior California, the Southeast, and New England.

**Map 3. White gains and losses in major metro areas**



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2010-20  
Note: White population that does not identify as Latino or Hispanic

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Still, none of the 35 metro areas that lost white residents during the 2010s registered overall population declines. This is because the combined gains of other nonwhite groups more than made up for white population losses. For example, in metropolitan Los Angeles, the white population loss of 294,000 was countered by a gain of 666,000 residents from other racial and ethnic groups.

Most of the 21 metropolitan areas that gained white population during the 2010-2020 decade are located in prosperous areas of the Sun Belt region, especially Texas, the Southeast, and the Mountain West. This reflects similar migration patterns for racial minority groups. Austin,

Texas; Nashville, Tenn.; Denver; Phoenix; and Raleigh, N.C. gained the most white residents in the past decade, with each also gaining substantial racial minority populations.

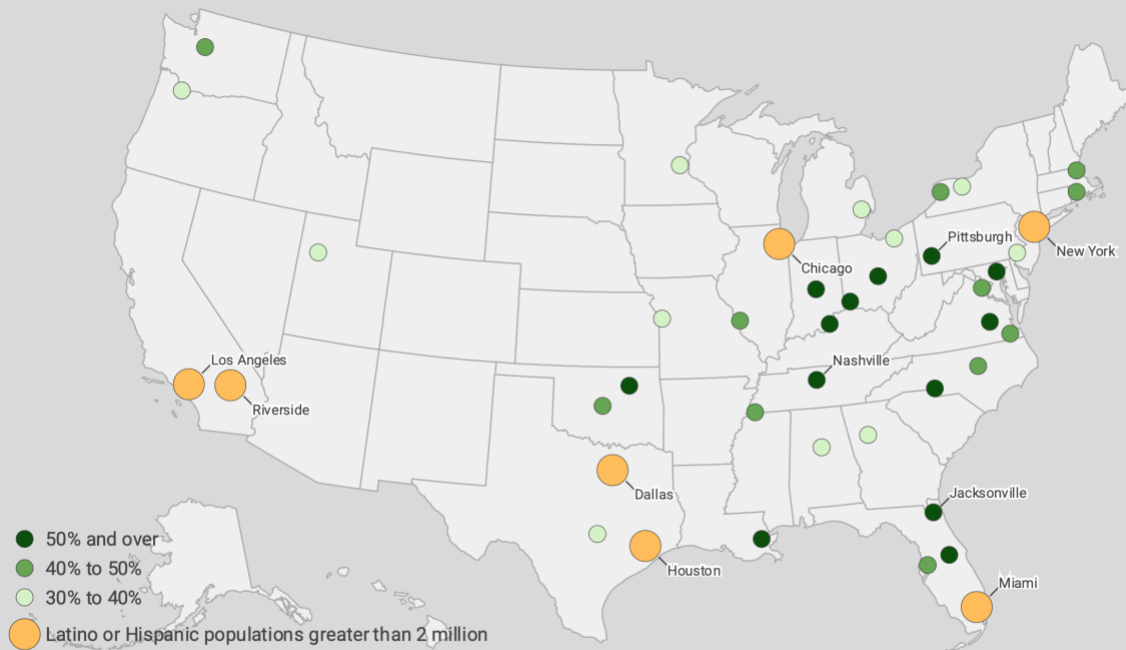
### **A dispersion of Latino or Hispanic and Asian American residents**

Nationally, Latino or Hispanic and Asian Americans are the fastest-growing racial and ethnic groups—increasing by 23% and 35.6%, respectively, from 2010 to 2020.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, there is a growing dispersion of both groups to new destinations, which tend to lie further afield than the familiar major metro areas.

In 1990, nearly two-fifths of all Latino or Hispanic Americans resided in just four metro areas: Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Chicago. In 2020, a similar share of Latino or Hispanic Americans resided in seven metro areas, with Houston, Riverside, Calif., and Dallas added to the list—each housing more than 2 million Latino or Hispanic residents. Yet, Latino or Hispanic growth has continued to disperse beyond these areas; in the 2010-2020 decade, the group's growth rate was higher in areas with smaller Latino or Hispanic settlements in all parts of the country.

Map 4 depicts major metro areas where Latino or Hispanic populations grew fastest over the 2010-2020 period. In the 35 metro areas depicted, Latino or Hispanic decade-wide growth exceeded 30%. Twenty-four of those areas grew by over 40%, and 13 grew by over 50%. These areas are spread all over the country, especially in metro areas where Latino or Hispanic populations were gaining new footholds: in the West, Midwest, Northeast, and Southeast. Major metro areas with fastest-growing Latino or Hispanic populations are Nashville, Tenn., Pittsburgh, and Jacksonville, Fla.

**Map 4. Major metro areas with largest 2020 Latino or Hispanic populations and highest 2010-20 growth**



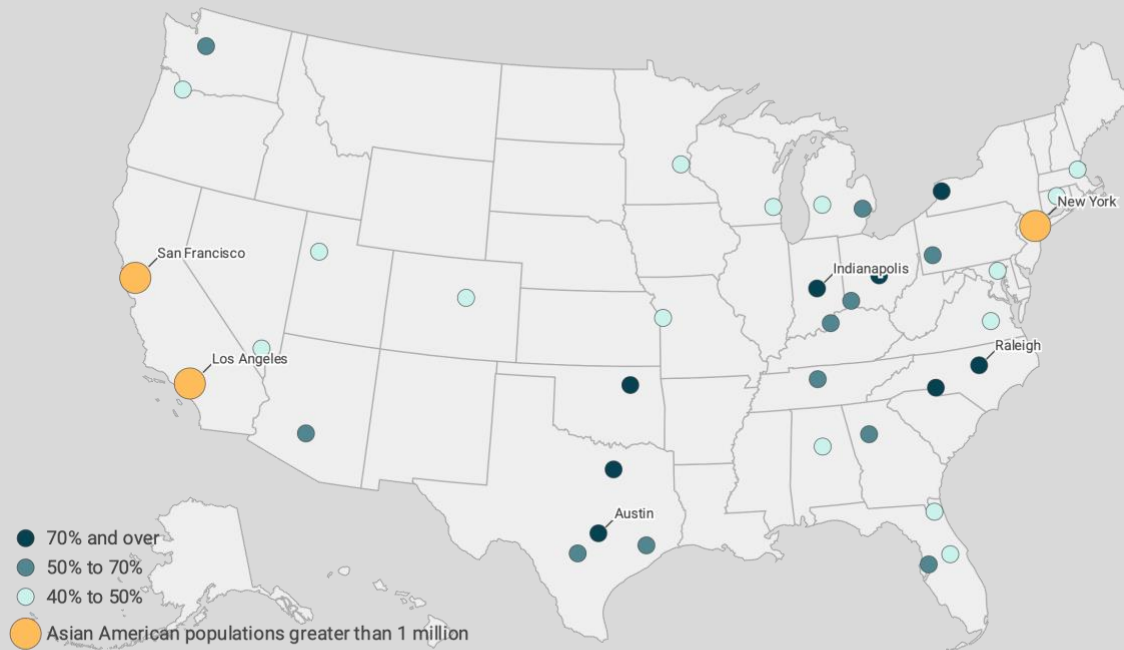
Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2010-20

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Although the nation's Asian American population grew more rapidly than the Latino or Hispanic population, it has a smaller footprint in most major metro areas. Asian Americans have large concentrations in a few gateway areas, led by New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. However, while these three metro areas combined house 30% of the nation's Asian American residents, more than three-quarters of 2010-2020 Asian American population growth took place elsewhere.

Map 5 depicts 34 major metro areas where the Asian American population grew by more than 40% over the 2010-2020 decade. These are located in interior parts of the country, especially in the interior Midwest, South, and West. In Indianapolis, the Asian American population doubled over the decade. Its growth has also expanded in university and high-tech towns such as Raleigh, N.C.; Austin, Texas; and Columbus, Ohio. Most of these growth magnets house relatively small Asian American populations, yet there are exceptions: Seattle, Dallas, Houston, and Atlanta, each with substantial Asian American populations, grew considerably over the 2010-2020 decade.

