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Suburbanization and the Racial/Ethnic Divide in the Hartford Metropolitan Area

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The city of Hartford has been shrinking nearly every decade since its population peak of 177.4 thousand in 1950. Between 1990 and 2000 – a period when the US population as a whole grew by 13 percent – Hartford *declined* by 13 percent (from 139.7 to 121.5 thousand). Although Connecticut has the highest per capita income in the United States, Hartford has among the highest poverty rates in the nation. Hartford's poverty rate increased from 27.5 percent to 30.6 percent during the 1990s. By 2000 four of every five city residents were minority group members. The value of taxable property per capita declined 63 percent in the 1990s, far more than in any other Connecticut municipality (Swift 2000).

These characteristics make the case of Hartford especially important for understanding the impact of an atrophying city core on a metro area's suburbs. In sheer demographic terms, the suburban growth has compensated for much of Hartford's decline. Between 1990 and 2000, for example, the population of the 58 towns[1] comprising the entire Hartford metropolitan area fell by just 2 percent. Nearly all of this fall off (71 percent) was attributable to Hartford's contraction. But suburbs are not immune to problems of the city, and change is likely to be uneven across suburbs. Research on other cities, for example, shows that urban decay can spread to older suburbs adjacent to the city more readily than to more distant suburbs (Pastor, Jr. 2001). This chapter examines the forms of suburban growth and the ways in which past inequality and racial/ethnic differences between suburbs and city are giving way to equally

[1]Census bureau divides all of Connecticut into "towns," 58 of which are in the Hartford metro area. All divisions are referred to as "towns", whether or not, like Hartford, they may be more accurately referred to as cities.

deleterious separations between suburban communities.

A very important development has been the growth of minority presence in the suburbs. After examining more closely the changes in Hartford, the chapter focuses particularly on Hispanic suburbanization, This group has had explosive growth and rapid geographic dispersion in the region and the nation, making its impact of ever-increasing importance. Suro and Singer (2003: 181-2) assert that since 1980 "Latinos have spread out faster than any previous immigrant or internal migration, such as that of the African Americans who migrated out of the deep South in the middle of the century." Between 2000 and 2050 Hispanics are expected to rise from 13 to 25 percent of the U.S. population (Martin and Midgley 2003: 22).

The case of Hartford is also instructive in showing the serious problems that can arise from a poor capacity for regional planning – something clearly shared with many other regions. Hartford is a classic example of what Rusk (1995) has labeled an "inelastic city." Such cities were located in older metropolitan areas, far more constrained in their ability to take advantage of the wealth and population growth of adjacent areas. The physical boundaries of the city could not be altered as population moved outward, for strong vested interests had already hardened the dividing line between city and suburb. These cities were often characterized by older decaying housing stock with concentrated poverty. Earlier and ongoing social prejudices produced strongly isolated black or Hispanic neighborhoods (Wilson 1996). By contrast, in primarily newer metropolitan areas (Atlanta and Houston are examples), economically advancing adjacent communities could be more successfully integrated into the city. Centralized planning and zoning could then be done over a significantly larger portion of the metropolitan area. These cities had a growing economic base and greater heterogeneity in population.

In a recent study of Connecticut, Orfield and Luce (2003: 1) conclude that "the state's fiscal system pits local governments against one another in a competition for tax base that

needlessly undermines the character of local communities, wastes resources, discourages cooperation and increases fiscal disparities." This chapter shows how planning may be increasingly critical to deal with changing forms of inequality and residential segregation.

HARTFORD'S ECONOMY AND MINORITY POPULATION GROWTH

By 1860 Hartford had become a vital manufacturing center, and this would last for the next century. "Employing more people than insurance companies, [factory workers] had been turning out such varied products as horseshoe nails, counters, organs, pay telephones, machine tools, screw machine products, electric switches, Colt guns and Maxim silencers, and glass-blowing machinery" (Strong and Grant 1986: 52). Hartford was largest producer of airplane engines. It was thus especially well positioned to benefit tremendously from the defense production during World War II and the Korean War (Ibid.: 52-3).

Census data show that between 1940 and 1950 Hartford's population rose from 166 to 177 thousand – the peak level for the city during the twentieth century. By 1960, however, the population fell to 162 and was down to 158 thousand by 1970.[2] During this period there were significant shifts in population composition. Southern blacks and Jamaicans were coming to the city to meet growing labor demand in agriculture and industry during World War II. In these same years there was some initial Puerto Rican settlement in the city. By 1957 Puerto Ricans numbered about 3,000, rising to 6,000 before the end of the decade. The number of blacks increased from 13,000 to 25,000 during the 1950s. As the city's minority population grew during the 1950s and 1960s, whites were exiting to racially homogenous suburbs. Segregation was also growing within the city: "[T]he lowest-income families were concentrated in the largely black North End, while more affluent families were in the western portion of the city near the

[2]These figures were downloaded on July 23, 2003 from an official state of Connecticut website: http://www.sots.state.ct.us.

West Hartford line" (Weaver 1982: 137; Cruz 1998: 22, 48-49).

In 1958 planning was in place for "one of the largest programs of urban redevelopment ever undertaken by an American municipality" (Weaver 1982:128). Designed to serve the interest of Hartford's business community, the construction during the 1960s destroyed a great deal of low-rent housing in the city center. Black residents were compelled to relocate to affordable areas primarily on the northern periphery, where housing was old and increasingly substandard. "There they confronted an influx of Puerto Ricans coming from the island, from tobacco camps in Windsor, and from other states" (Cruz 1998: 25). The major project of the 1960s, Constitution Plaza, contained no residential units. In the 1970s little public housing was built, while "about 10,000 of the city's 56,000 housing units were demolished" (Glasser 1997: 135). This has had a persisting legacy: In 2000 only 24.5 percent of Hartford residents owned homes. Newark was the only major city with a lower ownership rate (Zielbauer, 2002: B4).

Federal policy had contributed to the decay of poor and minority neighborhoods of the inner-city. Disinvestment led to spiraling decline. Racial restrictions on mortgages were permitted by The Federal Housing Administration until the 1960s. Government policy was also an important factor promoting rapid suburban expansion: "Beginning in the 1950s, the suburbanization of the middle class was ... facilitated by federal transportation and highway policy, including the building of freeway networks through the hearts of many cities, mortgages for veterans, mortgage-interest tax exemptions, and the quick, cheap production of massive amounts of tract housing" (Wilson 1996: 46).

As was the case in other cities, the "disappearance of work" in low skill jobs had a heavy impact on Hartford's minorities (Wilson 1996). As Hartford was losing manufacturing jobs, white collar jobs were increasingly filled by suburban residents. In 1965 Hartford had more than 23 thousand jobs in manufacturing; these were cut in half over the next decade. Manufacturing jobs rose slightly by 1980, but were below 7 thousand by 1990 (Cruz 1998: 29).

In 1960 Hartford employed 116 thousand people; about half lived in the city. By 1980 the number of jobs had grown to 143 thousand, but less than a quarter of the employees were city residents (Strong and Grant 1986: 52). The fate of the city in the 1970s was tellingly revealed by the sharp overall population decline during the decade from 158 thousand to 136 thousand. Although there was some recovery by the end of the 1990s, economic erosion had now reached Hartford's "bedrock asset, its insurance industry": "25,000 well-paid, high-skill jobs were cut, consolidated or conveyed out of town" (Zielbauer 2002: B4).

Puerto Rican migrants were initially concentrated in agriculture. The most important companies growing tobacco in Connecticut previously had manufacturing and processing plants in Puerto Rico. Ties to Puerto Rico were, of course, particularly deep. Having been granted U.S. citizenship in 1917, Puerto Ricans long benefitted from easy entry to the United States, increased demand for low skilled labor due to restricted European immigration after 1921, and very direct governmental and employer recruitment efforts (Cruz 1998: 3, 22). Migrants to Connecticut were often former workers at tobacco facilities in Puerto Rico. "Ironically, they came to the mainland to try to get a living wage from the very same employers" (Glasser 1997: 55). In a pattern familiar across the globe, this was a migration stream built upon social, economic and political ties between areas of origin and destination. Beginning with laborers alone, the stream expanded rapidly and overtime produced ethnic enclaves in the country of destination (see Castles and Miller 1998; Sassen 1999). The "Great Migration" between 1946 and 1964 brought nearly two-fifths of the residents of Puerto Rico to East coast cities ((Davis 2000: 103).

Although many would return to Puerto Rico when their seasonal labor ended, in the 1950s others sought continuing employment through jobs in Hartford (Cruz 1998: 47). Abysmal work conditions and low wages on the farms made the workers receptive to the appeals of factory agents and the urging of fellow urban countrymen. Beginning in the 1960s agricultural

decline was another factor fostering change. The number of farms in the state were rapidly shrinking, as it became profitable to sell land for alternative uses. One large firm, Consolidated Cigar, shifted to Brazil production that had been on 700 acres in Connecticut (Glasser 1997: 75). An important factor sustaining the flow of Puerto Rican labor to the United States, however, was "a jobs catastrophe back home" beginning in the early 1970s. Even in 1990 70 percent of those age 25 and under in Puerto Rico were in poverty (Davis 2000: 104).

