## Summary of 1990 \& 2000 Black And White Neighborhood Concentrations in Maryland

A review of the 1990 and 2000 Census population data for whites and blacks by "neighborhoods" reveals a change in the residential patterns of each group. In this study, 1990 and 2000 Census data were analyzed at the block group level, with the notion that block groups serve as proxies for neighborhoods. To analyze the data, five distinct categories were created to classify the racial composition at this geographic level: less than 25 percent whitelblack, 25-50 percent whitelblack, 50-75 percent whitelblack, 75-90 percent whitelblack, and greater than 90 percent whitelblack.

Since respondents to the 2000 census were given the option, for the first time, to pick more than one race category, comparisons of the 2000 data to the 1990 data were limited to the "white alone" and "black/African American alone" categories in 2000. For the State as a whole in 2000, multiple race respondents accounted for 2.0 percent of the total population and as much as 3.4 percent of the population in Montgomery County. (See Comparison of 2000 and 1990 Population by Race and Hispanic Origin for Maryland's Jurisdictions.)

## Statewide

Statewide, the black population had the greatest absolute growth over the 1990 to 2000 period, over 287,000 or 24.2 percent. The white population was fairly stable, dropping just over 2,600 , or less than 0.1 percent. As a result, the black population increased its share of the total population by three percentage points, to 27.9 percent of the total population in 2000 . The white share dropped seven percentage points (due also to the growth of Asians and other races), from 71 percent in 1990 to 64 percent in 2000.

Despite the large increase in the black population over the 1990s, there is evidence that, at least in the aggregate, the black population was slightly less concentrated at the end of the decade. In 2000, 64.5 percent of all blacks lived in neighborhoods that are majority black (i.e. at least 50 percent black). This was down somewhat from the 65.8 percent of the black population that lived in majority black neighborhoods in 1990.

Overall, whites were also less concentrated in 2000. In 2000, just over nine in 10 whites ( $90.5 \%$ ) lived in majority white neighborhoods. This was down slightly from the 94.6 percent share in 1990. (See Table Maryland and Chart Maryland.)

## Baltimore Region

Between 1990 and 2000 the black population in the Baltimore Region increased by 1.6 percentage points (from $26.1 \%$ to $27.7 \%$ ). While the overwhelming portion of the black population in 2000 lived in majority black neighborhoods ( $69.4 \%$ ), this was 5.4 percentage points less than in $1990(74.8 \%)$. The largest change in the black population occurred within the "greater than 90 percent" category where the percent of blacks living in these neighborhoods went from just over one-half ( $52.0 \%$ ) in 1990 to just below 40 percent (39.4\%) in 2000, a 12.6
percentage point decrease. These changes show that over the past decade neighborhoods are becoming more racially diverse. (See Table BaltReg and Chart BaltReg.)

Within the Baltimore Region, the largest decline in the share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods occurred in Anne Arundel County, from 29.5 percent in 2000 to 25.1 percent in 1990, a decline of 4.4 percentage points. This decline occurred despite the fact that there was a significant gain in the black population in Anne Arundel that raised its share of the total County population 1.8 percentage points to 13.6 percent in 2000. (See Table Anne and Chart Anne.)

Significant growth in the black population in Howard County led to a nearly three percentage point increase in share to 14.4 percent of the total population in 2000. Despite this increase, the percent of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods actually fell from 4.9 percent in 1990 to 2.0 percent in 2000 . However, even though the majority of blacks lived in neighborhoods that are less than 25 percent black in 2000, it is a smaller share than in 1990 ( $63.2 \%$ vs. $72.9 \%$ ) showing evidence of increased concentration. This increasing concentration shows up in the share of the black population living in neighborhoods that are between onequarter and one-half black. In 1990, just over one in five ( $22.3 \%$ ) blacks lived in these neighborhoods, by 2000 this share had increased to just over one in three blacks (34.8\%). (See Table Howa and Chart Howa.)