**Map 5. Major metro areas with largest 2020 Asian American populations and highest 2010-20 growth**



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2010-20  
Note: Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Other Pacific Islanders who do not identify as Latino or Hispanic

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### **Black population shifts to major metro areas in the South and elsewhere**

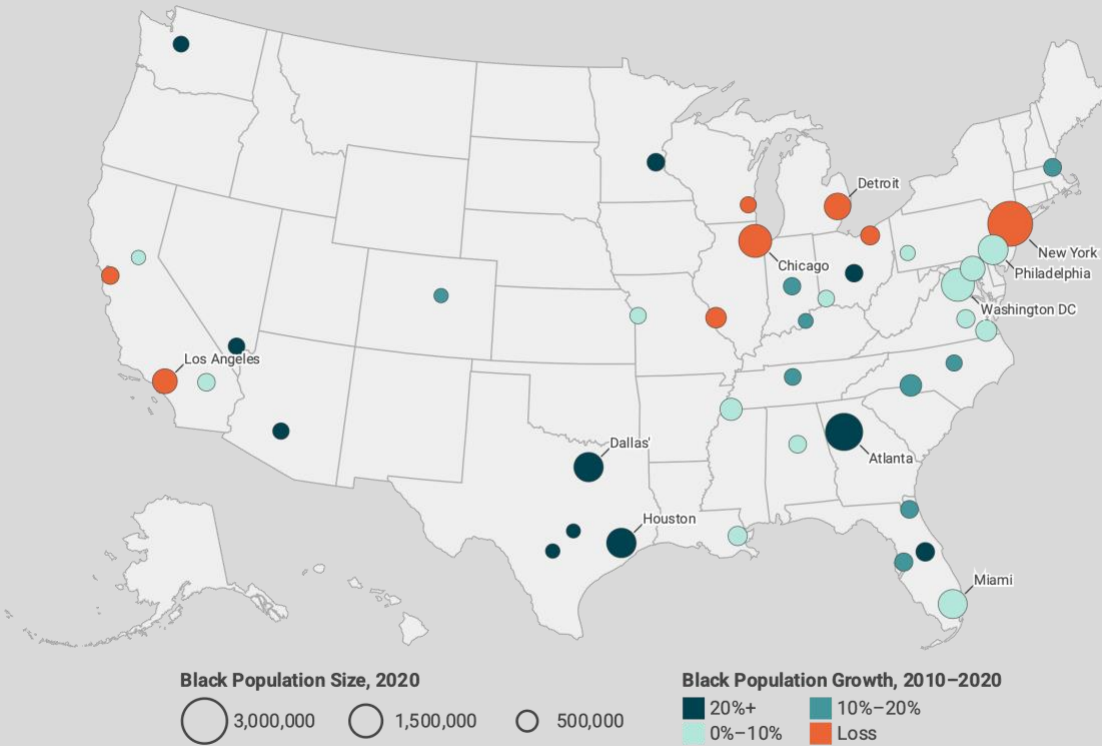
For Black Americans, the most notable shift in recent decades has been a return to the South—a reversal of the historical Great Migration to traditional northern and West Coast destination areas.<sup>16</sup>

In 1990, New York led all metro areas in Black population size, followed by Chicago, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Detroit. But by 2020, Atlanta had catapulted to second place in this ranking, while Houston, Dallas, and Miami leapt ahead of Detroit and Los Angeles.

The results of these shifts are depicted in Map 6, which displays major metro areas with the largest Black populations along with levels of 2010-2020 growth. Atlanta is one of the top metro areas for Black population growth, along with its southern counterparts San Antonio, Dallas, Houston, Orlando, Fla., and Charlotte, N.C. However, unlike previous decades, these gains are not broadly confined to the South. Western metro areas such as Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Seattle show substantial growth in their Black populations, as does Minneapolis. At the same time, many former destinations for Black migrants—including Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco—registered losses in their Black populations.



Map 6. Major metro areas with the largest Black populations, 2020\*



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2010-20  
\*Non-Hispanic Black populations exceeding 150,000

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## Major metro areas vary in their neighborhood racial segregation levels

Neighborhood racial segregation continues to persist in the United States, though it varies by group and metropolitan area. A common way to look at neighborhood segregation is via a segregation index, sometimes known as a dissimilarity index.<sup>17</sup> This index measures the extent to which two different groups (such as white and Black populations) are unequally distributed across neighborhoods in a single metro area. The index can range from zero (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation), where its value represents the percent of one group (e.g., Black residents) which would need to relocate to be distributed across neighborhoods equally with the other group (e.g., white residents).

Table 3 highlights major metro areas with highest and lowest 2020 segregation levels between white residents and Black, Latino or Hispanic, and Asian American residents.<sup>18</sup>

For Black Americans, segregation levels range from 36 in Honolulu to 78 in Milwaukee. Thus, in Milwaukee, nearly eight in 10 Black residents would need change neighborhoods to be distributed similarly to white residents; in Honolulu, it would be less than four in 10. Notably, metro areas with some of the lowest Black-white segregation levels are located in the Mountain West (Tucson, Ariz.; Las Vegas; Phoenix) and interior California (Riverside).

**Table 3: Major metro areas with highest and lowest neighborhood segregation, 2020**

RANK	Black - White		Latino or Hispanic - White		Asian American - White	
	Segregation		Segregation		Segregation	
	Metro Area*	Level**	Metro Area*	Level**	Metro Area*	Level**
<b>Highest Segregation</b>						
1	Milwaukee	78	Los Angeles	60	Buffalo	58
2	New York	75	New York	58	Detroit	54
3	Chicago	74	Boston	56	Raleigh	53
4	Cleveland	73	Providence	56	New York	52
5	Detroit	71	Miami	55	Atlanta	52
6	St. Louis	70	Chicago	54	Cincinnati	51
7	Buffalo	69	Milwaukee	54	Houston	50
8	Philadelphia	65	Hartford	53	Dallas	49
9	Cincinnati	65	Memphis	52	Rochester	49
10	Pittsburgh	64	Houston	50	Indianapolis	49
<b>Lowest Segregation</b>						
1	Honolulu	36	Honolulu	29	Tucson	25
2	Tucson	38	Jacksonville	29	Salt Lake City	29
3	Las Vegas	40	Seattle	29	Las Vegas	30
4	Raleigh	40	Portland	30	Orlando	34
5	Riverside	44	St. Louis	30	Denver	34
6	Phoenix	44	Virginia Beach	31	Miami	35
7	Austin	45	Raleigh	33	Phoenix	35
8	San Antonio	46	New Orleans	36	Virginia Beach	36
9	Virginia Beach	47	Sacramento	36	Tampa	38
10	Seattle	47	Cincinnati	37	Providence	38

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial census, 2020

\* Metropolitan area name is abbreviated

\*\* Segregation levels are measured by the index of dissimilarity which compares the distribution of one racial group (either Black, Latino or Hispanic, or Asian American) across a metropolitan area's neighborhoods (census tracts) with the distribution of white residents across those neighborhoods. Values vary from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation). Segregation levels are calculated for metropolitan areas with populations exceeding 1 million and in which the racial ethnic group comprises at least 3% of the population (51 metro areas for Black, 55 metro areas for Latino or Hispanic, and 48 metro areas for Asian American)

**BROOKINGS**

Regional patterns across the nation partly reflect recent decades' Black migration to the South. In the 1960s, segregation levels were high in that region due to blatantly discriminatory practices by lenders, realtors, and government agencies. The 1968 Fair Housing Act outlawed

many of those practices, with the biggest impact in the South, where large waves of Black Americans began to move after the law was in place.<sup>19</sup> Afterward, segregation levels declined in southern metro areas such as Atlanta, Dallas, and Houston, and stayed lower in western metro areas.

Today, many metro areas in the South and West register segregation index values of 60 and below. In sharp contrast, several northern areas with long-stagnating or declining Black populations (Milwaukee, New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis) continue to show segregation levels in the 70s, reflecting the persistence of past patterns. Thus, while almost all major metro areas displayed declines in their Black-white segregation levels since 2000 (see Appendix C), there remains wide variation in these levels across areas.