Intensified black militancy in the 1960s contributed further to white exit from the city. In 1967 riots occurred in a number of Connecticut cities, but they were most severe in Hartford. It was a sharply divided city: "As 95 percent of Hartford blacks lived in the North End, the city was operating virtually two separate school systems–one for whites and another for blacks." At the request of the Hartford Board of Education, Harvard University Graduate School of Education produced a plan to promote integration "by building several new middle schools on the fringe between white and black sections and, as Hartford's white population was declining so rapidly, busing black children to predominantly white suburban schools." Opposition was intense. The recommendations were ignored and segregation remained (Weaver 1982: 129).

In 1989 lawyers for the families who filed the Sheff vs. O'Neill lawsuit argued that inequities among schools in the Hartford area violated the state constitution. The solution they proposed was to breakdown the urban/suburban divide with the creation of regional school districts – again, a plan that engendered fierce resistance and little change resulted. Hartford Public High School, for example, had 96 percent minority enrolment in 1999-2000, up from 94.6 percent in 1994-95 (Connecticut State Department of Education, n.d.: 2). Magnet schools in Hartford and programs bringing city children to the suburbs have resulted in about 10 percent of the children being taught in an integrated setting. In the latest development, a settlement in January 2003 required that this be raised to 30 percent through expanded use of magnet schools. Participation in the program voluntary and funding appears far from assured (cite

Hartford Courant and New York Times articles).

HISPANIC POPULATION GROWTH IN HARTFORD

The ethnic diversity of the United States grew markedly in the 1990s. This is largely attributable to the explosive growth of Hispanics, rising from 22.4 to 35.3 million between 1990 and 2000 and coming to exceed the black population. Central cities of the nation's metropolitan areas "became majority 'minority' for the first time in American history" (Katz and Lang 2003: 7). A study of the 100 largest cities in the United States[3] showed the dramatic shifts which this represented: Between 1990 and 2000 over 80 percent of the population growth could be attributed to Hispanics. Reaching 4.3 million in 2000, Hispanics had a 43 percent increase over 1990. During the same period the black population increased by only 6.4 percent, and their share of the population declined slightly. The white[4] population fell by 2 million; resulting in their share of the population dropping from 52 to 44 percent. The largest cities located in the Northeast region showed the greatest decline in the size of the white population (a 16 percent fall), and this was the only region in which no racial/ethnic group in these cities exceeded 40 percent of the population (Berube 2003a: 139-47).

In Hartford the shift toward minority predominance came early. By 1970 the Hartford school system was 45 percent black. The city elected the first black mayor in New England, Thirman L. Milner, in 1981 (Strong and Grant 1986: 78). The share of whites in Hartford in 1980 (44 percent) was equal to the overall figure for the largest cities of the United States in 2000. In 1980 the city was comprised of 61 thousand whites, 45 thousand blacks and 28

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[3]Hartford is not included among these 100 cities. The cities were between 171,000 and 7.3 million in 1990, a time when Hartford's population was 139.7 thousand (Berube and Forman 2003: 76).

[4]To avoid unnecessary repetition in the text, whites hereafter refers to non-Hispanic whites and the term blacks refers to non-Hispanic blacks.

thousand Hispanics. By 1990 whites were outnumbered by both blacks and Hispanics. There were still more blacks than Hispanics, but the gap narrowed to only about 6000. During the 1990s there was a net loss of both whites and blacks; the number of Hispanics, however, continued to grow. A complete reversal of the 1980 group hierarchy occurred by 2000, when the city included 21.6 thousand whites, 46 thousand blacks and 49 thousand Hispanics. Compared with 1980, by 2000 Hartford was a smaller city (total population declined from 136,392 to 121,578) and much more Hispanic. It was not surprising that in 2001 Hartford elected Eddie Perez, its first Hispanic mayor. Perez was born in Puerto Rico and came to Hartford in 1969.[5]

The predominance of minorities in Hartford is extreme compared to other cities. In 2000 the whites comprised fewer than one in five (18 percent) of Hartford residents. This was far lower than white representation in any other city in New England. The closest figures were in Bridgeport (30.9 percent), New Haven (33.5 percent), Lawrence (33.5 percent) and Boston (49.5 percent). In all other major cities of the region whites were in the majority.

Hartford has a diverse ethnic composition. In 2000 about 36 percent (45 thousand) of the total population were born outside the United States. Of this group, nearly half (21.5 thousand) was born in Puerto Rico and an additional 4.8 thousand were born in Central or South America. Ten thousand were born in the Caribbean, primarily in Jamaica. There were 1,953 Asians in the city. Other 2000 census data show that almost half the population over age 5 spoke a language at home other than English. Not surprisingly, Spanish was that language for four out of every five; other languages spoken at home by 1500 or more persons over age 5 included Italian, Portuguese, Serbo-Croatian, and Polish. New immigrant groups are continually entering the city. For example, census data show about 800 born in Bosnia and

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[5] http://www.hartford.gov/government/mayor/biography.htm downloaded on March 29, 2003.

Herzegovina, known today to congregate around an area in the city dubbed “Bosnia Square” (Swift 2001).

MINORITIES IN THE HARTFORD METRO AREA

The characteristics of minorities in the metropolitan area closely parallel those of minorities in Hartford. In part this is due to the heavy concentration of minority groups within the city. This section focuses on characteristics of the metro area as a whole to make clear how Hartford’s racial/ethnic composition compares with other metro areas.

As was the case in the city, the Hartford metro area had an explosive growth of Hispanics. Hispanics in the Hartford totaled 45.7 thousand in 1980, 79.9 thousand in 1990 and 113.5 thousand by 2000. Hispanics have increased far more rapidly than blacks. The number of Hispanics per 100 blacks rose from only 63.5 in 1980 to 99.2 in 2000. Asians have increased from 6 thousand to 27 thousand from 1980 to 2000.

The preponderance of Puerto Ricans among Hispanics of the Hartford region is quite unusual.[6] In the year 2000, Mexicans comprised nearly two-thirds (65.3 percent) of Hispanics in the United States but only 5 percent of Hispanics in the Hartford Metro Area. Puerto Ricans were the second largest Hispanic group in the United States, comprising 10.3 percent of Hispanics; in the Hartford region they comprised three-quarters of Hispanics.

Among the 331 metropolitan areas in the United States in 2000, the Hartford region ranked 51 with respect to the size of the total Hispanic population; it ranked 6 in the number of Puerto Ricans. Table 1 lists the metropolitan areas with 50,000 or more Puerto Ricans in 2000.

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[6]The data on the Hispanic group composition for the city of Hartford differ only slightly from those for the Metropolitan area as a whole. The figures in this section are from estimates of the Lewis Mumford Center (2003). The Center adjusted the census data to more accurately characterize groups that fell into the category “other Hispanic” as result of change in the wording of the census questionnaire in 2000 (Logan 2001: 3).

New York clearly had the highest concentration of Puerto Ricans. But the Hispanic population of the Hartford region was more Puerto Rican dominated than New York and all the top Puerto Rican metropolitan areas except Springfield, Massachusetts (Philadelphia is relatively close at 66.1 percent). Indeed, in 2000 only three other metropolitan areas (Jamestown, NY, Waterbury, CT and Lancaster, PA) out of 331 had a higher percentage Puerto Rican among the Hispanics than did the Hartford region. In each of these three the number of Puerto Ricans was below 20,000 (Lewis Mumford Center 2003). The Hartford region thus stands out in having both a relatively large Puerto Rican population and Puerto Rican predominance among Hispanics in the metropolitan area.

The Hartford region reflects the national trend of increasing diversity among Hispanics. The fastest growing groups in the United States have been those other than Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, or Cubans--the traditionally largest Hispanic groups. The "New Latinos" are from the Dominican Republic and selected areas of Central and South America and are estimated to have increased from 3.0 to 6.1 million during the 1990s (Logan 2001: 1). In the Hartford metro area during the 1990s there appears to have been especially high growth among several nationality groups that had been present in relatively small numbers. Mexicans, Peruvians, Columbians and Dominicans varied in size from 1 to 2.3 thousand in 1990 and were from 2.4 to 5.5 by 2000. In 2002 the Peruvian consulate opened a branch office in Hartford (Zielbauer 2003). The common sight today of Dominican or a Columbia flag displayed in downtown Hartford neighborhood stores also attests to growing prominence of these groups.[7] Puerto Ricans in the Hartford metro area, however, grew from 59 thousand to 83 thousand and were about 75 percent of Hispanics in both 1990 and 2000.[8] Thus, although a number of other

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[7]Based on personal communication from Luis Figueroa.