Baltimore County was the only jurisdiction in the Baltimore Region that experienced an increase in the share of the black population living in majority black neighborhoods. In 2000, a majority of the county's black population, 58.4 percent, lived in majority black neighborhoods up from one-half (49.8\%) in 1990. Most of this growth occurred along the Liberty Road corridor in western Baltimore County. (See Map 1 and Map 2.) See (Table Balt and Chart Balt.)

The increasing concentration of Baltimore County's black population is mostly due to its tremendous growth during the decade along with a modest decline in the white population. Between 1990 and 2000 the black population in Baltimore County grew by 66,149 (77.4\%), the second largest absolute gain in the State after Prince George's County, while the white population declined by nearly $26,800(-4.6 \%)$. As a result, black share of the total population rose from 12.3 percent in 1990 to 20.1 percent in 2000.

In majority black Baltimore City, it is the minority white population that saw an appreciable change in its residential neighborhood concentrations. Between 1990 and 2000 the share of whites living in majority white neighborhoods dropped from 86.3 percent to 78.1 percent, an 8.2 percentage point decline. Most prominent in this change was the share of whites living in "virtually all white" neighborhoods declining 30 percentage points, from 50.9 percent in 1990 to 20.9 percent in 2000.

The share of Baltimore City's black population living in majority black neighborhoods decreased slightly ( 1.5 percentage points) between 1990 and 2000, but by the end of the decade nine out of 10 black residents still lived in majority black neighborhoods. The very small change in black concentration and the much larger change in white concentration over the decade must
be viewed in the context of the overall population decline in the City and the racial composition of that decline. Between 1990 and 2000 the City lost nearly 82,000 whites and almost 17,000 blacks. Or in other words, nearly five whites were lost for every black. (See Table City and Chart City.)

Harford County's black population grew substantially during the 1990 to 2000 period, raising its share from 8.5 percent to 9.3 percent of the total population. In both 1990 and 2000, the share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods was quite small: 1.8 percent in 2000, down from 2.4 percent in 1990. In 2000, however, just over four out of 10 blacks ( $43.3 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods that were between 25 and 50 percent black, up nearly four percentage points from 1990. (See Table Harf and Chart Harf.)

Carroll County's population is the second most homogeneous in the State after Garrett County. Whites make up about 96 percent of the County's population in 2000, down slightly from nearly 97 percent in 1990. In both time periods blacks made up slightly more than two percent of the population. In 2000, all of the black population lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black. (See Table Carr and Chart Carr.)

## Suburban Washington Region

The Suburban Washington Region gained just over 177,000 blacks while losing nearly 78,300 whites over the 1990 to 2000 period. As a result, the black population increased its share of the total population from 28.7 percent in 1990 to 34.6 percent in 2000 while the white population's share dropped 12.1 percentage points, from 63.3 percent to 51.2 percent. With these population shifts, the number of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods rose 5.3 percentage points (from $62.4 \%$ to $67.7 \%$ ) while the number of whites in majority white neighborhoods declined by 9.9 percentage points (from $89.5 \%$ to $79.6 \%$ ). (See Table WashReg and Chart WashReg.)

Prince George's County experienced the most dramatic shift in racial composition in the Suburban Washington Region with the share of its white population falling 16.1 percentage points, from 43.1 percent in 1990 to 27.0 percent in 2000 . As a result, the proportion of whites living in majority white neighborhoods decreased by 25.4 percentage points, from nearly three quarters ( $72.5 \%$ ) in 1990 to less than one-half ( $47.1 \%$ ) in 2000. The largest change came in the "greater than 90 percent" category that dropped from 14.0 percent in 1990 to 1.3 percent in 2000.

Prince George's black population's share of the total population increased by 11.9 percentage points (the largest in the State), from 50.8 percent in 1990 to 62.7 percent in 2000. As a result, the percentage of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods went from78.6 percent in 1990 to 84.6 percent in 2000, the second highest in the State after Baltimore City. (See Table Prin and Chart Prin.)