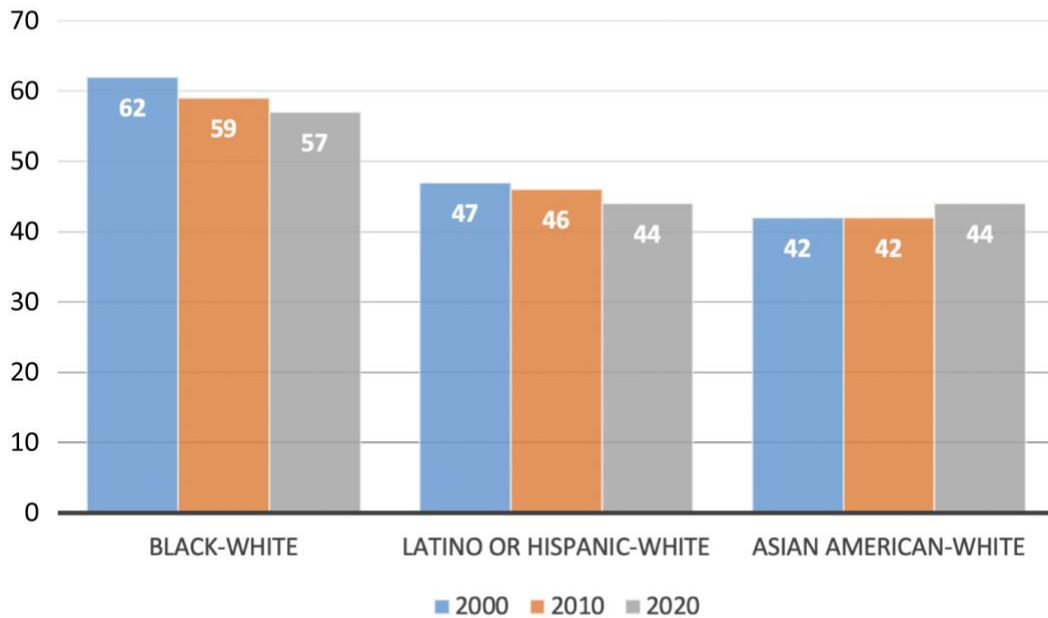
Segregation between white and Latino or Hispanic residents—while still substantial—is broadly lower than Black-white segregation, ranging between index values of 29 (Honolulu; Jacksonville, Fla.; Seattle) to 60 (Los Angeles). Areas with higher Latino or Hispanic segregation scores (50 and above) tend to be long-standing immigration magnets or areas in the Northeast with substantial Puerto Rican populations. Less segregated areas tend to be new destinations for Latino or Hispanic residents, located heavily in the Southeast and, increasingly, the nation’s heartland. As is the case with Black-white segregation, recently, segregation levels between Latino or Hispanic and white residents have modestly declined in most areas.

Segregation between white and Asian American residents has shifted less than that of the other groups of color. Even though Asian Americans tend to comprise smaller shares of the metropolitan population, their segregation levels are broadly in the range of Latino or Hispanic residents. In 2020, Asian American segregation indices ranged from a low of 25 (Tucson, Ariz.) to a high of 58 (Buffalo, N.Y.). In addition to Tucson, the Mountain West metro areas of Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, Denver, and Phoenix rank among those with the lowest Asian American segregation levels.

Between 2000 and 2020, 29 major metro areas registered increases in their Asian American-white segregation scores (see Appendix C). Areas showing the largest increases include those with high recent Asian American population growth, such as Raleigh, N.C. Metro areas with large Asian American population concentrations (San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Jose, Calif.) show modest Asian American-white segregation declines.

Despite recent modest declines in the neighborhood segregation for Black and Latino or Hispanic Americans (and steady levels for Asian Americans) segregation levels remain unacceptably high. Major metro area segregation index scores even at the low end (in the 30 to 40 range) mean the life experiences and access to community resources for nonwhite groups are very different from white residents. For Black Americans in many parts of the country, those scores rise into the 60s and 70s.

**Figure 4. Average Neighborhood Segregation Levels for Major Metro Areas, 2000, 2010 and 2020**



Source: Author's analysis of US Decennial Censuses, 2000 -2020  
 Note: Segregation levels are measured by the index of dissimilarity which compares the distribution of one racial group (either Blacks, Hispanics/Latinos or Asians) across a metropolitan area's neighborhoods (census tracts) with the distribution of whites across those neighborhoods. Values vary from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation). Average Segregation levels are calculated for metropolitan areas with populations exceeding one million and in which the racial ethnic group comprises at least 3 percent of the population (51 metros for Blacks, 55 metros for Latinos or Hispanics and 48 metros for Asians)

**BROOKINGS**

Overall, racial and ethnic neighborhood segregation is still quite prevalent in the United States. More than a half-century after the civil rights movement and fair housing legislation, white Americans continue to reside in mostly (and often largely) white neighborhoods, even as the nation's overall population becomes much more racially and ethnically diverse.

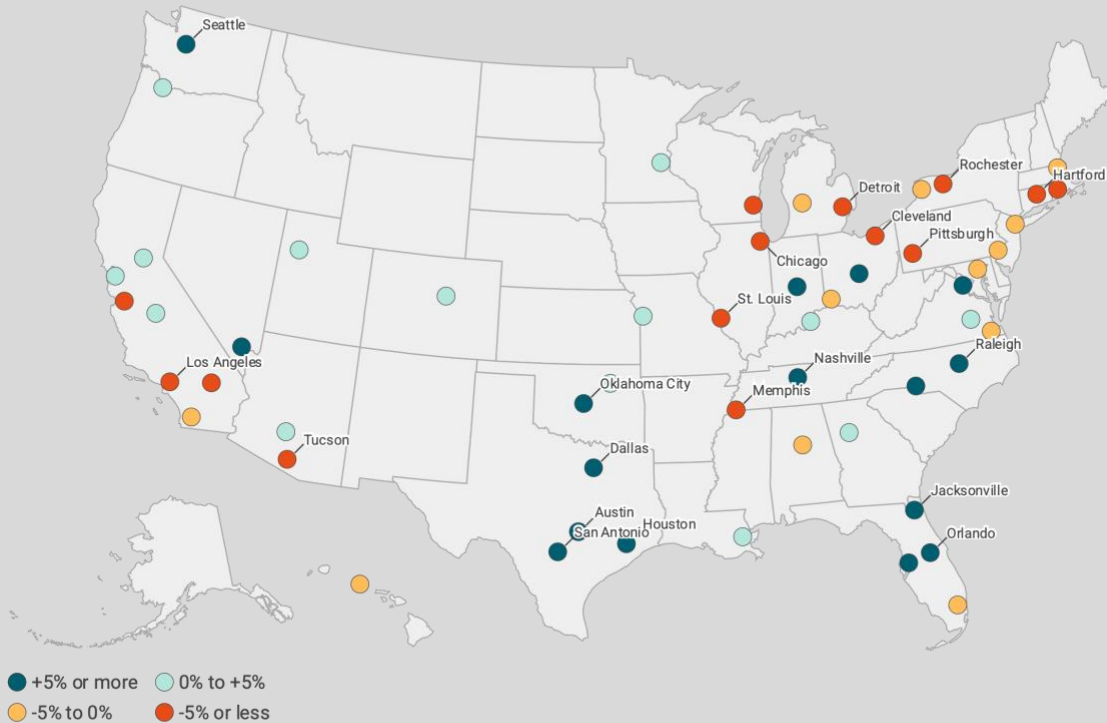
### Youth populations are diversifying, yet declining

The new 2020 census data allows assessment of the size and recent changes in the nation's under-age-18 population (referred to here as the "youth" population). An especially noteworthy finding is the overall decline in this population by over 1 million during the 2010-2020 decade.<sup>20</sup> In a country that is rapidly aging, this absolute decline in the youth population represents a demographic challenge for the future. The 2010s' nationwide youth loss contrasts with gains in that population during the prior two decades. While this was not the first decade to register a loss in the nation's youth, it is occurring at a time of greater aging of the population.

As a group, major metro areas experienced a 2010-2020 loss in their youth population, yet there are sharp variations, as evident in Map 7. Among the 56 major metro areas, 26 sustained 2010-2020 youth population losses. While those with largest losses were in the Midwest and Northeast, Los Angeles and other coastal California metro areas were among those that registered sizeable declines as well (see Appendix D).

