

Racial Residential Integration in Greater New Haven in the Post-Civil Rights Era

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I. INTRODUCTION

Equal housing opportunity for all people regardless of race has been the law in the United States for almost forty years. Nevertheless, racial residential segregation persists. This paper examines the extent to which fair housing laws and institutions have met their goal of promoting racial residential integration in Greater New Haven, Connecticut. For the purposes of this paper, Greater New Haven is defined as the fifteen towns and cities that comprise the South Central Connecticut Regional Council of Governments,¹ which includes Bethany, Branford, East Haven, Guilford, Hamden, Madison, Meriden, Milford, New Haven, North Branford, North Haven, Orange, Wallingford, West Haven, and Woodbridge.²

Part II examines racial demographic change in Greater New Haven from 1970 to 2000. In this section, I highlight the region's population growth and increased racial diversity during this period, and analyze the extent of neighborhood racial integration in the area. I also present the results of a block-level analysis of the racially integrated neighborhoods in New Haven, West Haven, Hamden, and Meriden to determine the extent of racial mixing at a micro level. Finally, I evaluate the stability of racially integrated neighborhoods over the course of the thirty-year period.

I obtained the data for this section from the Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB), which contains demographic, social, economic, and housing data at the census tract level for the entire country from 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000. The database was created by the Urban Institute, a nonprofit policy and research institute, in conjunction with Geolytics, a company that produces census data products. The data is derived from the decennial censuses conducted by

¹ The South Central Connecticut Council of Regional Governments (SCRCOG) is a consortium of local governments that convenes to coordinate land use and transportation development. South Central Connecticut Council of Regional Governments, Website Homepage, <http://www.scrcog.org/index.htm>.

² See *infra* Appendix, Map 1.

the United States Census Bureau. All NCDB data is normalized to 2000 census tracts boundaries. Therefore, the database facilitates the analysis of neighborhood change over time.³

Part III discusses the emergence of federal, state, and local fair housing laws and examines their enforcement by state and local fair housing institutions. In this section, I outline the reasons that fair housing laws were enacted, their coverage, and the mechanisms used to enforce them. I examine the development of racially segregated neighborhoods in the City of New Haven, particularly the historically black Dixwell community, and the role of real estate agents in promoting racial residential segregation. I also provide an overview of the relevant provisions of the fair housing laws and highlight the enforcement efforts of the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, the Connecticut Fair Housing Center, and the New Haven Commission on Equal Opportunities.

Part IV explores the reasons that racial residential segregation persists in Greater New Haven despite the enactment of fair housing laws. In this section, I argue that racial residential segregation continues in the region because the laws are underenforced, and they are underinclusive. I also address the interaction between racial discrimination and neighborhood preferences and the manner in which this dynamic fuels racial residential segregation.

³ Peter A. Tatain, *Neighborhood Change Database User's Guide 1-1* (2003), http://www2.urban.org/nnip/ncua/ncdb/NCDB_LF_DataUsersGuide.pdf. The database is available for purchase at <http://www.geolytics.com/USCensus,Neighborhood-Change-Database-1970-2000,Products.asp>. Seeley G. Mudd Library at Yale University owns a copy.

II. RACIAL DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN GREATER NEW HAVEN, 1970-2000

A. Population Growth and Increased Racial Diversity

Greater New Haven experienced modest population growth from 1970 to 2000. The region gained almost 40,000 new residents during this thirty-year period, which was about an 8% increase.⁴ With the exception of New Haven, Orange, and West Haven, all of the towns in Greater New Haven experienced population growth. The population decline in Orange and West Haven was very small, but New Haven lost over 10% of its population from 1970 to 2000. Orange lost about 5% of its population from 1970 to 1990 and returned to its 1980 population level in 2000 with a 3% increase. West Haven had a small population gain from 1970 to 1990 (about 2%), but experienced a 3% decline from 1990 to 2000. New Haven's population decreased by 8% from 1970 to 1980, gained about 4% between 1980 and 1990, and lost another 5% from 1990 to 2000.⁵

The most notable growth occurred in outer ring suburbs⁶ such as Madison (83%), Guilford (78%), Branford (40%), and Bethany (31%).⁷ These suburbs have a newer housing stock and are more affluent than inner ring suburbs such as Hamden, East Haven, and West

⁴ The United States population increased by 38.43% between 1970 and 2000. The population growth for each decade from 1970 to 2000 was as follows: 11.43% from 1970 to 1980, 9.79% from 1980 to 1990, and 13.15% from 1990 to 2000. University of Michigan Social Science Data Analysis Network (SSDAN), CensusScope, Population Growth, http://www.censuscope.org/us/chart_popl.html.