By declining just over 18,000, Montgomery County's white population's share dropped from just over three quarters in 1990 ( $76.5 \%$ ) to under two-thirds in $2000(64.8 \%)$. This decline led to the share of whites living in majority white neighborhoods to decrease by 10.2 percentage points, from 96.1 percent in 1990 to 85.9 percent in 2000 . The most substantial decline among
whites occurred in neighborhoods that were between 75 to 90 percent white, indicating a movement to less segregated neighborhoods.

Montgomery County's black population grew by nearly 37,700 between 1990 and 2000, increasing its share to 15.1 percent from 12.4 percent in 1990 . Less than one out of 10 Montgomery County blacks ( $9.6 \%$ ) lived in majority black neighborhoods in 2000. While this is a small portion of the total black population, it is more than double the share in 1990 (3.6\%). (See Table Mont and Chart Mont.)

Frederick County's black population increased substantially between 1990 and 2000 (from 8,000 to just over 12,400), but still represents a small portion of total population in 2000 ( 6.4 percent). Surprisingly, however, this increase did not result in increased concentration. Rather, the share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods fell from 13.5 percent in 1990 to zero percent in 2000. The overwhelming share of blacks (81.4\%), live in neighborhoods that are less than 25 percent black. (See Table Fred and Chart Fred.)

## Southern Maryland Region

Just under one in five Southern Marylanders (18.9\%) were black in 2000, up from a 16.1 percent share in 1990. Despite the increasing share of the total population, the percent of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods declined from 5.4 percent in 1990 to 4.3 percent in 2000. While this shows decreased concentration on the one hand, there was also a decrease in the share of blacks living in neighborhoods less than 25 percent black, and an increase in the share of blacks living in neighborhoods between one-quarter to one-half black between 1990 and 2000. (See Table SouthReg and Chart SouthReg.)

Charles County experienced the greatest change in racial composition in the Southern Maryland Region when its black population increased from 18.2 percent in 1990 to 26.1 percent in 2000. Put another way, nearly two-thirds of the County's total population gain during the decade was from increases in the black population. Despite these relatively large gains in the black population, the share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods rose only slightly, from 6.9 percent in 1990 to 7.3 percent in 2000 . There was a fairly significant shift, however, in the number of blacks living in neighborhoods with a higher percentage of blacks. For example, in 1990, the majority of blacks ( $57.3 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black. By 2000, the majority of blacks ( $61.6 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods that were between 25 and 50 percent black.

The strong growth of the black population has left the white population in Charles County to be slightly less concentrated. For instance, the share of whites living in majority white neighborhoods declined from nearly 100 percent ( $98.9 \%$ ) in 1990 to 90.5 percent in 2000. And, where the majority of whites ( $65.5 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods which were between 75 and 90 percent white in 1990, the largest concentration in 2000 (43.6\%) was now in neighborhoods that were 50 to 75 percent white. (See Table Char and Chart Char.)

The share of Calvert County's black population actually declined from 1990 (15.7\%) to $2000(13.1 \%)$ despite a gain of just over 1,700 . This declining share helped to make the

County's black population less concentrated. In 1990, for example, just over one-half of blacks in Calvert County ( $54.5 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods between 25 and 50 percent black. By 2000, seven out of 10 Calvert County blacks lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black. (See Table Calv and Chart Calv.)

In St. Mary's County there were no blacks living in majority black neighborhoods in 2000, down from 6.9 percent in 1990. However, the slight increase in the black share of the total population, (from $13.5 \%$ to $13.9 \%$ ), was accompanied by some signs of increasing concentration. In 1990, nearly two-thirds of all blacks ( $65.8 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black. By 2000, just over one-half (53.4\%) lived in these neighborhoods. (See Table Stma and Chart Stma.)