The remaining 30 major metro areas experienced youth population gains, with the greatest increases in the South, especially the Southeast and Texas. Austin, Texas; Orlando, Fla.; Raleigh, N.C.; and Nashville, Tenn. were the biggest youth gainers, although other parts of the South and West saw gains as well. Such areas had “younger populations” because of their longer-term and recent attraction of young families and immigrants.

**Map 7. Growth and decline of under-18 populations: Major metro areas, 2010-20**



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2010-20

**BROOKINGS**

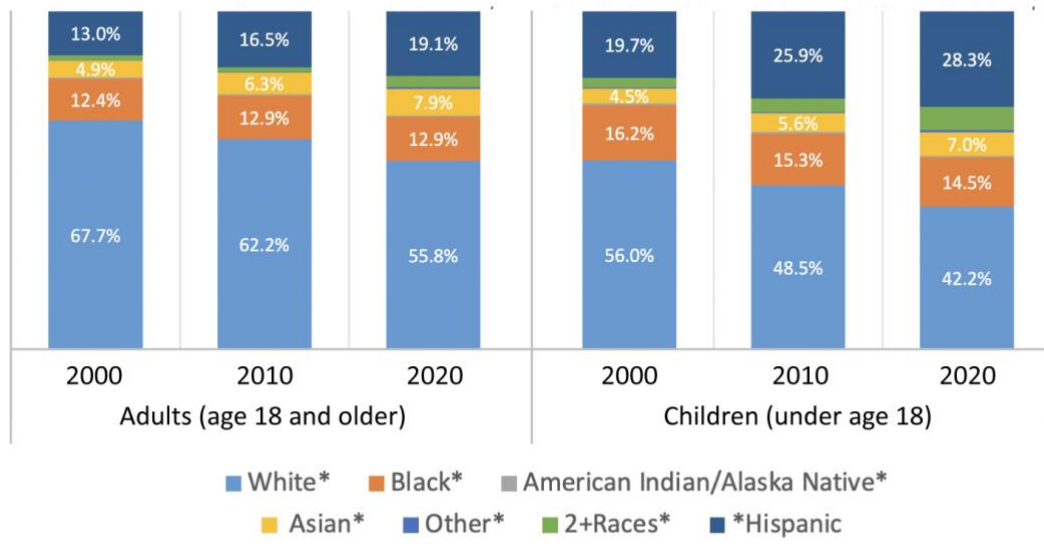
The growth stagnation in the nation’s youth population would be even more severe were it not for the contributions of people of color. Because immigrants and their U.S.-born children, together, are younger than the rest of the population, recent decades’ immigration from Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere bolstered the size of the nation’s youth population.

Were it not for these race-ethnic groups, the last decade’s decline in the youth population would have been substantial. This is because the white youth population has been declining

nationally since 2000 due to the more advanced aging of white Americans and a proportionately smaller share of white women in their childbearing years.<sup>21</sup> This dynamic has also occurred in most major metro areas. All but three of the 56 major metro areas showed 2010-2020 declines in their white youth populations, despite the fact that 30 of them registered overall youth gains (see Appendix D).

As a group, the youth population of the aggregated 56 major metro areas was already fairly diverse in 2000, with just 56% identifying as white alone. This became reduced to 42% in 2020. Although the adult population of these metro areas also diversified, it is important to understand the sharp diversity differences between adults and children (see Figure 5).

**Figure 5. Major Metro Areas: Race-Ethnic Profiles for Adults and Children, 2000-2020**



Source: Author's analysis of 2000-2020 US decennial censuses  
 \* Non-Hispanic members of group; Asian includes persons identified as Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander

**BROOKINGS**

Pronounced racial diversity among young people has been expanding across the 56 major metro areas. The 2020 census shows that in 37 of them, more than half of the youth population are people of color, up from 24 in 2010 and 16 in 2000 (see Appendix Table D). Again, Las Vegas displayed one of the biggest shifts over the past 20 years, with the white youth share falling from 48% in 2000 to 26% in 2020. There, Latino or Hispanic residents comprise 43% of the youth.

Over the same period, metro area Seattle's youth population shifted from 69% white to 46% white, such that Latino or Hispanic and Asian American residents make up the largest youth shares.

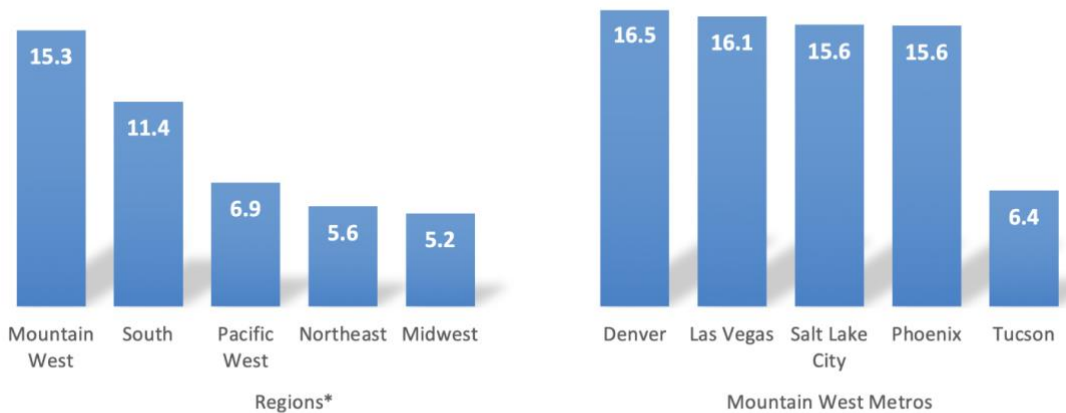


The rise of youths of color is a key element of the changing demographics of America’s under-age-18 population. These groups have not only stemmed a sharp decline in the youth population but, as they age, will be driving most of the growth in the nation’s labor force.

## Growth shifts in the Mountain West’s major metro areas

The Mountain West region—the eight states sandwiched between the Pacific coastal states to their west and midwestern Great Plains states and Texas to their east—has seen sharp growth spurts in the recent past. Nevada led the nation in growth in every decade between 1960 and 2010, and ranked fifth in 2010-2020, when its Mountain West counterparts Utah, Idaho, and Colorado ranked first, second, and sixth, respectively.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, as a group, the five major metro areas in the Mountain West (Phoenix, Denver, Las Vegas, Salt Lake City, and Tucson, Ariz.) together show a combined 2010-2020 growth rate of 15.3%—greater than those of the combined major metro areas in other census regions (see Figure 6).

**Figure 6. 2010-2020 Major Metro Growth: Regions and Largest Mountain West Metros**



Source: Author’s analysis of US Decennial Censuses, 2010-2020  
 \*Includes census regions, Northeast, Midwest, and South and Census Divisions, Mountain West and Pacific West

**BROOKINGS**

Despite these high overall growth rates, growth in each of the Mountain West’s major metro areas dipped in the 2010s compared with earlier decades. Some of this was due to generally slower U.S. population growth this decade. However, several of these areas sustained growth spurts and declines as a result of the 2007-2009 Great Recession and its aftermath, as well as a corresponding housing crunch.

The biggest growth shift took place in metropolitan Las Vegas, which benefitted from rapid growth the 1990s and early 2010s, when it led the nation with growth rates of 85% and 42%,



respectively (see Table 1). In the 2010s, it fell to the still respectable growth rate of 16.1%. The earlier growth occurred due to migrants from California and other higher-cost states, who were attracted by Las Vegas' booming tourist industry and generally expanding economy prior to the Great Recession. This growth slowed at the end of the 2000-2010 decade and into the early 2010s, as employment and housing opportunities fell. But Las Vegas' growth picked up again in mid-2010s, at the same time the economy diversified with the information and medical sectors.<sup>23</sup> The COVID-19 pandemic, which occurred just prior to the 2020 census, took its toll on the tourist industry, contributing some to the metro area's lower 2010-2020 growth.