⁵ See *infra* Appendix, Table 1.

⁶ For the purposes of this paper, outer ring suburbs are Bethany, Branford, Guilford, Madison, Milford, North Branford, North Haven, Orange, Wallingford, and Woodbridge. They are characterized by median household incomes and median home prices that are above the county average, a relatively new housing stock, and relative distance from the central city (New Haven). Inner ring suburbs are Hamden, East Haven, and West Haven. They are characterized by median household incomes and median home prices that are below the county average, an older housing stock, and relative proximity to the central city. Meriden is not classified as a suburb because it is one of the major cities in the region. For economic and demographic profiles of each town, see Connecticut Economic Research Center, Town Profiles, <http://www.cerc.com/newhaven.html>.

⁷ See *infra* Appendix, Table 1

Haven.⁸ Thus, their growth may be attributed to the relocation of upwardly mobile families to better quality neighborhoods.

The Greater New Haven area also became more racially diverse over the last three decades. In 1970, the region's residents were overwhelmingly white.⁹ Every town except New Haven was more than 90% white, and all but three towns (New Haven, Meriden, and West Haven) were more than 95% white. Only Meriden, New Haven, and West Haven were less than 90% white in 1980, and Hamden was less than 95% white. In 1990, Hamden, Meriden, New Haven, and West Haven were less than 90% white, and Woodbridge was less than 95% white. By 2000, 11 of the 15 towns in Greater New Haven were over 90% white, but only two towns (Madison and North Branford) were more than 95% white.¹⁰

The significant increase in the region's minority population was the primary impetus for this change. Between 1970 and 2000, the black population increased by about 56%, the Latino population by 343%, and the other race population by an astounding 4,806%.¹¹ The substantial increase in the Latino and other race population is due to the small numbers of residents from these groups in the Greater New Haven area in 1970. There were only 12,045 Latinos and 510 individuals of other races in the region in 1970, compared to 53,390 Latinos and 25,022 people of other races in 2000.¹²

Every town in the region experienced substantial growth in its Latino and other race populations from 1970 to 2000. Inner ring suburbs—East Haven (1,654%), West Haven (833%), and Hamden (626%)—experienced the greatest increase in Latino population. West Haven

⁸ See generally Connecticut Economic Research Center, *supra*, at note 6.

⁹ Any reference to “white” or “black” in this paper refers to non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks. Latinos can be of any race. “Other” includes American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Asians, Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, individuals of more than one race, and individuals of some other race.

¹⁰ See *infra* Appendix, Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5

¹¹ See *infra* Appendix, Table 7

¹² See *infra* Appendix, Table 7

(14,025%), New Haven (5,562%), and Hamden (3,234%) had the most growth in other race population.¹³ The other race population in all the towns in Greater New Haven increased consistently from 1970 to 2000, but the Latino population declined in some areas during this time. From 1970 to 1980, the Latino population decreased in North Branford, North Haven, Orange, and Wallingford. Guilford and Madison experienced declines in the number of Latino residents between 1980 and 1990. The Latino population in all areas increased from 1990 to 2000.¹⁴

Although the black population increased significantly from 1970 to 2000, its most rapid growth occurred between 1950 and 1970. In 1950, the New Haven Statistical Metropolitan Area¹⁵ contained 10,640 black residents. By 1970, this area included 41,337 blacks. Thus, the black population increased by 289% during this period.¹⁶ Like many northern cities, New Haven experienced a rapid increase in the black population after World War II. Blacks migrated to the area in search of manufacturing jobs in factories such as the Winchester Repeating Arms Factory.¹⁷ The black population in the City of New Haven increased by 54% from 1940 to 1950, 130% from 1950 to 1960, and 64% from 1960 to 1970.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the black population

¹³ See *infra* Appendix, Table 7. The large increase in the individuals classified as other race may be the result of the new racial classification system that the Census Bureau used in 2000. See United States Census Bureau, Racial and Ethnic Classifications Used in Census 2000 and Beyond,

<http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/racefactcb.html>.