[8]The figures in this section are based on the same source as Table 1. It is important to note that the size of different Hispanic groups and their changes over time are imprecisely

Hispanic groups are reaching a size that is making their presence more visible, they are still dwarfed by a sustained growth of Puerto Ricans.

The scope of this study does not make it possible to adequately assess the impact of the distinctive composition of Hispanics in the Hartford region. It is important to note, however, that Puerto Ricans have been more economically disadvantaged that any other major Hispanic group and have fared worse than Mexican Americans in periods of economic decline. Puerto Rican's ease of entry into the mainland appears to be a key factor: "Demographers have long known that when the barriers to immigration are substantial, the people who manage to immigrate tend to have more education and skills than the average person in their homeland. Immigration, in other words, is more selective when the barriers are higher" (Cherlin 2002: 162). But group differences should not be exaggerated. For example, in 1999 27 percent of Mexican American families lived in poverty as compared with 24 percent of Puerto Rican families (Ibid.).

SUBURBANIZATION[9]

In contrast with the overwhelmingly minority population of the city of Hartford, the

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measured. In part this is due to variation in the wording of census questionnaires between 1990 and 2000. Estimates of group size also vary depending on how one combines the sometimes conflicting responses to census questions on race, Hispanic group membership, ancestry and place of birth. An added problem is that some of this information is available only for a 1 in 6 sample of the population that were given the long form of the census questionnaire. Sample responses are then used to estimate figures for the total population, but this obviously introduces error. The census count of Puerto Ricans in Hartford for 2000, for example, was 82,992, while a revised census estimate (a figure that is considered "unofficial") drawing from information from the long form gave the number as 86,428 – almost the same as the estimated number (86,361) that Mumford Center derived based on yet an another methodology (Cresce and Ramirez n.d.; Logan 2001; figures downloaded from the Lewis Mumford Center on July 31, 2003).

[9]The census classifies both Hartford and Middletown as "central cities" of the Hartford metropolitan area. In this chapter, however, the term "suburb" refers to all towns except Hartford . In 2000 Middletown, with a population of 43 thousand, was smaller than many of the other towns in the region and was 77 percent white. Compared with Hartford, it seemed far more suburban than urban.

Hartford metro area was about 77 percent white in 2000, down from 88 percent in 1990. Between 1980 and 1990 the total white population grew from 952 thousand to 967 thousand, but by 2000 it had fallen by 5 percent. Between 1990 and 2000 – a time when the city of Hartford had a population decline of 18 thousand – it was solely the growth of the minority suburban population that kept the total population of the metropolitan area growing slightly (an increase of 25 thousand). In the suburbs during the 1990s the number of blacks grew by 26 percent and Hispanics increased 42 percent; whites were down 5 percent.[10]

Suburban growth has been occurring across all metropolitan areas in the United States. Studying the 100 largest cities, Berube and Forman (2003: 82) find that "suburban population grew at twice the rate of central city population, and no matter how fast cities grew, their suburbs consistently grew faster. In many metropolitan areas, the bulk of employment is located ten miles or more from the traditional city, and people appear to be following employment out to the suburbs." Jobs were shifting to Hartford's suburbs as well, but what made Hartford unique was the extreme decline (-13 percent) of the city during the 1990s. Among all 195 cities that exceeded 100,000 population in 1990, Hartford had the largest percentage decline in population between 1990 and 2000. By contrast, the median growth of these cities was 8.7 percent, although cities in the Northeast, on average, declined in size (Glaeser and Shapiro 2003: 18-19).

Logan (2003: 248) notes that "America's suburbs have always had considerable diversity behind their white, middle-class image. Now they are being radically transformed." A study of the 102 largest metropolitan areas[11] showed that minorities had increased from 19 to

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[10]Data on the total suburban population (defined as those living outside the central cities) within the 331 metropolitan areas of the United States shows that during the 1990s the white population rose 5 percent, the black population increase was 38 percent, the Hispanic rise was 72 percent and Asian increase was 84 percent (Logan 2003: 248).

[11]Hartford was not among these.

27 percent of the suburban population between 1990 and 2000. The Hartford metro area showed similar change, although with the much lower minority representation characteristic of Northern metro areas (Frey 2003: 158-62). The percentage minority in the Hartford suburbs increased from under 6 percent in 1980, to 9 percent in 1990 and to nearly 16 percent in 2000. Between 1990 and 2000 the black population in Hartford declined by 4.1 thousand, while blacks in suburbs increased 27.8 thousand – nearly double their suburban gain during 1980s. From 1990 to 2000 the Asian population had a suburban growth of 9.3 thousand; at the same time their presence in Hartford was little changed. Hispanics alone showed a growth in Hartford during both the 1980s and the 1990s. For Hispanics in the metro area, nearly half their population growth during the 1980s occurred in Hartford; in the 1990s 85 percent of the metro growth was in the suburbs. Hispanics have steadily increased their share of the minority population of both city and suburbs. By 2000 they comprised half of Hartford's minority population and 38 percent of the minority population in the suburbs.

In 1990 most blacks and Hispanics in the region (55 percent) were still concentrated in Hartford. By 2000 the majority of both groups had shifted to the suburbs (40 percent of blacks and 43 percent of Hispanics were in Hartford). Even in 1980 only 14 percent of Asians in the Hartford metro area were in Hartford, as were just 6 percent of whites. By 2000 these figures fell to 2 percent for whites and 8 percent for Asians.

Minorities were far from evenly distributed across the suburbs. This is well-illustrated by Hispanics. Table 2 (sorted by the number of Hispanics in each town in 1980) shows the very large growth of Hispanics in New Britain, Windham and East Hartford. By 2000 Hispanics in New Britain and Windham comprised over a quarter of the population of these towns – a proportion that exceeded Hispanic representation in Hartford in 1980. As a result of their youthful age structure (discussed below), Hispanics comprised a far higher share of the population under age 19. In 2000 there were 16 towns or cities in which Hispanics comprised

five percent or more of those under age 19.

The suburban growth of the Hispanic population is shown by the rise in the number of Hispanics across all towns during both the 1980s and the 1990s.[12] Nearly as consistent (only 4 exceptions) was the increases in the percentage Hispanic, although this was often by only a fraction of a percentage point.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

As blacks and Hispanics have shifted out of the city, has this resulted in less residential segregation from whites? Based on a study of 331 metropolitan areas of United States, Logan (2003: 253) concludes: "The persistence of residential segregation for minority groups means that newly suburban group members tended to move into the same array of neighborhoods in which co-ethnics were already living in 1990. Given the rapid growth of each group, this implies that suburban racial and ethnic enclaves may have emerged or grown substantially in many metro areas, especially in those areas in which the group is well represented." Greater numbers of blacks or greater numbers of Hispanics were associated with greater segregation of each from whites.

As is true of Logan's research, most studies of segregation are based on census tract data. The tracts of the 2000 census averaged 4,200 residents. The index of dissimilarity is commonly used to measure segregation. The index represents the percentage of one group that would have to change location in order be distributed across tracts in exactly the same way as the group to which it is being compared. Comparisons over time are complicated by the fact that census tract boundaries have changed. As indicated above, estimates of the number of

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[12]The only exception was Barkhamsted where there was a decline of 1 between 1980 and 1990; the next decade brought an increase of 17, more than doubling the Hispanics in this small town.

Hispanics in the population vary. It is not surprising, therefore, that some variation exists in reported measures of segregation.[13]

The general picture that emerges is as follows: The index comparing whites to Hispanics varied between 64 and 66, with little if any change between 1980 and 2000. Black-white segregation was several points higher than the Hispanic-white index in 1980 and this small difference appears to have remained by 2000.

The closeness between Hispanic-white and black-white segregation is unusual. According to Logan (2003: 238-9) the average black-white index for all metropolitan areas in 1980 was 73.8. This compared with an Hispanic-white index averaging 50.7. By 2000 these numbers came closer due to a slight increase in Hispanic-white segregation and a decline of nearly 9 points in the average black-white index. Logan (2003: 239) concludes that "blacks remain far more segregated from whites than are Hispanics." Why the Hartford metro area deviates from this trend is unclear, although it could be related to the composition of the Hispanic population. It is interesting to note that the Hispanic-white and black-white segregation are also very close in Springfield, Massachusetts metro area – another area with a relatively large Hispanic population that was predominantly Puerto Rican (see Table 1).

In some ways it may be more important to look at segregation using towns as the unit of

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[13]See, for example, the measures of dissimilarity available at the website of the Social Science Data Analysis Network (SSDAN) at the University of Michigan (www.censusscope.org) and the Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research (www.albany.edu/mumford/census/index.html). Figures reported on the web page of The Mumford Center showing residential segregation by income differences (see the column for "all households") were not the same as on the page pertaining only to the total population of the metro area (downloaded on July 16, 2003). And the measures from both these sites do not correspond precisely with calculations the author made using census tract data from the CensusCD Neighborhood Change Database 1970-2000 Tract Data from Geolytics, Inc. The CensusCD provides data based on the long form or sample data from the censuses; the other websites are probably using data for the total population (this too may explain the variation between web pages on the Mumford Center website) and may use different methods for making the tract boundaries comparable across census years.

analysis rather than census tracts. This is especially true in Connecticut where towns are important administrative units, and there is such heavy dependence upon town property taxes to support the schools. Table 3 shows the indices comparing whites to blacks and Hispanics for all 58 towns (including the city of Hartford) of the Hartford metro area and for the 57 suburban towns.