Metropolitan Phoenix followed similar (though less volatile) growth and decline patterns after establishing itself as a major economic engine in the Desert Southwest.<sup>24</sup> It ranked fourth and sixth in growth among major metro areas in the 1990-2000 and 2000-2010 decades, with growth rates of 45% and 29%, respectively (see Table 1). Like Las Vegas, Phoenix experienced a growth slowdown during the Great Recession and some years after, leading to a more modest 2010-2020 growth rate of 15.6%. Its Arizona neighbor, Tucson—a college town with high-tech industries—had a similar experience, with its growth rate dropping from 26% to 16% to 6.4% over the past three decades.

The two other Mountain West major metro areas—Denver and Salt Lake City—experienced somewhat different growth patterns since 2000. In both, growth levels rose during the Great Recession, after experiencing slower growth earlier as migrants fanned to other places. Thus, their respective 2010-2020 growth rates—16.5% (for Denver) and 15.6% (Salt Lake City)—were somewhat similar to those of the 2000-2010 decade.

Although suburban growth declined over the past two decades in each of these five major metro areas, city growth now outpaces suburban growth only in Denver. And in contrast to national patterns, four of these major metro areas (Phoenix, Denver, Las Vegas, and Salt Lake City) registered gains in their youth populations (see Table 4).

A large part of population growth in the Mountain West is attributable to race and ethnic minorities, especially Latino or Hispanic residents; they comprise a substantial share of these metro areas' resident populations, particularly their youth populations. Still, three of these metro areas registered 2010-2020 gains in their white populations: Phoenix, Denver, and Salt Lake City.

Despite a difficult decade, the major metro areas of the Mountain West experienced growth rates higher than the national rate and increased racial and ethnic diversity. And as indicated earlier, their neighborhood racial segregation levels tend to be lower than average for Black, Latino or Hispanic, and Asian American residents.

**Table 4. Mountain West major metropolitan areas: Demographic attributes**

Demographic attributes	Metropolitan areas:*				
	Phoenix	Denver	Las Vegas	Salt Lake City	Tucson
Population size, 2020 census	4,845,832	2,963,821	2,265,461	1,257,936	1,043,433
<b>Population growth, 2010-2020</b>					
Metropolitan area	15.6	16.5	16.1	15.6	6.4
Primary city	12.6	17.7	8.1	7.1	4.3
Suburbs	18.6	15.6	25.7	17.4	8.8
Children under age 18	2.7	3.1	5.2	4.2	(7.2)
White population	5.6	8.4	(4.6)	5.9	(0.9)
Black population	37.4	16.7	41.2	49.5	16.7
Latino or Hispanic population	19.2	21.1	23.3	32.3	10.0
Asian American population	50.6	47.3	41.2	46.7	22.6
<b>Race-ethnic shares of total population**</b>					
White population	53.6	61.2	39.4	68.3	51.5
Black population	5.5	5.3	12.1	1.8	3.5
Latino or Hispanic population	30.4	23.3	31.0	19.2	35.7
Asian American population	4.4	4.7	11.1	5.8	3.0
<b>Race-ethnic shares of child population**</b>					
White population	38.2	48.2	26.0	60.7	32.9
Black population	6.1	6.1	13.5	2.2	3.9
Latino or Hispanic population	43.0	33.1	42.6	24.6	51.5
Asian American population	4.0	4.5	8.0	5.4	2.5

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. decennial censuses, 2000-2020

\* Abbreviations of full metropolitan area names

\*\* Does not include additional race-ethnic groups: American Indian and Alaska Native, some other races, and persons who identify with two or more races.

Note: Statistics for white, Black, and Asian American populations pertain to non-Hispanic member of those groups. Asian American population statistics also include Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders

BROOKINGS

## The 2010s were a transition decade for major metro areas

This analysis of the 2020 census results makes plain that the 2010-2020 period represents something of a transition period for the nation's major metro areas. The decade began in the aftermath of the Great Recession, which put the brakes on employment and housing opportunities in new places for young, would-be migrants. After those barriers to growth and movement were removed, the nation began to face the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic just before the census was taken. And all of this took place in the context of the slowest nationwide growth since the 1930s, resulting from fewer births and more deaths in an aging population coupled with near-record-low immigration levels at the decade's end.<sup>25</sup>

The low national growth, in particular, led to slower growth for major metro areas than had been the case for several previous decades. But growth there was still at rates higher than in smaller metropolitan and rural areas. Moreover, primary cities in most of these areas grew faster than in the previous decade, while suburban growth tapered off. These major metro area and primary city growth advantages can, in part, be attributed to the early decade job and housing market slowdowns which kept young movers—especially millennials—from spreading out to other parts of the country, including suburban communities and small metro areas. As the economy heated up, these advantages began to dissipate.

In general, the low national growth places greater emphasis on migration—both domestic and international—as the primary mechanisms for distinguishing fast-growing areas from slow-growing ones. The 2010 decade’s fastest-growing major metro areas in Texas, the Southeast, and Mountain West drew migrants away from smaller metro areas in all parts of the country and from major metro areas in the Northeast and Midwest.

More so than in the past, 2010-2020 migration and population growth was made up of people of color. Not only did the 2020 census reveal a near-record growth slowdown in the nation’s total population, but it also revealed that all of the nation’s growth was due to people of color—those identifying as Latino or Hispanic, Black, Asian American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Native American, or as two or more races. This is especially the case among the nation’s younger population, including most people and families that move.<sup>26</sup>

Major metro areas, particularly those that are growing rapidly, are among the most racially and ethnically diverse communities in the nation. This diversity will continue to fan out to areas of all sizes in the decades ahead. However, racial segregation at the neighborhood level for Black, Latino or Hispanic, and Asian Americans still remains high in places where most people of color live, despite the fact that segregation is lowest in places where these racial and ethnic groups are new and rapidly growing.

This transitional decade for major metro areas—which were all impacted by a unique set of economic and demographic forces—does not lead to a straightforward forecast about their future prospects, especially in light of the upheavals caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the fact that they are home to nearly three-fifths of American residents and a dominant share of the nation’s economic output means that continued attention needs to be paid to how these forces relate to the well-being of these large mega-communities.

**Appendix A. Decade growth rates for major metro areas, primary cities, and suburbs**  
(sorted by 2020 population size within regions)