## Western Maryland Region

The Western Maryland Region experienced moderate changes in its racial composition over the last decade. The share of the white population decreased by 3.3 percentage points between $1990(95.3 \%)$ and $2000(91.9 \%)$ while the share of the black population increased by 2.1 percentage points, from 4.0 percent in 1990 to 6.1 percent in 2000 . The most significant change within this Region was the decrease in the share of the black population living in majority black neighborhoods, declining from 53.1 percent in 1990 to 41.5 percent in 2000. The greatest change in concentration occurred between the 50-75 and 75-90 percent categories. In 1990, 53.1 percent of blacks lived in neighborhoods that were between $50-75$ percent black. By 2000 , less than one half of this share $(26.0 \%)$ was in this category, while nearly equal shares were in the 25 to 50 percent group (14.7\%) and the 75 to 90 percent group ( $15.6 \%$ ). (See Table WestReg and Chart WestReg.)

Allegany County's small black population more than doubled its share between 1990 $(2.0 \%)$ and $2000(5.3 \%)$. However, the majority of the nearly 2,500 increase during the decade was institutional population associated with the new federal and state penitentiaries built during the decade. As a result, whereas all of the black population lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black in 1990, the black population in 2000 was nearly evenly divided between neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black ( $47.2 \%$ ) and those that were between 25 to 50 percent black ( $52.8 \%$ ). (See Table Alle and Chart Alle.)

Garrett County has the least diverse population in the State, where just 0.4 percent of the population is black. In both time periods all of the black population lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black. (See Table Garr and Chart Garr.)

The 3,000 increase in the black population in Washington County over the 1990 to 2000 period raised the black share to 7.8 percent in 2000 from 6.0 percent in 1990. In 2000 more than one-half of all Washington County blacks ( $58.3 \%$ ) lived in majority black neighborhoods, although this was down somewhat from the 65.1 percent concentration in 1990. Despite this overall decrease in the black population living in majority black neighborhoods, just over two out of 10 blacks lived in neighborhoods that were between 75 and 90 percent black in 2000, up from zero percent in 1990. (See Table Wash and Chart Wash.)

## Upper Eastern Shore Region

The Upper Eastern Shore Region was the only region in Maryland to experience a decline in its black population. This modest decrease, from nearly 20,600 in 1990 to just under 19,900 in 2000, combined with the growth of whites and other races dropped the black share to 9.5 percent in 2000, down from 11.4 percent in 1990. Along with this total decline, the share of the black population living in majority black neighborhoods also dropped from 17.2 percent in 1990 to 7.8 percent in 2000. (See Table UpesReg and Chart UpesReg)

The change in racial composition in Queen Anne's County mimicked what happened in the Upper Eastern Shore Region as a whole. A decline of nearly 300 in the black population led to a drop in the black share from just over one out of 10 (11.3\%) in 1990 to just under one out of $10(8.8 \%)$ in 2000. In both time periods there were no neighborhoods in which blacks made up a majority of the population. In 2000, just over eight out of 10 blacks ( $83.4 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black. (See Table Quee and Chart Quee.)

The black population decline of nearly 200 in Kent County left black share at 17.4 percent in 2000, down from the nearly 20 percent share in 1990. In 1990 the black population in Kent County was approximately split with one-third living in neighborhoods less than onequarter black, and two-thirds in areas between one-quarter and one-half black. Somewhat less concentration was evident in 2000 where the majority of the black population ( $52.2 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black. (See Table Kent and Chart Kent.)

With a modest increase of just over 100, the black population's share of Cecil County's total population dropped to 3.9 percent in 2000 from 4.5 percent in 1990. With this decline in total share came a drop in concentration. In 2000 there were no blacks living in majority black neighborhoods, in contrast to 1990 when 16.7 percent of blacks lived in these neighborhoods. Moreover, nearly nine out of 10 blacks in 2000 ( $88.4 \%$ ) lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25 percent black, up from just over seven in 10 (73.0\%) in 1990. (See Table Ceci and Chart Ceci.)