As with the tract data, town data show that segregation of Hispanics from whites was about equal to black-white segregation. Much of this segregation was attributable to the very high concentration of minority groups in Hartford, where few of the whites resided. In 2000 comparing Hispanics to whites produced a dissimilarity index of 60 percent; eliminating Hartford lowered the index by 17 points.

Change over time in the indices shows no clear pattern. For all 58 towns the segregation of Hispanics and blacks from whites declined sharply between 1980 and 1990 but was up again by 2000. If Hartford is excluded, however, the index of dissimilarity was almost the same across all three years.

Finally, it is important to note that though their segregation from whites is similar, this does not mean that blacks and Hispanics are in similar locations. Indeed the data show a high degree of segregation between the two groups, although not quite at the level of difference between whites and either group. Based on tract data, the Hispanic-black index for the Hartford metro area declined from 52 to 44 percent between 1980 and 2000.[14] The bottom of Table 3 shows the same group comparison using town data. When based on all 58 towns, the index is extremely low, but this is attributable to segregation of blacks and Hispanics hidden by treating Hartford as a single location (unlike tract data). Using only the suburban towns yields

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[14]These figures are from the website of the Lewis Mumford Center downloaded on July 16, 2002. They are nearly identical to the indices calculated by the author from tract data available "CensusCD Neighborhood Change Database 1970-2000 Tract Data" from Geolytics, Inc.

an index far closer to that based on tract data. The Hispanic-black differences are clearly at a high level. The sections which follow focus on Hispanic-white differences.

CHANGE IN HISPANIC POPULATION CONCENTRATION

A high level of segregation of Hispanics and blacks from whites has been sustained despite the considerable dispersion of minorities across the suburbs. This was due not only to the greater movement of minorities into some locations rather than others but also to very significant change in location by whites. It is important go beyond the aggregate measures and look more closely at ethnic differences across specific types of suburbs.

The white population has been sprawling outward. The larger the size of the town, the smaller was the growth in the white population. This relationship was very strong: The correlation between total town population in 1980 and the 1980-1990 growth in white population was minus 0.77; the correlation of 1990-2000 growth with the total population in 1990 was minus 0.86. For Hispanics the relationship was exactly opposite: The larger the town, the greater was their population growth. The correlations exceeded a positive .8 for both decades.[15]

It follows from these opposing population trends that the change across the 58 towns and cities in the white population was inversely related to change in the Hispanic population. This correlation was -0.89 for 1980-1990 and for the period 1990-2000. For blacks, the picture was somewhat different: The correlation between change in the number of whites and change in blacks was similarly high (minus 0.82) for 1980-1990; for 1990- 2000 it was minus 0.16. For the entire period 1980-2000 the correlation was minus 0.50 as compared with minus 0.94 for

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[15]The correlation between the growth of the Hispanic population between 1980-90 and the total town population in 1980 was 0.83. The correlation between the growth of Hispanics from 1990-2000 and total population in 1990 was 0.81.

the growth of Hispanics and whites.

Table 4 shows the population change between 1990 and 2000 in the 21 towns or cities of the Hartford region where there was a net loss of 100 or more whites in the course of the decade. As would be expected from the correlations, these were predominantly large towns or cities; only 6 were below the average size. The table was sorted by size of the white decline (the column with bold print numbers). In the 21 towns or cities the white population fell by 82,943 (13.9 percent); the total population fell by 18,694. Excluding Hartford, there was negligible total population decline despite the exit of over 62 thousand whites. Minority group growth had compensated for white flight. Among these 21 towns or cities, Hartford was unique in showing a decline in blacks. All other areas showed a consistent gain of population for both blacks and Hispanics; the Asian population increased in all areas but Bloomfield (declining only by 16). Excluding Hartford, there was a fairly high positive correlation (0.57) between the decade rise in the number of Hispanics and the rise in blacks. Windsor and Bloomfield were clearly areas that were far more attractive to blacks than to Hispanics.

Whites of the entire Hartford metropolitan area were shifting toward many of the other 37 towns in which the total growth of whites between 1990 and 2000 was 31 thousand.[16] This gain was insufficient to offset the white loss in the 21 towns, resulting in a net loss to the metropolitan area of nearly 52 thousand whites (-5.3 percent). Although there were Hispanic and black gains in the 37 towns, nearly 90 percent of the rise in both these groups was concentrated in those 21 where whites showed losses of at least 100. Minority group growth had a geography quite distinct from that of whites.

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[16]In 1990 the white population of these 21 towns was 594,646, of which 552,032 were outside Hartford. In 2000 the respective figures were 511,703 and 490,026. These 21 towns encompassed 61.5 percent of the whites in the Hartford metropolitan area; this fell to 55.9 percent by 2000.

AGE STRUCTURE OF THE HISPANIC POPULATION

There was also a very significant age dimension to population group shifts. Hispanics had an especially youthful age structure compared with the white population. This was product of the predominance of young adults among migrants, the young children these migrants brought with them and the relatively high fertility of Hispanics living in the United States (Yaukey and Anderton 2001: 290-91; del Pinal and Singer 1997: 26). In 2000 Hispanics comprised 9.6 percent of the total population of the Hartford region but 16.3 percent of those under age 5. The distinctly higher representation of Hispanics among younger age groups can be seen from Figure 1. Hispanics, other minorities and whites are shown as a percentage of each five-year age group. As is the case elsewhere in the United States, a growing proportion of the population increase among Hispanics is likely to come from natural increase (births minus deaths) as opposed to immigration (Murphy 2003; del Pinar and Singer 1997).

Due to the selective out-migration of whites, differences in age structure between Hispanics and whites were especially great in towns with a very large concentration of Hispanics. These changes can be seen by looking at the combined population of East Hartford, Bristol and Manchester. All three showed significant Hispanic growth and, with populations ranging from about 50 to 60 thousand, were among the largest towns in the Hartford regions. Their combined total population grew from 162,710 to 164,377 between 1990 and 2000. The aggregate Hispanic population in the three towns was fairly large and rapidly growing: 5.9 thousand in 1990, rising to 14.3 thousand in 2000. New Britain might have been included here, but it, like Hartford, had an age structure distorted by the presence of a moderately large residential colleges. Hartford had other characteristics that made it a unique case, including its sharp population decline and very small proportion white.[17]

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[17]In 2000 fewer than 1 in five (18 percent) Hartford residents were whites. This was the lowest proportion by far in the 58 towns and cities of the metropolitan areas. The next towns

Figure 2 compares the age structure in 1990 with that in 2000 for the whites of East Hartford, Bristol and Manchester combined. In 1990 population peaks were at ages 25 to 34 and for children under age five. This shows that couples with young children were clearly an important component of the population. Ten years later this large adult cohort was age 35 to 44. It was dramatically reduced in size as was the cohort of children (aged 0-4 in 1990 and 10-14 in 2000). Migration from these towns appeared heavily concentrated among these couples with children.

There were far fewer children under age 5 in 2000 than there had been in 1990. Indeed, in 2000 the only five-year age group smaller than those 0 to 4 were over age 60. The aging and out-migration of adults had caused a plummeting in births to whites. The total white population was 147 thousand in 1990; it dropped nearly 20 thousand by 2000. The number under age 40 fell by 22 thousand; those age 40 and over increased by 2 thousand. The percentage of the population under age 15 dropped from 17 to 16 percent.

Figure 3 shows a very contrasting picture for the Hispanic population of these three towns. The nearly 2.5 fold increase in Hispanics between 1990 and 2000 was concentrated in more youthful age groups. The number under age 40 grew by 6.8 thousand, as compared with an increase of 1.6 thousand among those 40 and over. The percentage of the population under age 15 increased from 29 to 34 percent. By far the peak age groups in 2000 were those under age 10 – greatly exceeding the number of adults age 25-34. Families with large numbers of children were the key component of the substantial population growth between 1990 and 2000. This surge of population had to be the result of substantial in-migration. The high fertility and youthful age structure in 2000, however, will clearly lead to substantial future growth simply as a result natural increase.

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were Bloomfield at 39 percent white, New Britain at 59 percent and East Hartford at 60 percent.

Among children under age 5, the percentage white fell from 84 percent to 63 percent between 1990 and 2000. Changes in the ethnic composition of the population were particularly apparent, therefore, in the educational system and white families appeared to be responding by flight elsewhere. This reflects a national pattern of sharply increased segregation of Hispanic students from whites (Winter 2003).