Region*		Population	Metro Area			Primary Cities**		Suburbs	
Metro Area		2020	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2020	2000-2010	2010-2020	2000-2010	2010-2020
NORTHEAST	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	20,140,470	8.8	3.1	6.6	2.1	8.1	4.0	5.2
	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	6,245,051	4.6	4.9	4.7	0.6	5.1	6.5	4.5
	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	4,941,632	6.2	3.7	8.5	4.7	9.9	3.5	8.3
	Pittsburgh, PA	2,370,930	(1.5)	(3.1)	0.6	(8.6)	(0.9)	(2.2)	0.8
	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	1,676,579	4.8	1.1	4.7	2.5	7.2	1.0	4.4
	Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	1,213,531	2.2	5.6	0.1	2.6	(3.0)	5.9	0.4
	Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	1,166,902	(1.6)	(3.0)	2.8	(10.7)	6.5	(0.4)	1.6
	Rochester, NY	1,090,135	3.6	1.6	1.0	(4.2)	0.4	3.1	1.1
MIDWEST	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	9,618,502	11.2	4.0	1.7	(5.6)	2.2	9.0	1.4
	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	4,392,041	4.8	(3.5)	2.2	(20.3)	(6.1)	2.6	4.6
	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	3,690,261	16.9	10.5	10.7	(0.3)	11.1	13.6	10.6
	St. Louis, MO-IL	2,820,253	4.5	4.2	1.2	(8.3)	(5.5)	6.1	2.0
	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	2,256,884	8.9	6.0	5.6	(10.4)	4.2	9.2	5.8
	Kansas City, MO-KS	2,192,035	12.2	10.9	9.1	2.9	9.8	14.8	8.8
	Columbus, OH	2,138,926	14.5	13.5	12.5	10.6	15.1	15.7	10.6
	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	2,111,040	16.4	13.8	11.8	4.9	8.2	21.8	14.6
	Cleveland-Elyria, OH	2,088,251	2.2	(3.3)	0.5	(17.1)	(6.1)	0.6	2.1
	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	1,574,731	4.8	3.7	1.2	(0.4)	(3.0)	6.3	3.8
Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	1,087,592	17.2	6.2	9.5	(4.9)	5.8	9.2	10.3	
SOUTH	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	7,637,387	29.4	23.5	20.0	12.1	13.6	31.0	23.6
	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	7,122,240	25.1	26.1	20.3	9.2	10.3	38.9	26.2
	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	6,385,162	16.3	16.5	13.0	6.7	14.6	18.7	12.7
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	6,138,333	23.5	11.1	10.3	12.1	10.9	11.0	10.2
	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	6,089,815	38.3	24.0	15.2	2.3	18.1	26.9	14.9
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	3,175,275	15.9	16.2	14.1	4.2	10.5	20.7	15.3
	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	2,844,510	7.2	6.2	4.9	(2.5)	(4.2)	9.7	8.3
	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	2,673,376	34.3	29.8	25.3	28.2	29.1	30.0	24.8
	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	2,660,329	27.6	28.8	18.6	35.2	19.6	25.9	18.1
	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	2,558,143	21.6	25.2	19.4	16.0	8.1	43.7	37.8
	Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	2,283,371	47.7	37.3	33.0	24.0	21.5	55.2	45.5
	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	1,989,519	25.1	21.1	20.9	15.6	18.6	25.7	22.5
	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1,799,674	8.7	6.3	5.0	2.6	2.6	10.3	7.5
	Jacksonville, FL	1,605,848	21.4	19.8	19.3	11.7	15.6	35.3	25.3
	Oklahoma City, OK	1,425,695	12.8	14.4	13.8	14.6	17.4	14.2	10.6
	Raleigh-Cary, NC	1,413,982	47.3	41.8	25.1	45.5	19.2	38.7	30.5
	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1,337,779	12.9	9.2	1.6	(0.5)	(2.1)	20.6	5.3
	Richmond, VA	1,314,434	15.3	14.1	10.8	3.2	11.0	16.6	10.7
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	1,285,439	9.4	10.3	6.9	6.8	5.7	16.4	8.8	
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	1,271,845	4.1	(11.1)	6.9	(23.5)	9.4	0.1	5.2	
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1,115,289	10.4	8.1	5.1	(12.6)	(5.4)	14.9	7.7	
Tulsa, OK	1,015,331	12.9	9.1	8.3	(0.3)	5.4	17.0	10.4	
MOUNTAIN WEST	Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	4,845,832	45.3	28.9	15.6	12.0	12.6	52.6	18.6
	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	2,963,821	30.7	17.9	16.5	9.5	17.7	24.7	15.6
	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	2,265,461	85.5	41.8	16.1	26.8	8.1	65.5	25.7
	Salt Lake City, UT	1,257,936	24.8	15.8	15.6	2.6	7.1	19.0	17.4
	Tucson, AZ	1,043,433	26.5	16.2	6.4	6.9	4.3	28.9	8.8
PACIFIC WEST	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	13,200,998	9.7	3.7	2.9	2.4	2.6	4.5	3.0
	San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	4,749,008	11.9	5.1	9.5	2.3	10.0	6.4	9.4
	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	4,599,839	25.7	29.8	8.9	13.2	5.1	33.5	9.6
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	4,018,762	18.9	13.0	16.8	7.3	19.2	15.3	15.9
	San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	3,298,634	12.6	10.0	6.6	12.3	7.3	7.5	5.8
	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	2,512,859	26.5	15.5	12.9	12.7	13.5	17.2	12.5
	Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	2,397,382	21.3	19.6	11.6	20.2	14.9	19.4	10.3
	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	2,000,468	13.1	5.8	8.9	6.5	7.8	4.6	10.9
	Honolulu, HI	1,016,508	4.8	8.8	6.6	(9.3)	4.1	22.1	8.1
	Fresno, CA	1,008,654	19.8	16.4	8.4	15.7	9.6	17.2	7.1

\*Includes census regions Northeast, Midwest, and South, and census divisions Mountain West and Pacific West.

\*\*Primary cities are defined by Brookings Metro and include up to three cities in metropolitan area name with populations exceeding 100,000. Suburbs are defined as the metropolitan area lying outside of primary cities.

**Appendix B. Major metro areas: Race-ethnic profiles, 2020, and 2010-2020 growth  
(sorted by lowest 2020 percent white)**

Metro Area	Percent of Total Population, 2020						Percent White*		2010-2020 Growth	
	White*	Black*	Asian American*	Latino or Hispanic	All Other**	Total	2010	2000	Total	White*
Honolulu, HI	17.3	1.9	51.8	9.1	20.0	100.0	19.1	20.0	6.6	(3.4)
Fresno, CA	27.0	4.4	11.0	53.6	4.0	100.0	32.7	39.7	8.4	(10.7)
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	28.5	6.1	16.7	44.6	4.1	100.0	31.6	35.7	2.9	(7.3)
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	28.8	2.1	38.1	26.3	4.7	100.0	35.3	44.3	8.9	(11.2)
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	29.1	18.8	2.6	45.9	3.7	100.0	34.8	44.1	10.3	(7.9)
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	29.4	7.0	7.7	51.6	4.3	100.0	36.6	47.3	8.9	(12.4)
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	32.8	6.5	2.9	54.3	3.5	100.0	36.1	40.7	19.4	8.4
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	33.7	17.0	8.3	37.5	3.5	100.0	39.5	48.1	20.3	2.5
San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	36.2	6.8	27.9	22.9	6.2	100.0	42.4	49.1	9.5	(6.6)
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	39.4	12.1	11.1	31.0	6.4	100.0	48.0	60.2	16.1	(4.6)
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	41.3	45.5	2.4	7.1	3.6	100.0	46.2	51.9	1.6	(9.1)
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	42.3	24.1	10.9	17.1	5.5	100.0	48.9	55.6	13.0	(2.2)
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	42.8	15.7	8.0	29.3	4.3	100.0	50.2	58.9	20.0	2.2
San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	43.1	4.4	12.5	33.9	6.0	100.0	48.5	55.0	6.6	(5.2)
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	43.3	14.9	12.4	25.2	4.3	100.0	48.9	53.4	6.6	(5.6)
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	43.5	14.5	4.6	32.0	5.4	100.0	53.3	65.1	25.3	2.2
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	43.7	33.2	6.6	12.0	4.6	100.0	50.8	60.4	15.2	(0.8)
Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	48.3	6.6	15.4	22.2	7.4	100.0	55.7	63.7	11.6	(3.4)
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	48.3	32.9	2.9	11.6	4.3	100.0	53.7	54.7	6.9	(3.8)
Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	49.6	6.6	7.1	31.9	4.8	100.0	54.7	60.7	33.0	20.7
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	50.2	16.1	7.1	23.3	3.4	100.0	55.0	59.3	1.7	(7.3)
Tucson, AZ	51.5	3.5	3.0	35.7	6.3	100.0	55.3	61.5	6.4	(0.9)
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	52.3	29.6	4.2	7.5	6.4	100.0	57.3	61.1	5.0	(4.2)
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	52.7	28.2	6.3	7.6	5.2	100.0	60.0	66.3	4.9	(7.8)
Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	53.6	5.5	4.4	30.4	6.1	100.0	58.7	65.8	15.6	5.6
Richmond, VA	55.3	27.4	4.4	7.9	5.0	100.0	59.4	63.8	10.8	3.2
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	57.8	21.5	4.3	11.7	4.6	100.0	64.3	71.3	18.6	6.6
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	57.9	6.0	16.3	11.2	8.6	100.0	68.0	76.0	16.8	(0.5)
Raleigh-Cary, NC	58.3	17.9	7.0	12.0	4.8	100.0	63.4	70.4	25.1	14.9
Tulsa, OK	59.0	7.8	2.9	11.7	18.6	100.0	67.8	73.8	8.3	(5.7)
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	59.1	19.8	6.6	10.2	4.3	100.0	65.0	70.6	4.7	(4.8)
Oklahoma City, OK	59.3	10.1	3.3	14.9	12.4	100.0	67.4	73.5	13.8	0.1
Jacksonville, FL	59.4	20.8	4.2	10.2	5.4	100.0	65.8	70.7	19.3	7.7
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	59.4	29.3	1.8	5.8	3.7	100.0	63.4	67.4	5.1	(1.5)
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	59.5	11.2	3.9	20.5	4.8	100.0	67.5	76.0	14.1	0.5
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	61.2	5.3	4.7	23.3	5.4	100.0	65.8	70.9	16.5	8.4
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	63.7	21.7	4.8	5.0	4.7	100.0	67.9	69.9	2.2	(4.0)
Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	63.9	10.8	5.5	15.5	4.3	100.0	71.6	77.4	0.1	(10.7)
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	64.1	15.9	4.2	11.6	4.2	100.0	69.0	74.4	1.2	(5.9)
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	66.6	6.9	8.6	11.8	6.1	100.0	74.9	80.7	8.5	(3.4)
Cleveland-Elyria, OH	67.4	19.3	2.6	6.4	4.3	100.0	71.7	74.6	0.5	(5.5)
Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	68.2	14.8	3.9	8.4	4.7	100.0	75.4	81.3	11.8	1.1
Salt Lake City, UT	68.3	1.8	5.8	19.2	4.9	100.0	74.6	81.1	15.6	5.9
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	68.3	14.2	3.1	9.7	4.7	100.0	74.0	78.9	20.9	11.6
Kansas City, MO-KS	68.5	11.8	3.2	10.5	6.0	100.0	74.2	78.7	9.1	0.7
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	68.7	2.9	7.6	13.2	7.6	100.0	76.3	81.6	12.9	1.7
Columbus, OH	69.1	15.5	4.9	5.2	5.3	100.0	76.7	81.7	12.5	1.4
St. Louis, MO-IL	70.3	17.8	2.9	3.8	5.1	100.0	74.9	77.9	1.2	(5.1)
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	71.5	14.6	2.5	6.5	5.0	100.0	78.0	82.4	6.9	(2.1)
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	71.6	4.7	3.1	14.1	6.5	100.0	79.5	84.4	4.7	(5.8)
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	71.8	9.0	7.2	6.6	5.4	100.0	78.8	84.8	10.7	0.8
Rochester, NY	72.9	11.1	3.2	8.2	4.7	100.0	78.6	81.9	1.0	(6.4)
Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	73.0	12.5	4.2	5.8	4.5	100.0	79.5	82.5	2.8	(5.7)
Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	75.7	6.7	2.8	10.2	4.6	100.0	80.5	83.9	9.5	3.0
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	75.9	12.0	3.1	4.2	4.8	100.0	81.7	85.0	5.6	(1.9)
Pittsburgh, PA	82.2	8.3	2.9	2.2	4.4	100.0	87.1	89.3	0.6	(5.0)