Caroline County experienced both a modest decline (less than 100) and a drop in share (from $16.5 \%$ to $14.8 \%$ ) in its black population between 1990 and 2000. Along with this decline came a drop in the share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods, from 19.0 percent in 1990 to 11.1 percent in 2000. Nearly six in 10 blacks lived in neighborhoods which were less than one-quarter black in 2000, up from just over one-half in 1990. (See Table Caro and Chart Caro.)

Talbot County had the second largest absolute decline (-309) and share ( -2.6 percentage points) in black population in the State between 1990 and 2000. In addition to this decline came a significant drop in blacks living in majority black neighborhoods. In 2000 just over two out of 10 blacks ( $20.5 \%$ )lived in majority black neighborhoods, just about one-half the nearly four out of $10(39.1 \%)$ proportion in 1990. This drop in majority black neighborhoods led to a significant pickup in the 25 to 50 percent category that rose from 6.1 percent in 1990 to 39.2 percent in 2000. (See Table Talb and Chart Talb.)

## Lower Eastern Shore Region

Despite a gain of nearly 5,000 , the black population's share of the total population dropped 0.6 percentage points between 1990 and 2000 in the Lower Eastern Shore Region. The black population was near one-quarter of the total population in both 1990 (25.4\%) and 2000 ( $24.8 \%$ ). The share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods fell slightly from just over one-half ( $51.0 \%$ ) in 1990 to just under one-half ( $48.9 \%$ ) in 2000. Among the largest components of this drop was the share of the population living in virtually all black neighborhoods (greater than $90 \%$ ), from nearly one out of five (19.3\%) in 1990 to just over one out of 10 ( $10.3 \%$ ) in 2000. (See Table LowesReg and Chart LowesReg.)

The most noticeable change in the Lower Eastern Shore Region was in Dorchester County where the share of the black population increased by one-half of a percentage point (to $28.4 \%$ in 2000) but the share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods decreased by 14.5 percentage points, from 57.9 percent in 1990 to 43.4 percent in 2000 . The biggest change came in neighborhoods that were greater than 90 percent black. In 1990, nearly four out of 10 blacks ( $38.2 \%$ ) lived in these neighborhoods. By 2000, less than one out of five ( $18.5 \%$ ) blacks lived in these neighborhoods. (See Table Dorc and Chart Dorc.)

The black population grew by just over 1,200 in Somerset County, increasing its share by just under three percentage points to 41.1 percent in 2000 . However, there was a significant increase in the share of blacks living in majority black neighborhoods from just over one-half $(53.5 \%)$ in 1990 to just under two-thirds ( $64.9 \%$ ) in 2000. All of the growth came in neighborhoods that were between one-half to three-quarters black; the share of those in the more concentrated 75 to 90 percent black actually declined from 21.6 percent in 1990 to zero percent in 2000. (See Table Some and Chart Some.)

It should be pointed out that the overall growth in the black population in Somerset County, as well as its distribution, were heavily influenced by the growth of the group quarters population. In fact the majority of the increase in the black population in Somerset County can be attributed to both the expansion of the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore and the building of the Eastern Correctional Institute.

Wicomico County's black population grew by just over 3,100 over the decade and increased its share of the total population by one percentage point to 23.3 percent in 2000. Although the County's black population remains fairly segregated in 2000, where 45.0 percent of the black population lives in majority black neighborhoods, this was a small decrease from 1990 when nearly one-half ( $49.8 \%$ ) of blacks lived in these neighborhoods. (See Table Wico and Chart Wico.)

The black population grew by a modest 300 in Worcester County between 1990 and 2000. However, combined with the explosive growth of the white population, the black share dropped 4.6 percentage points (to $16.7 \%$ ) in 2000, the largest decline in the State. Despite this decline, the black population increased its concentration. In 2000, 45.3 percent of blacks in Worcester County lived in majority black neighborhoods, up from 42.9 percent in 1990. (See Table Worc and Chart Worc.)