¹⁴ See *infra* Appendix, Table 6

¹⁵ In 1950, the New Haven SMA consisted of Branford, East Haven, Hamden, New Haven City, North Haven, Orange, West Haven, and Woodbridge. The following towns in Greater New Haven were not included: Bethany, Guilford, Madison, Meriden, Milford, North Branford, and Wallingford. United States Census Bureau, 1950 Census of Population.

¹⁶ The black population in 1970 was recalculated for the areas that comprised the New Haven Statistical Metropolitan Area in 1950 in order to ensure that the population change was measured using comparable areas. See *infra* Appendix, Table 2.

¹⁷ DOUGLAS W. RAE, CITY: URBANISM AND ITS END 255, 258 (2003).

¹⁸ See *infra* Table III.1 and Appendix, Tables 21 and 22.

boom coincided with a decline in manufacturing jobs in the area.¹⁹ As a result, by 1980, the rate of black population growth in the City of New Haven had slowed considerably.²⁰

Nevertheless, every town in Greater New Haven except Bethany and Guilford gained black population between 1970 and 2000.²¹ The most notable increases occurred in Madison (439%), Orange (426%), and North Branford (426%). Similar to the Latino and other race population, these high percent changes are due to the small number of blacks in these areas during the 1970s. Madison had 13 black residents in 1970 and 70 in 2000, Orange had 19 in 1970 and 100 in 2000, and North Branford had 31 in 1970 and 163 in 2000. The black population in each of these places was less than 1% in 2000.²² Therefore, the percent change is not a very useful calculation in determining the areas that have experienced the most increase in black population.²³ The areas with the greatest increase in black population from 1970 to 2000 in absolute numbers were New Haven (8,441), Hamden (6,935), and West Haven (5,525).²⁴

In contrast to the minority population, the number of white residents in Greater New Haven declined from 1970 to 2000. The white population decreased by over 51,000 people (11%) during this thirty-year period. About half of the towns (7 out of 15) experienced a decline in their white population. The areas with the largest declines in white population were New Haven (54%), West Haven (26%), and Meriden (20%). Thus, the cities and inner ring suburbs

¹⁹ Rae, *supra*, at 258-59.

²⁰ New Haven's black population increased by only about 10% from 1970 to 1980. *See infra* Appendix, Table 6

²¹ Although Bethany and Guilford were the only towns with an aggregate decline in black population from 1970 to 2000, other areas also decreased during this period. From 1970 to 1980, the black population in Bethany, Guilford, Madison, North Haven, and Woodbridge decreased. Bethany, Guilford, Milford, and Wallingford experienced decreases between 1980 and 1990, as did Branford, Madison, and New Haven from 1990 to 2000. *See infra* Appendix, Table 6.

²² *See infra*, Appendix, Tables 5 and 7.

²³ This calculation is a better measure of the areas that have experienced the most increase in the Latino and other race population. The towns with the greatest increase in Latino population from 1970 to 2000 in absolute numbers were New Haven (21,534), Meriden (8,750), and West Haven (4,247). The areas with the greatest increase in other race population from 1970 to 2000 in absolute numbers mapped squarely on the percent change data: New Haven (8,454), Hamden (2,943), and West Haven (2,805). Perhaps percent change is a better measure for the Latino and other race population than the black population because the former groups settled in the area relatively recently. *Id.*

²⁴ *See infra*, Appendix, Table 7.

with the greatest increase in minority population lost the most white residents.²⁵ Outer ring suburbs experienced the most increase in white population from 1970 to 2000: Madison (78%), Guilford (74%), and Branford (32%). These areas also had the greatest increase in white residents in absolute numbers: Guilford (8,562), Madison (7,458), and Branford (6,353).²⁶ These figures suggest that during this thirty-year period some whites left the Greater New Haven area altogether and others moved from the central city and inner ring suburbs to outer ring suburbs.

Although Greater New Haven became more racially diverse from 1970 to 2000, the region's minority population was concentrated in a few areas. As of 2000, New Haven housed 65% of the area's black population, 50% of the Latino residents, and 34% of the other race population. Meriden, Hamden, and West Haven contained 30% of the black residents in Greater New Haven, 37% of the Latino population, and 31% of the other race population. The remaining 11 towns only contained 5% of blacks, 13% of Latinos, and 35% of other race individuals in the region.²⁷ Thus, 87% of the area's minority population lived in New Haven, Meriden, Hamden, and West Haven, while just 41% of the white population resided in these towns. These figures are quite remarkable given that only 53% of the region's residents lived in New Haven, Meriden, Hamden, and West Haven in 2000.²⁸

Although the majority of the Greater New Haven black and Latino populations were concentrated in the City of New Haven from 1970 to 2000, these groups increasingly settled in the suburbs during this period. As illustrated in Table II.1 below, only about 15% of blacks lived in the suburbs in 1970, compared to 31% by 2000. Table II.2 shows that the aggregate Latino suburbanization also increased. Although the percentage of the total Latino population living in

²⁵ This result may be due to white flight. *See infra* Part II.D.