\*Non-Hispanic members of race; Asian American includes Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders.

\*\*Includes race-ethnic groups: American Indians and Alaska Natives, some other races, and persons who identify with two or more races.

Appendix C: Neighborhood segregation levels by race-ethnicity: 2020 and change since 2000

Black-White*				Latino or Hispanic-White*				Asian American-White*			
Rank	Metro Area**	2020 Segregation Level***	Change Since 2000	Rank	Metro Area**	2020 Segregation Level***	Change Since 2000	Rank	Metro Area**	2020 Segregation Level***	Change Since 2000
1	Milwaukee	78	(5)	1	Los Angeles	60	(3)	1	Buffalo	58	8
2	New York	75	(5)	2	New York	58	(8)	2	Detroit	54	5
3	Chicago	74	(7)	3	Boston	56	(7)	3	Raleigh	53	13
4	Cleveland	73	(6)	4	Providence	56	(9)	4	New York	52	1
5	Detroit	71	(14)	5	Miami	55	(4)	5	Atlanta	52	5
6	St. Louis	70	(4)	6	Chicago	54	(7)	6	Cincinnati	51	6
7	Buffalo	69	(9)	7	Milwaukee	54	(6)	7	Houston	50	(2)
8	Philadelphia	65	(6)	8	Hartford	53	(10)	8	Dallas	49	4
9	Cincinnati	65	(9)	9	Memphis	52	6	9	Rochester	49	5
10	Pittsburgh	64	(5)	10	Houston	50	(3)	10	Indianapolis	49	7
11	Miami	64	(5)	11	Philadelphia	50	(9)	11	Charlotte	48	4
12	Los Angeles	64	(6)	12	San Francisco	48	(1)	12	Sacramento	48	(2)
13	Hartford	63	(3)	13	Cleveland	48	(11)	13	Columbus	48	4
14	Rochester	63	(5)	14	Dallas	48	(5)	14	Los Angeles	48	(0)
15	Indianapolis	63	(9)	15	Washington DC	47	(0)	15	San Diego	48	(2)
16	Birmingham	62	(7)	16	San Diego	47	(3)	16	Baltimore	47	6
17	Grand Rapids	62	(5)	17	Indianapolis	47	3	17	St. Louis	47	2
18	Columbus	62	(2)	18	Grand Rapids	47	(6)	18	Richmond	46	9
19	Baltimore	62	(7)	19	Phoenix	46	(6)	19	Chicago	45	(1)
20	New Orleans	61	(8)	20	Atlanta	46	(5)	20	Boston	45	(3)
21	Washington DC	60	(3)	21	Rochester	46	(8)	21	Minneapolis	45	(0)
22	Boston	60	(7)	22	Buffalo	46	(11)	22	San Francisco	45	(2)
23	Atlanta	60	(4)	23	San Jose	45	(5)	23	Honolulu	44	3
24	Memphis	60	(6)	24	Fresno	45	(2)	24	Memphis	44	3
25	Denver	59	(5)	25	Richmond	45	5	25	Milwaukee	43	(0)
26	San Francisco	59	(7)	26	Denver	45	(6)	26	Kansas City	42	4
27	Houston	59	(7)	27	Oklahoma City	44	(1)	27	Philadelphia	42	(2)
28	Kansas City	55	(15)	28	Nashville	44	(1)	28	San Jose	42	(1)
29	Sacramento	55	(3)	29	Tulsa	43	3	29	Riverside	42	2
30	Louisville	55	(10)	30	Charlotte	43	(5)	30	Nashville	41	(3)
31	Jacksonville	55	1	31	Tucson	43	(6)	31	Austin	41	(1)
32	Tulsa	54	(4)	32	Riverside	42	(0)	32	Washington DC	40	1
33	Dallas	53	(6)	33	Kansas City	42	(4)	33	Hartford	40	6
34	Tampa	52	(12)	34	Columbus	41	4	34	Oklahoma City	40	(1)
35	Richmond	52	(4)	35	San Antonio	41	(8)	35	Seattle	39	2
36	Charlotte	51	(1)	36	Birmingham	41	(3)	36	Jacksonville	39	2
37	Nashville	51	(6)	37	Baltimore	41	5	37	Portland	39	4
38	Minneapolis	51	(9)	38	Orlando	41	2	38	Fresno	38	1
39	Fresno	51	(2)	39	Las Vegas	41	(2)	39	Providence	38	(6)
40	San Diego	50	(6)	40	Detroit	40	(6)	40	Tampa	38	2
41	Orlando	50	(6)	41	Salt Lake City	40	(1)	41	Virginia Beach	36	(1)
42	Providence	49	(8)	42	Austin	39	(7)	42	Phoenix	35	5
43	Oklahoma City	49	(7)	43	Minneapolis	38	(8)	43	Miami	35	2
44	Seattle	47	(5)	44	Tampa	38	(7)	44	Denver	34	2
45	Virginia Beach	47	1	45	Louisville	38	4	45	Orlando	34	(2)
46	San Antonio	46	(7)	46	Cincinnati	37	8	46	Las Vegas	30	5
47	Austin	45	(7)	47	Sacramento	36	(4)	47	Salt Lake City	29	(4)
48	Phoenix	44	(1)	48	New Orleans	36	0	48	Tucson	25	(2)
49	Riverside	44	(3)	49	Raleigh	33	(2)				
50	Raleigh	40	(1)	50	Virginia Beach	31	(1)				
51	Las Vegas	40	(1)	51	St. Louis	30	3				
52	Tucson	38	(2)	52	Portland	30	(4)				
53	Honolulu	36	(5)	53	Seattle	29	(1)				
				54	Jacksonville	29	3				
				55	Honolulu	29	(4)				

\*Black and Asian American pertain to Non-Hispanic members of those races; Asian American includes Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders.