SUBURBAN AREAS WITH A GROWING WHITE POPULATION

Towns with a growing white population present a very contrasting picture. The pattern here can be seen by examining the aggregate population in the ten towns with the highest white population growth between 1990 and 2000.[18] These towns were all at least 90 percent white in 2000. Their total population rose from 142 thousand in 1990 and to 167 thousand in 2000. Note that the combined population of East Hartford, Manchester and Bristol in 2000 was 164 thousand.

Figure 4 shows the population in these 10 towns by age for 1990 and 2000. In 1990 the largest categories were between 30 and 44 years of age. Born between 1945 and 1959, these were the cohorts of baby boomers then at a stage of life when most were married with their own children. By 2000 the peak age group 1990 was now aged 40 to 54, and their number had increased. These suburbs were attracting more of these aging baby boomers and their children. Since these adults were moving to the end of their childbearing years, it is not surprising that between 1990 and 2000 the growth of children was far more among those over age 5 than among those 0 to 4. It is interesting to note, however, that the cohorts of children were much below the size of the largest of the parental five-year age cohorts. This indicates a

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[18]In order of their total increase of whites, these towns were as follows: Colchester, Glastonbury, East Hampton, Farmington, Tolland, East Haddam, Ellington, Hebron, Avon and South Windsor.

fertility level that was far lower than among Hispanics, where the five-year groups of children far exceeded those of the adults. In the ten towns between 1990 and 2000 the increase to the population under age 40 was 4.9 thousand – less than three-quarters of the same figure for the *Hispanics alone* in East Hartford, Bristol and Manchester. In the ten towns growth was overwhelmingly to those over age 40, where the increase amounted to 20 thousand.

Migration can be more precisely assessed by comparing the projected population based on the 1990 census with the actual population revealed by the 2000 census. This can be done separately for each age group. The projection shows change that would occur solely as a result of likely deaths.[19] Differences between the projected and the actual size of the age group can then be attributed to net population movement into or out of the area.

Figure 5 shows the results for the 10 towns with the largest white growth. The first cohort was 10 to 14, as this was the youngest group that would have been alive in 1990 (aged 0 to 4). In the cohorts over age 50, the projected and actual populations were not very different. The projected population slightly exceeded the actual population among those aged 55 to 69 – an indication of net out-migration. These are years of retirement and likely downsizing as nests are emptying. With larger cohorts entering these age groups in the decade ahead, the number retiring and moving away will grow. The actual population exceeded the projected population among those 75 to 84, and this may reflect an increase in assisted living developments and other housing catering to the needs of older persons. Such residences may encourage parents of baby boomers to move to the area in order to be in closer proximity to their children.

Strong movement of population into these towns (actual population exceeding projected

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[19]The death were derived from a life table for the United States as a whole in 1998 (National Center for Health Statistics 2001: 7-8). These appear plausible deaths rates for the 1990 to 2000 period, as Connecticut had lower death rates than the US as a whole.

population) was evident among those aged 30 to 44 and to a lesser degree among those 45 to 49. With the exception of the youngest of these groups (those aged 30 to 34, who were born between 1965 to 1969), those moving in were adults of the baby boom cohort and their children (aged 10 to 19). The movement out among cohorts aged 20 to 29 was surely associated with college attendance and mobility common at early career stages. These suburbs were likely to be of limited attraction to those not starting their own families or having the interest and ability to become homeowners.

EXIT THE BABY BOOM

The above analysis of suburban population shifts has some important implications for the future. The movement of the baby boom from one stage of life to the next has profoundly influenced nearly every aspect of our society, and this will continue for decades ahead. In his report for the Aspen Institute, Ellwood (2002) shows that the job entry of the baby boom generation between 1980 and 2000 provided a critical stimulus to the economy. These individuals were "just reaching their prime working years during the late 1970s. Replacing their less numerous, more poorly educated grandparents and parents, they swelled the labor force." There can be no doubt about the important role of economically successful baby boomers in the expansion of many of Hartford's suburbs. But the years ahead clearly augur sharp change. Between 1980 and 2000 the labor force of the United States increased in size by 50 percent. Projections suggest an increase of only 16 percent over the next 20 years. "None of the growth will be among 'prime age' (age 25-54), native-born workers"; half is likely to be Hispanic (Ellwood 2002).

Such changes will surely have a direct impact on many of Hartford suburban communities. Towns that have recently had relatively high growth of whites will be drawing upon the "baby bust generation." This cohort was born primarily during the 1970s, when there

were 7 million fewer births in the United States than in the 1950s (Bouvier and De Vita, 1991: 9-10). By 2010 they will reach 30 to 39 years age, and the baby boom generation will moving more and more into retirement.

Areas that had appreciable Hispanic growth, by contrast, are likely to experience continued sharp Hispanic increase due to continued migration streams and, more importantly, a high rate of natural increase. Suro and Singer (2002: 4) report that in more than half of the 100 largest metropolitan areas there was "explosive growth of their initially small Latino communities between 1980 and 2000"; Hartford was included among these. In the Hartford region, as in the nation as a whole, the Hispanic population is growing far more rapidly in suburbs than cities. Many are following "the familiar path from city neighborhoods to the urban periphery," but there are also new immigrants directly entering suburban locations (Ibid.: 7). Also important to continued Hispanic dispersion from cities and migration to the United States is the evidence of a quite positive view of life in the United State. A July 2003 New York Times/CBS News nationwide survey found that 64 percent of Hispanics "said that there was no specific instance when they felt discriminated against because of their ethnicity" and 75 percent had the view that life would be better for the next generation. By comparison, 73 percent of blacks said they experienced discrimination and 47 percent felt the next generation would be better off.[20]

SPREADING DECLINE AND SEGREGATION

There is strong evidence of the greater financial success and rapid acculturation of native born as compared with foreign born Hispanics. The wide dispersion of Hispanics across

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[20]Romero and Elder (2003: A1) plus additional data from the poll downloaded on August 7 from http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/06/national/06POLL.html. These findings are consistent with those from 2002 survey by the Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation (Brodie et al., 2002: Section 4).

suburbs is likely to reflect upward mobility of many native born (Suro et al. 2002; Fulton et al. 2001: 11-12). Despite this evidence of optimism and success, economic constraints surely continue to shape the residential choices of most Hispanics and have contributed to their growing concentration in areas quite different from whites. In the Hartford Metropolitan Area in 2000, the median household income of Hispanics was $33,800 as compared with $58,144 among whites (Lewis Mumford Center 2003). White movement away from areas of Hispanic growth was toward higher income suburbs. The growth of whites by town between 1990 and 2000 showed a strong negative correlation (minus 0.76) with the percentage of the town or city that were living below the poverty line in 1999. The pattern for Hispanics was the reverse: There was a strong positive correlation (0.68) between their population growth by town and the percentage living below poverty in 1999.[21]

A growing presence in suburban locations may be an indicator of improvement for Hispanics while simultaneously contributing to an income decline in those same suburban locations. This is especially likely if higher-earning and better-educated baby boomers predominate among those moving out of these communities. There is the danger of promoting a cycle of decline, a spilling over of problems that have plagued Hartford. In their study of the 195 cities that had 100,000 or more population in 1990, Glaeser and Shapiro (2003: 24) see a clear pattern: “Skilled communities rise, and unskilled communities fall. This has been true every decade going back to the late nineteenth century. The relationship between human capital and growth became even stronger in the 1970s and 1980s than it had been in the 1950s and 1960s, and it appears to have been at least as strong in the 1990s as in earlier decades.”

In his study of metropolitan areas in the United States, Orfield (2002: 37) finds an “all-or-

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[21]Similarly, the growth in the white population between 1990 and 2000 showed a correlation of 0.71 with the logarithm of median household income in 1999; for Hispanics the comparable figure was minus 0.62.

nothing quality to suburban racial patterns. The numbers suggest that racial transition, rather than stable racial integration is the norm in suburban America." He describes a pattern of tilting in middle-class neighborhoods, when black and Hispanic reach a certain threshold in schools and communities. Such minority presence leads to a shift in white perception of the neighborhood, often well before there are any signs of social or economic decline. Whites begin moving away. Given the insufficient number of middle-class blacks and Hispanics, demand for housing slackens and "poorer individuals (whites, blacks and others) move into the homes vacated by the middle-class whites." As businesses and jobs also start to disappear, the "earlier perceptions become reality" – a process that can take less than a decade. "Moving outward, poverty increases hand in hand with increasing diversity" (Orfield 2002: 11, 13). In his view of white middle class exiting, Frey (2003: 167) places more importance on the draw to the amenities and economic conditions of the areas of destination and is cautious about using the label "white flight." Whether it is "push" or "pull" that is most important, the consequences of white middle-class departure appear to be the same.