²⁶ *See infra* Appendix, Table 7.

²⁷ These figures suggest that Latinos and other race individuals had more access than blacks to towns outside of New Haven, Meriden, Hamden, and West Haven.

²⁸ *See infra* Appendix, Table 8.

the suburbs decreased from 1970 to 2000, the absolute number of Latinos in the suburbs increased steadily each decade. Most of the black and Latino suburbanites lived in Hamden and West Haven in 2000.²⁹ Given this trend, the Greater New Haven suburbs, especially inner ring ones, will most likely become more racially diverse in the coming decades.

Table II.1: Black Suburbanization in Greater New Haven, 1970-2000

Year	Total ³⁰	Location	
		New Haven	Surrounding Suburbs
1970	42,324	36,157 (85.43%)	6,167 (14.57%)
1980	49,704	39,590 (79.65%)	10,114 (20.35%)
1990	59,965	46,213 (77.07%)	13,752 (22.93%)
2000	64,870	44,598 (68.75%)	20,272 (31.25%)

Source: Author's tabulations of NCDB data

Table II.2: Latino Suburbanization in Greater New Haven, 1970-2000

Year	Total ³¹	Location	
		New Haven	Surrounding Suburbs
1970	8,499	4,909 (57.76%)	3,590 (42.24%)
1980	13,706	10,138 (73.97%)	3,568 (26.03%)
1990	22,885	16,348 (71.44%)	6,537 (28.56%)
2000	41,094	26,443 (64.35%)	14,651 (35.65%)

Source: Author's tabulations of NCDB data

²⁹ See *infra* Appendix, Table 8.

³⁰ The total Greater New Haven population and total suburban population does not include Meriden because, although it is part of Greater New Haven, it is not considered a suburb of New Haven for the purposes of this paper.

³¹ The total Greater New Haven population and total suburban population does not include Meriden because, although it is part of Greater New Haven, it is not considered a suburb of New Haven for the purposes of this paper.

B. The Extent of Neighborhood Racial Integration

Although the aggregate data indicates that Greater New Haven has become more racially *diverse* over the last thirty years, it does not reveal whether the region has become more racially *integrated*. This section addresses this question by presenting the results of a descriptive analysis of census tract data for Greater New Haven from 1970 to 2000.

The methodology I used for this analysis was adapted from two recent studies that examined the extent of racial residential integration. In 2000, Ingrid Gould Ellen conducted an analysis of neighborhood change nationwide using 1970, 1980, and 1990 census tract data. Ellen found that in 1990 there were over 8,000 integrated neighborhoods across the country, which she defined as communities that were between 10% and 50% black.³² The study also revealed that about 15% of whites and 32% of blacks lived in integrated neighborhoods.³³ In a study released in 2004, David Fasenfest, Jason Booza, and Kurt Metzger analyzed 1990 and 2000 census tract data for the 10 largest metropolitan areas in the country. The study had three major findings related to the extent of racial integration: 1) the number of predominantly white neighborhoods³⁴ decreased by 30% from 1990 to 2000; 2) nine of the 10 metropolitan areas had an increase in mixed-race neighborhoods;³⁵ and 3) whites and blacks became less likely, and Latinos and Asians became more likely, to live in neighborhoods in which their group predominated.³⁶

³² INGRID GOULD ELLEN, *SHARING AMERICA'S NEIGHBORHOODS: THE PROSPECTS FOR STABLE RACIAL INTEGRATION* 21 (2000).

³³ *Id.* at 18, 21.

³⁴ Predominantly white was defined as follows: at least 80% white, and no minority group represents more than 10% of the population. Other homogenous neighborhood types included the following: 1) predominantly black: at least 50% black, and no other minority group represents more than 10% of the population; and 2) predominantly other-race: at least 50 percent non-black minority, and no more than 10% black. David Fasenfest, Jason Booza, and Kurt Metzger, *Living Together: A New Look at Racial and Ethnic Integration in Metropolitan Neighborhoods, 1990–2000* 5 (2004), www.brookings.edu/urban/pubs/20040428_fasenfest.pdf.