\*\*Metropolitan area name is abbreviated.

\*\*\*Segregation levels are measured by the index of dissimilarity which compares the distribution of one racial group (either Black, Latino or Hispanic, or Asian American) across a metropolitan area's neighborhoods (census tracts) with the distribution of white residents across those neighborhoods. Values vary from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation). Segregation levels are calculated for metropolitan areas with populations exceeding 1 million and in which the racial ethnic group comprises at least 3% of the population (51 metro areas for Black residents, 55 for Latino or Hispanic residents, and 48 for Asian American residents).



**Appendix D. Under-age-18 population in major metro areas: Race-ethnic profiles, 2020, and 2010-2020 growth  
(sorted by lowest 2020 percent white)**

Metro Area	Percent of Under-age-18 Population, 2020						Percent White*		2010-2020 Growth	
	White*	Black*	Asian American*	Latino or Hispanic	All Other**	Total	2010	2000	Total	White*
Honolulu, HI	11.3	1.7	42.1	14.4	30.5	100.0	11.9	13.6	(1.8)	(6.6)
Fresno, CA	16.5	4.3	10.3	64.1	4.8	100.0	20.0	27.1	0.3	(17.4)
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	18.5	6.6	5.8	63.5	5.6	100.0	23.7	35.4	(5.5)	(26.2)
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	18.9	5.5	12.9	56.8	6.0	100.0	20.5	24.3	(13.3)	(20.2)
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	19.7	1.7	35.7	34.6	8.2	100.0	24.5	34.4	(5.1)	(23.6)
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	21.9	23.6	2.5	46.9	5.2	100.0	26.7	35.7	(0.1)	(18.0)
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	23.4	6.1	2.5	63.5	4.6	100.0	25.7	31.2	8.9	(1.1)
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	25.3	17.0	7.1	45.8	4.8	100.0	29.8	39.8	10.9	(6.0)
San Francisco-Oakland-Berkeley, CA	25.8	6.3	25.3	31.5	11.0	100.0	31.1	38.0	0.7	(16.3)
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	26.0	13.5	8.0	42.6	10.0	100.0	33.5	47.8	5.2	(18.2)
San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad, CA	30.7	4.1	10.4	45.3	9.5	100.0	33.9	41.3	(4.7)	(13.8)
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	32.1	16.2	7.8	38.0	5.9	100.0	38.9	50.0	8.8	(10.3)
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	32.3	49.4	2.3	10.8	5.3	100.0	37.1	42.7	(8.0)	(20.0)
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	32.6	17.0	4.2	38.4	7.9	100.0	41.5	55.2	15.4	(9.4)
Tucson, AZ	32.9	3.9	2.5	51.5	9.2	100.0	36.1	45.7	(7.2)	(15.4)
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	33.7	23.5	10.1	23.4	9.4	100.0	41.4	49.7	7.2	(12.9)
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Alpharetta, GA	35.2	34.5	6.5	16.9	6.9	100.0	42.6	54.2	2.5	(15.4)
Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA	35.8	6.8	15.5	30.6	11.2	100.0	43.2	53.4	1.6	(15.8)
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	36.3	14.7	11.6	31.0	6.3	100.0	42.0	45.3	(2.5)	(15.9)
Austin-Round Rock-Georgetown, TX	38.0	6.4	6.9	41.8	6.9	100.0	41.9	51.0	19.9	8.6
Phoenix-Mesa-Chandler, AZ	38.2	6.1	4.0	43.0	8.7	100.0	43.4	52.6	2.7	(9.4)
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	38.4	37.4	2.5	15.4	6.3	100.0	45.1	45.3	1.3	(13.8)
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	39.2	16.7	6.5	32.0	5.6	100.0	43.8	50.0	(10.4)	(19.8)
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	42.4	30.3	6.4	11.9	9.0	100.0	51.4	60.2	(0.5)	(18.0)
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	42.8	31.3	3.5	11.3	11.2	100.0	48.5	53.7	(3.3)	(14.7)
Tulsa, OK	44.0	8.4	3.5	18.2	26.0	100.0	55.0	65.0	2.8	(17.8)
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	44.5	14.7	4.1	28.7	8.1	100.0	53.5	65.0	5.0	(12.7)
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	45.9	7.0	15.5	17.1	14.6	100.0	56.8	69.0	9.0	(12.1)
Oklahoma City, OK	46.3	10.7	2.9	22.7	17.5	100.0	55.2	64.7	11.2	(6.8)
Richmond, VA	46.5	27.9	4.6	12.4	8.5	100.0	52.5	58.0	1.8	(9.7)
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	47.7	22.6	4.9	17.3	7.5	100.0	55.6	64.8	8.6	(6.7)
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	48.1	22.0	6.7	15.6	7.6	100.0	55.8	63.5	(4.8)	(17.9)
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	48.2	6.1	4.5	33.1	8.1	100.0	53.1	61.9	3.1	(6.4)
Jacksonville, FL	48.5	24.7	4.0	13.9	8.9	100.0	55.9	62.8	10.4	(4.2)
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	48.6	20.9	5.4	18.1	7.1	100.0	54.4	61.9	(6.7)	(16.7)
Raleigh-Cary, NC	48.9	17.9	7.7	17.6	7.8	100.0	55.3	65.3	14.9	1.7
Hartford-East Hartford-Middletown, CT	49.9	12.1	6.5	24.0	7.6	100.0	60.7	68.5	(10.9)	(26.8)
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	52.1	31.4	1.7	9.4	5.5	100.0	56.4	61.0	(1.7)	(9.3)
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	54.6	24.5	5.2	7.8	7.8	100.0	60.3	63.0	(8.9)	(17.4)
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	56.1	8.0	8.4	17.4	10.1	100.0	67.3	74.7	(2.5)	(18.6)
Cleveland-Elyria, OH	56.4	23.0	2.5	10.3	7.8	100.0	62.8	67.0	(10.5)	(19.6)
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	56.6	3.4	7.3	20.9	11.9	100.0	65.0	75.2	0.3	(12.8)
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	57.1	6.0	3.1	23.1	10.7	100.0	68.6	76.9	(5.6)	(21.4)
Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	57.9	16.9	4.6	12.9	7.8	100.0	67.5	76.8	5.3	(9.8)
Kansas City, MO-KS	58.4	13.0	3.4	15.7	9.5	100.0	65.6	72.9	1.8	(9.4)
Columbus, OH	58.6	19.5	5.1	7.9	8.9	100.0	68.8	77.1	6.0	(9.8)
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	58.6	13.1	8.7	10.0	9.5	100.0	68.2	77.6	3.5	(11.1)
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	59.0	15.4	3.3	14.9	7.4	100.0	66.3	74.0	13.5	0.9
Buffalo-Cheektowaga, NY	60.2	16.3	5.3	9.7	8.5	100.0	70.1	75.4	(4.5)	(18.0)
Salt Lake City, UT	60.7	2.2	5.4	24.6	7.1	100.0	67.1	77.0	4.2	(5.8)
Rochester, NY	60.8	14.2	3.0	13.5	8.6	100.0	68.4	74.3	(9.3)	(19.5)
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	61.2	17.6	2.9	9.6	8.7	100.0	69.8	77.2	0.2	(12.1)
St. Louis, MO-IL	62.0	20.9	2.8	5.8	8.5	100.0	67.4	71.8	(6.9)	(14.4)
Grand Rapids-Kentwood, MI	65.6	7.8	2.8	15.8	8.0	100.0	71.4	78.7	(1.3)	(9.3)
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	67.5	14.1	3.2	6.9	8.3	100.0	75.8	81.2	(1.8)	(12.7)
Pittsburgh, PA	72.7	11.0	3.3	3.7	9.3	100.0	80.3	84.5	(6.8)	(15.6)

\*Non-Hispanic members of race; Asian American includes Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders.

\*\*Includes race-ethnic groups: American Indians and Alaska Natives, some other races, and persons who identify with two or more races.



## Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> Alan Berube, “Metro Monitor 2020: Prosperity is increasing in America’s largest metro areas, but not for everyone”, *The Avenue*, The Brookings Institution March 5, 2020 <https://www.brookings.edu/interactives/metro-monitor-2020/>
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