The threat of neighborhood decline and white outmigration has surely been enhanced in Connecticut by the town structure. As suburbanization grew, Hartford was unable to incorporate adjacent towns and to, thereby, sustain both its tax base and population heterogeneity. Suburban residency meant a separation from the problems of the city, even when many still were commuting to employment in Hartford. The suburbanization of employment would bring even more of a sense of detachment and more of a stake in keeping firm the town boundaries, as manifested by resistance to any plans requiring regional bussing of school children. The growing minority presence in the suburbs now means that school integration is no longer simply about the mixing of children from Hartford city with those from the suburbs.

The opposite direction in the population movement of Hispanics and blacks as

compared with whites has sustained overall residential segregation. This has produced a growing number of suburban neighborhoods with minority concentration. Such neighborhoods "tend to be poorer, less safe, and less capable of supporting high-quality public services" (Logan 2003: 254). There are suburbs that now share concerns that had been largely confined to cities. Logan (Ibid.) believes this can overcome "the traditionally conservative approach to public policy supported by suburban politicians." But as segregation moves into suburbia, differences among suburbs come to the fore. "Hence an enduring issue of public policy is whether the increasing diversity of the United States is accentuating divisions between successful and unsuccessful neighborhoods. This may take the form of familiar disparities associated with the city-suburb boundary, or it may involve new inequalities among communities at the fringe of the metropolis. Most important, in the absence of strong policies in favor of racial balance, residential segregation is likely to be reproduced in school segregation" (Ibid.).

Failure to develop a regional solution to school segregation, however, may accentuate the role of schools in promoting residential segregation. It is in the schools that Hispanic entry into the community is particularly evident, due to the group's youthful age. And this change will be most noticeable among parents with school age children -- precisely the group among whites who are most prone to exit as Hispanics enter. This combination of population movement, of course, then produces suburban school segregation.

The relatively wealthy suburbs to which families of adult baby boomers have sprawled may have a more fragile economic basis than the residents realize. This chapter shows that the baby boom generation has been the source of growth in suburban communities with an increasing number of whites. Taking advantage of an obviously strong demand, developers have kept up a rapid pace of building large and expensive houses in some of the wealthiest expanding towns. As the baby boom ages, there is no comparable generation to take its

place. A decade or more ahead may well bring to glut to the market of precisely the type of lavish housing that is so profitably being built today, but the developers will surely have read the demographic writing well before the homeowners and be investing elsewhere.

The early escape from Hartford to the suburbs was followed by increasing sprawl outward. Far from disappearing, inequality, poverty and racial/ethnic division have also increased their geographic spread. The link between the declining urban core and its suburbs cannot be ignored, and solutions that depend upon strengthening town boundaries appear ever more futile. There are lessens to be learned from looking carefully at the trends between 1980 and 2000, and Hartford, in important respects, is simply a more extreme case of what many other metropolitan areas are likely to face.

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Table 1

Metropolitan Areas in 2000 with a Puerto Rican Population Exceeding 50,000

Metropolitan Area	Puerto Rican	Total Hispanic	% Puerto Rican among Hispanics
New York, NY PMSA	879,901	2,339,836	37.6%
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	171,000	258,606	66.1%
Chicago, IL PMSA	159,859	1,416,584	11.3%
Orlando, FL MSA	146,530	271,627	53.9%
Newark, NJ PMSA	90,599	270,557	33.5%
Hartford, CT MSA	**86,361**	**113,540**	**76.1%**
Miami, FL PMSA	84,197	1,291,737	6.5%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	82,556	248,642	33.2%
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	78,751	282,693	27.9%
Springfield, MA MSA	64,905	74,277	87.4%
Boston, MA-NH PMSA	61,575	202,513	30.4%
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	61,039	237,869	25.7%
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	61,034	242,123	25.2%
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	57,656	271,652	21.2%

Note: The number of Puerto Ricans represent the Lewis Mumford Center adjusted figures.

Calculated from figures available at http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/data.html

Table 2

Hispanics In the 58 Towns of the Hartford Metro Area, 1980-2000

(Sorted by number of Hispanics in 2000)

	Number of Hispanics			Percentage Hispanic			% Hispanic among 0-19 (0-17 for 1980)		
Town	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Hartford	27,898	44,137	49,260	20.5%	31.6%	40.5%	34.2%	44.7%	50.5%
New Britain	6,401	12,284	19,138	8.7%	16.3%	26.8%	18.2%	29.8%	43.7%
East Hartford	1,246	3,006	7,552	2.4%	6.0%	15.2%	3.6%	9.7%	23.9%
Windham	1,592	3,321	6,136	7.6%	15.1%	26.8%	13.2%	25.8%	40.2%
West Hartford	799	1,891	3,990	1.3%	3.1%	6.3%	2.0%	5.3%	9.9%
Manchester	523	1,229	3,579	1.1%	2.4%	6.5%	1.5%	3.8%	11.7%
Bristol	951	1,652	3,166	1.7%	2.7%	5.3%	2.6%	4.5%	9.5%
Middletown	1,005	1,413	2,287	2.6%	3.3%	5.3%	4.4%	6.3%	9.2%
Enfield	466	1,039	1,691	1.1%	2.3%	3.7%	1.2%	2.0%	3.5%
Windsor	362	953	1,405	1.4%	3.4%	5.0%	2.1%	5.1%	7.7%
Wethersfield	127	422	1,101	0.5%	1.6%	4.2%	0.5%	2.8%	7.2%
Newington	334	612	1,079	1.2%	2.1%	3.7%	1.4%	3.0%	6.1%
Vernon	226	600	1,005	0.8%	2.0%	3.6%	1.1%	3.1%	6.5%
Mansfield	321	573	893	1.6%	2.7%	4.3%	1.1%	3.5%	4.5%
Somers	124	275	844	1.5%	3.0%	8.1%	1.0%	1.3%	3.1%
Southington	302	508	801	0.8%	1.3%	2.0%	1.0%	1.7%	3.6%
Glastonbury	236	562	799	1.0%	2.0%	2.5%	1.2%	3.2%	3.6%
Bloomfield	313	590	718	1.7%	3.0%	3.7%	2.5%	5.0%	5.8%
Plainville	260	371	618	1.6%	2.1%	3.6%	1.8%	2.7%	5.6%
Suffield	57	98	576	0.6%	0.9%	4.3%	0.5%	1.2%	2.8%
Rocky Hill	142	326	575	1.0%	2.0%	3.2%	1.3%	2.8%	4.8%
South Windsor	158	370	554	0.9%	1.7%	2.3%	1.1%	2.2%	3.1%
Farmington	106	240	517	0.6%	1.2%	2.2%	0.8%	1.6%	3.4%
Cromwell	113	223	410	1.1%	1.8%	3.2%	1.5%	3.2%	5.5%
Simsbury	165	254	358	0.8%	1.2%	1.5%	0.7%	1.5%	2.0%
Winchester	56	143	338	0.5%	1.2%	3.2%	0.4%	1.7%	5.1%
Colchester	81	118	280	1.0%	1.1%	1.9%	1.4%	1.1%	2.6%
Berlin	106	224	267	0.7%	1.3%	1.5%	0.7%	1.6%	2.0%
Windsor Locks	74	163	267	0.6%	1.3%	2.2%	0.6%	1.8%	4.1%
Avon	77	118	249	0.7%	0.8%	1.6%	0.6%	0.9%	2.4%
East Hampton	49	139	226	0.6%	1.3%	1.7%	0.2%	1.6%	2.2%
East Windsor	90	164	207	1.0%	1.6%	2.1%	2.0%	2.9%	3.9%
Coventry	54	118	198	0.6%	1.2%	1.7%	0.4%	1.9%	2.7%
Stafford	52	155	187	0.6%	1.4%	1.7%	1.0%	2.3%	2.9%
Ellington	57	91	181	0.6%	0.8%	1.4%	0.5%	0.8%	1.9%
Portland	73	110	171	0.9%	1.3%	2.0%	1.2%	2.7%	3.3%
Tolland	55	97	151	0.6%	0.9%	1.1%	0.7%	1.3%	1.8%
Plymouth	98	111	147	0.9%	0.9%	1.3%	1.2%	1.1%	1.8%
Granby	54	88	134	0.7%	0.9%	1.3%	0.9%	1.3%	1.9%

Lebanon	20	57	114	0.4%	0.9%	1.7%	0.7%	1.1%	2.2%
Canton	46	89	113	0.6%	1.1%	1.3%	1.0%	1.4%	2.3%

Table 2 (continued)

	Number of Hispanics			Percentage Hispanic			% Hispanic among 0-19 (0-17 for 1980)		
Town	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
Columbia	15	61	84	0.4%	1.4%	1.7%	0.2%	2.4%	3.0%
Bolton	26	74	83	0.7%	1.6%	1.7%	0.8%	2.1%	2.2%
East Haddam	35	73	82	0.6%	1.1%	1.0%	0.9%	2.2%	1.8%
Ashford	19	52	82	0.6%	1.4%	2.0%	0.6%	2.2%	3.3%
New Hartford	18	48	82	0.4%	0.8%	1.3%	0.3%	1.1%	2.2%
Haddam	39	70	76	0.6%	1.0%	1.1%	0.7%	1.7%	1.6%
East Granby	17	51	72	0.4%	1.2%	1.5%	0.3%	1.7%	2.7%
Marlborough	39	68	60	0.8%	1.2%	1.1%	0.8%	1.8%	1.4%
Middlefield	30	53	56	0.8%	1.4%	1.3%	1.3%	2.3%	2.4%
Harwinton	24	28	47	0.5%	0.5%	0.9%	0.3%	0.4%	1.7%
Andover	7	16	47	0.3%	0.6%	1.5%	0.0%	1.6%	2.3%
Chaplin	5	24	44	0.3%	1.2%	2.0%	0.0%	1.7%	2.3%
Barkhamsted	15	14	31	0.5%	0.4%	0.9%	0.9%	0.4%	1.6%
Total	45,709	79,825	113,540	4.2%	6.9%	9.6%	7.2%	11.5%	14.9%

Table 3

Index of Dissimilarity Comparing Blacks, Whites and Hispanics

	1980	1990	2000
Comparison to Whites			
Hartford Metro Area (58 towns)			
Hispanics	64	48	60
Blacks	65	49	60
Suburbs (57 towns; excludes Hartford)			
Hispanics	39	45	43
Blacks	46	49	49
Comparison between Blacks and Hispanics			
Hartford Metro Area (58 Towns)	16	18	23
Suburbs (57 towns; excludes Hartford)	38	40	36

Table 4

Population Change in Towns of the Hartford Metro Area with a Loss of 100 or more Whites between 1990 and 2000

	Total population		Change in Population 1990-2000				
	1990	2000	Total	Whites	Hispanics	Blacks	Asians
Hartford	139,739	121,578	-18,161	**-20,937**	5,123	-4,140	82
New Britain	75,491	71,538	-3,953	**-14,322**	6,854	2,320	382
East Hartford	50,452	49,575	-877	**-12,527**	4,546	5,622	887
Windsor	27,817	28,237	420	**-3,707**	452	3,230	233
Manchester	51,618	54,740	3,122	**-3,680**	2,350	2,896	875
Bristol	60,640	60,062	-578	**-3,615**	1,514	627	437
Vernon	29,841	28,063	-1,778	**-3,227**	405	635	169
Bloomfield	19,483	19,587	104	**-2,987**	128	2,884	-16
Enfield	45,532	45,212	-320	**-2,875**	652	1,440	139
Windham	22,039	22,857	818	**-2,851**	2,815	545	102
West Hartford	60,110	63,589	3,479	**-2,492**	2,099	1,903	1,390
Middletown	42,762	43,167	405	**-2,352**	874	1,043	350
Mansfield	21,103	20,720	-383	**-1,575**	320	414	211
Winchester	11,524	10,664	-860	**-1,306**	195	89	64
Newington	29,208	29,306	98	**-1,259**	467	252	430
Windsor Locks	12,358	12,043	-315	**-786**	104	182	95
Wethersfield	25,651	26,271	620	**-762**	679	322	222
Plainville	17,392	17,328	-64	**-571**	247	33	129
East Windsor	10,081	9,818	-263	**-529**	43	102	69
Plymouth	11,822	11,634	-188	**-387**	36	69	3
Willington	5,979	5,959	-20	**-196**	23	16	91
Sum	770,642	751,948	-18,694	**-82,943**	29,926	20,484	6,344
Sum excluding Hartford	630,903	630,370	-533	-62,006	24,803	24,624	6,262
Total Hartford MSA	1,157,585	1,183,110	25,525	-51,702	33,715	23,692	9,413
Remaining 37 towns	386,943	431,162	44,219	31,241	3,789	3,208	3,069

Figure 1
Hispanics, Other Minorities and Whites as a Percentage of Each 5-Year Age Group, 2000

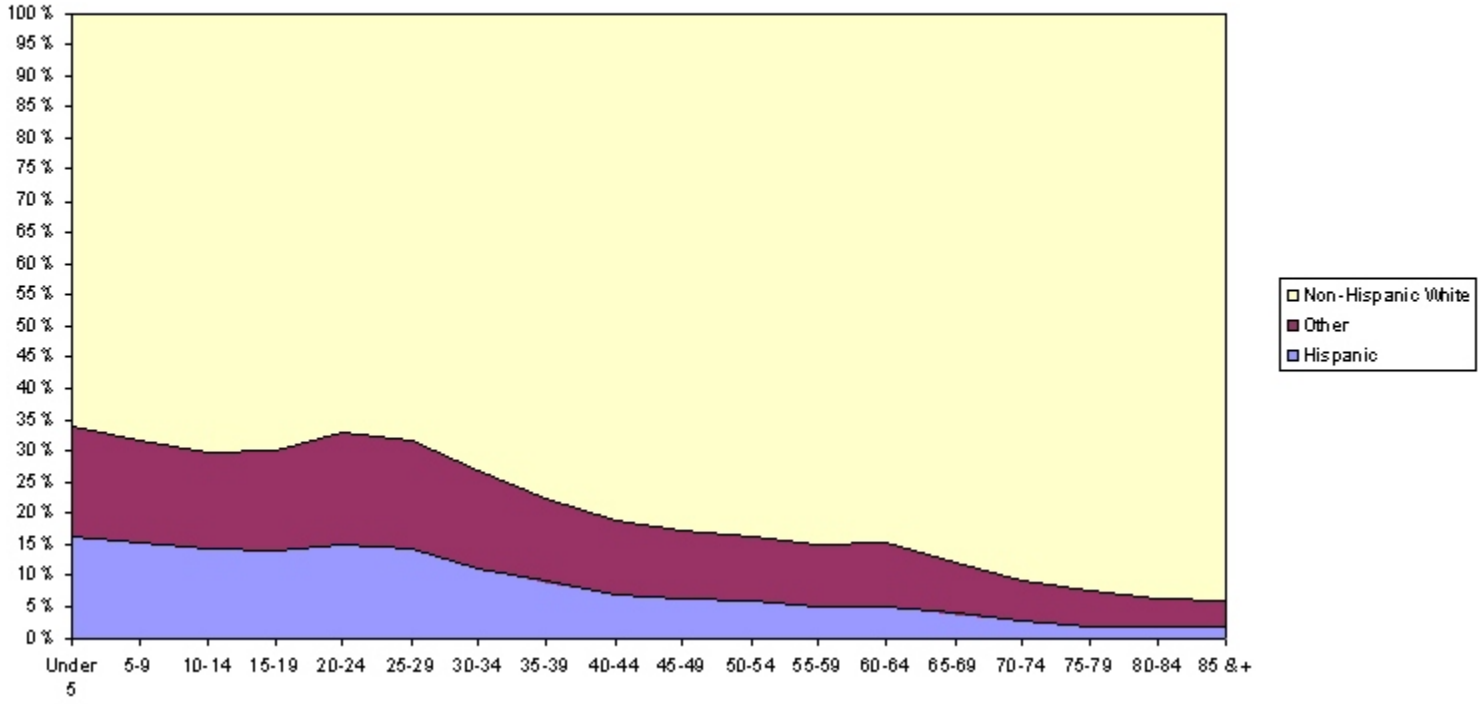

Figure 2
Whites of East Hartford, Manchester and Bristol Combined by Age, 1990 and 2000

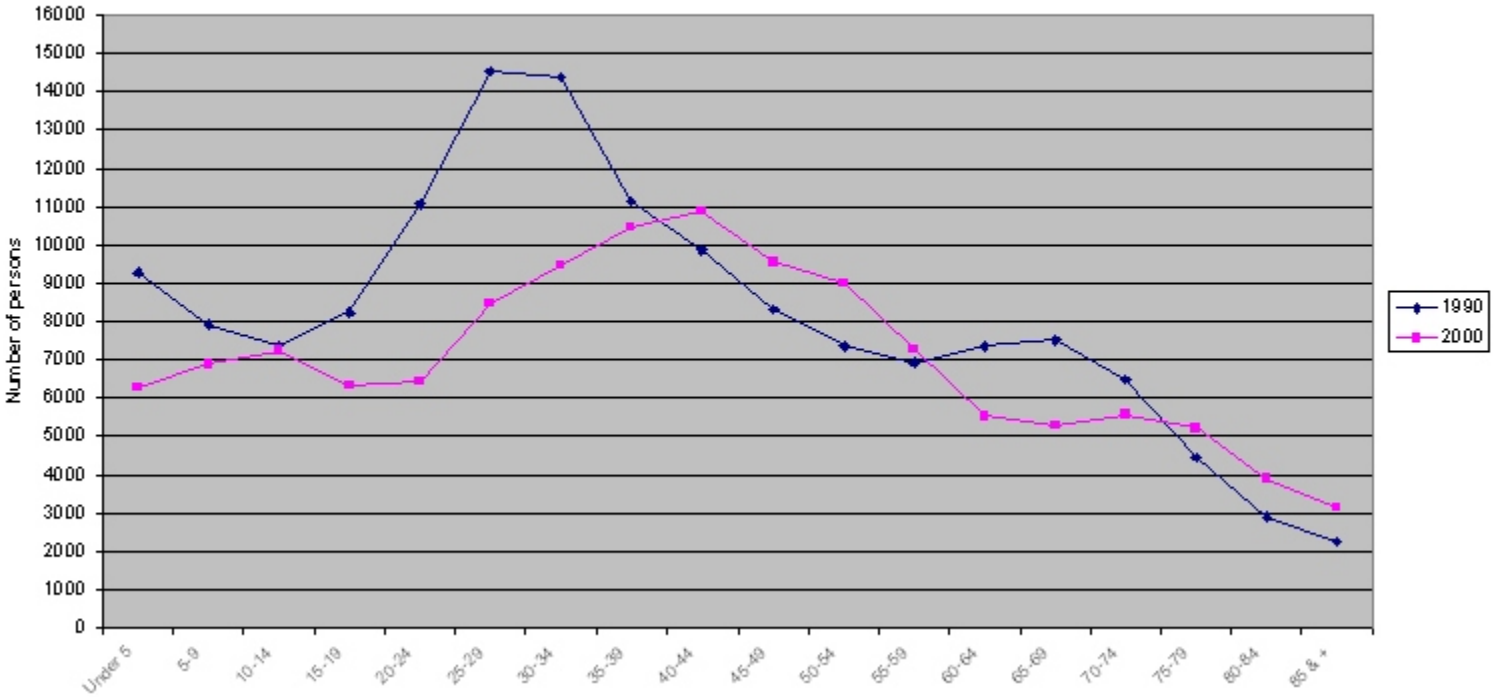

Figure 3
Hispanics of East Hartford, Manchester and Bristol Combined by Age, 1990 and 2000

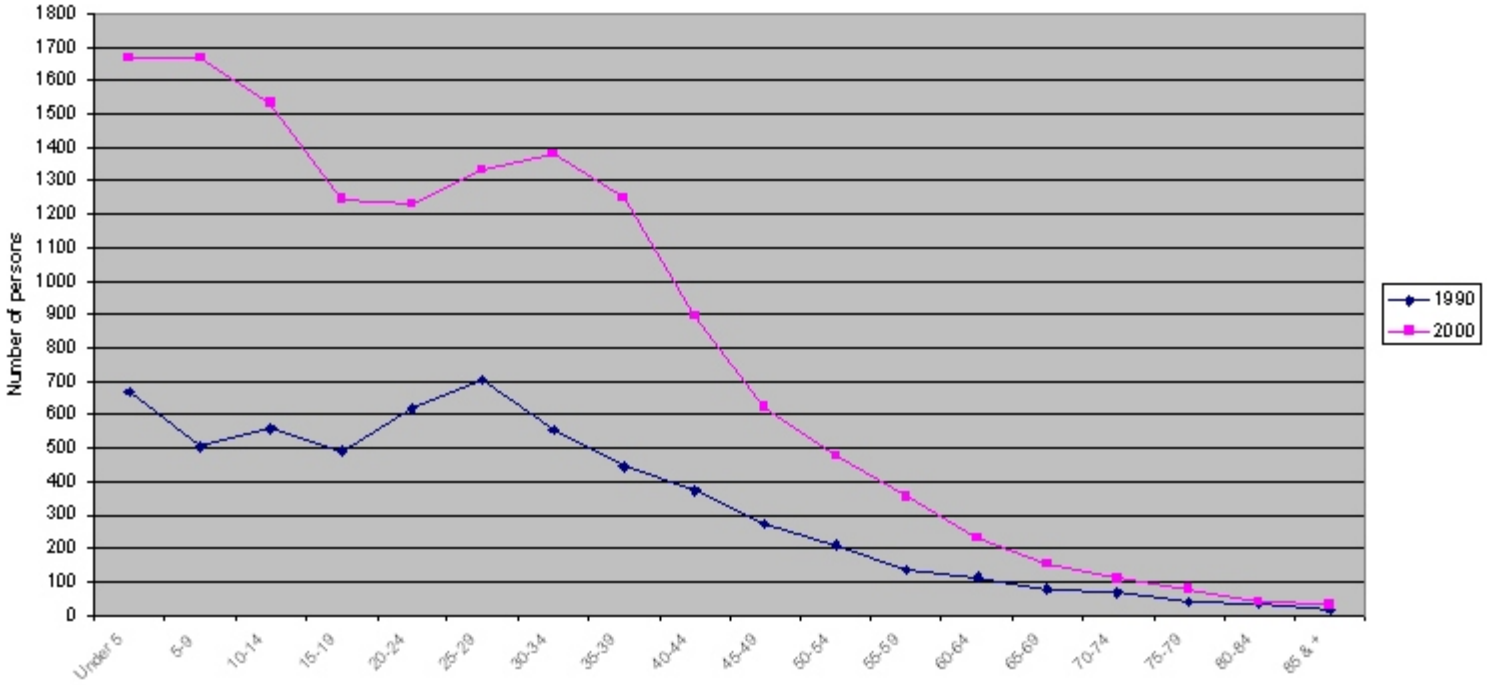

Figure 4
The Combined Population of TenTowns with the Largest White Population Increase by Age, 1990 and 2000

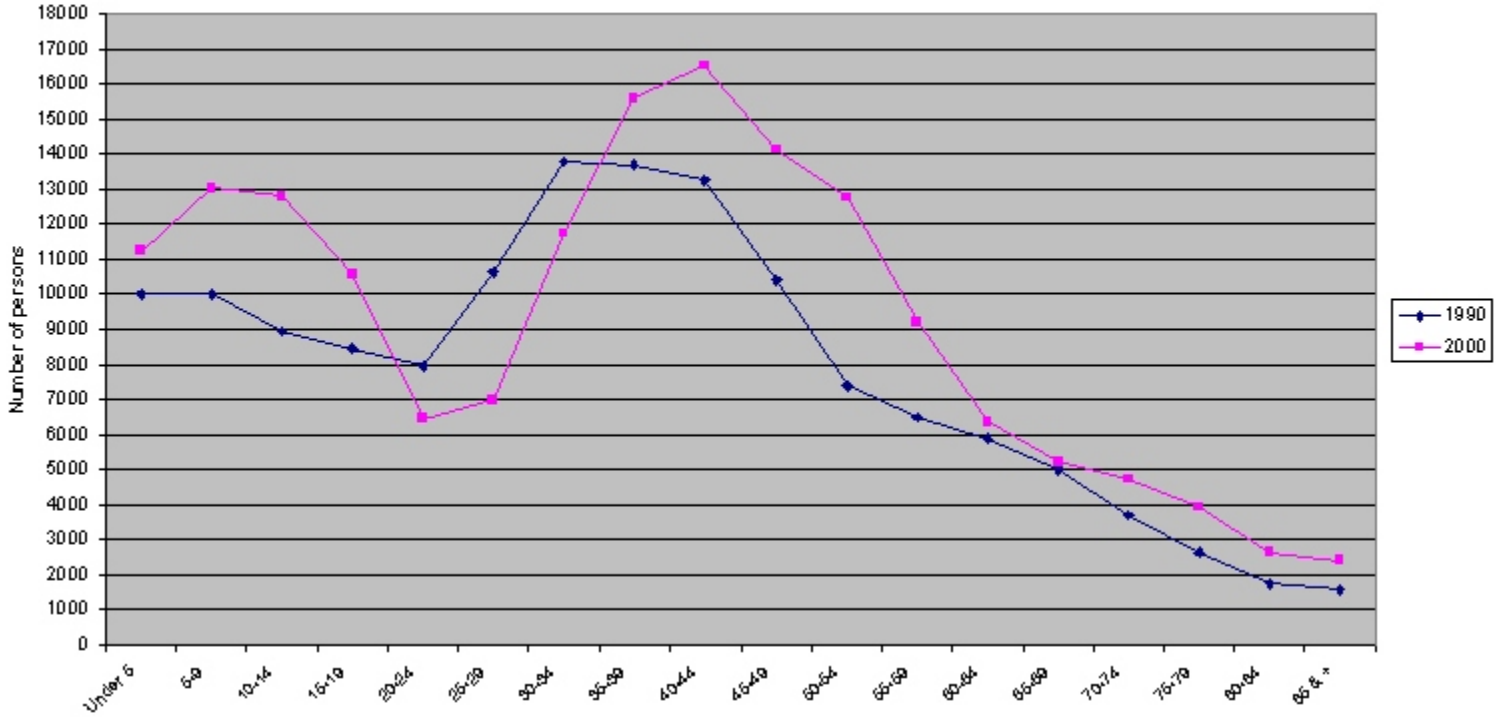

Figure 5
The Projected and Actual Combined Population of 10 Towns With the Largest White Population Increase by Age, 2000