³⁵ Mixed-raced neighborhoods included the following: 1) white-black: between 10% and 50% black, and less than 10% other; 2) white-other: between 10% and 50% other, and less than 10% black; 3) black-other: at least 10% black, at least 10% other, and no more than 40% white; 4) and multiethnic: at least 10% black, at least 10% other, and at least 40% white. All non-black minorities were categorized as “other.” *Id.* at 5.

³⁶ *Id.* at 1.

For the purposes of this paper, census tracts, which typically include between 2,500 and 8,000 people, are used as proxies for neighborhoods. A census tract is considered integrated if the following two conditions are met: 1) at least 40% of the population is white; and 2) at least 10% of the population is black, Latino or other. Although the definition of “neighborhood” used in this analysis is well-established,³⁷ there is a debate among demographers about the most appropriate definition of “racial integration.”

There are two approaches to defining racial residential integration: absolute and comparative.³⁸ The absolute approach defines integration based on a predetermined racial composition, while the comparative approach bases the definition of integration on the demographic composition of the metropolitan area where the neighborhood is located.³⁹ The absolute approach is used here because the comparative approach has two major limitations.⁴⁰

First, the comparative approach overestimates the extent of racial integration in areas with small numbers of minorities. For instance, under this approach, a census tract that is 1% black will be considered integrated in a metropolitan area that is 1% black.⁴¹ However, most people would not characterize this neighborhood as integrated. Second, the comparative approach makes it difficult to evaluate racial residential integration over time because the percentage of each racial group constantly changes in the metropolitan area.⁴² Therefore, although the thresholds used under the absolute approach are somewhat arbitrary, this approach is less problematic than the comparative approach when analyzing neighborhood change over time.

³⁷ Both Ellen and Fasenfest et al. used census tracts as substitutes for neighborhoods.

³⁸ Fasenfest, Booza & Meztger, *supra*, at 3.

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ Ellen and Fasenfest et al. also used the absolute approach to define racial integration.

⁴¹ Fasenfest, Booza & Meztger, *supra*, at 3.

⁴² *Id.* at 3-4.

I used the following neighborhood typology to classify census tracts:⁴³

1. Predominantly white (PW): at least 80 percent of the population is white, and no minority group represents 10 percent or more of the population;
2. Predominantly black (PB): at least 50 percent of the population is black, less than 40 percent is white, less than 10 percent is Latino, and less than 10 percent is classified as other;
3. Predominantly Latino (PL): at least 50 percent of the population is Latino, less than 40 percent is white, less than 10 percent is black, and less than 10 percent is classified as other;
4. Predominantly other (PO): at least 50 percent of the population is classified as other, less than 40 percent is white, less than 10 percent is black, and less than 10 percent is Latino;
5. White-black (WB): at least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is black, less than 10 percent is Latino, and less than 10 percent is classified as other;
6. White-Latino (WL): at least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is Latino, less than 10 percent is black, and less than 10 percent is classified as other;
7. White-other (WO): at least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 is classified as other, less than 10 percent is black, and less than 10 percent is Latino;
8. Black-Latino (BL): at least 10 percent of the population is black, at least 10 percent is Latino, less than 40 percent is white, and less than 10 percent is classified as other;
9. Black-other (BO): at least 10 percent of the population is black, at least 10 percent is classified as other, less than 40 percent is white, and less than 10 percent is Latino;
10. Latino-other (LO): at least 10 percent of the population is Latino, at least 10 percent is classified as other, less than 40 percent is white, and less than 10 percent is black;
11. Black-Latino-other (BLO): all three minority groups (black, Latino, and other) each compose at least 10 percent of the population, but less than 40 percent of the population is white;
12. White-black-Latino (WBL): at least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is black, at least 10 percent is Latino, and less than 10 percent is classified as other;

⁴³ All of the conditions outlined in the definition of a neighborhood type had to be met in order for a neighborhood to receive that classification. All exceptions are noted.

13. White-black-other (WBO): at least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is black, at least 10 percent is classified as other, and less than 10 percent is Latino;
14. White-Latino-other (WLO): at least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is Latino, at least 10 percent is classified as other, and less than 10 percent is black; and
15. Multiethnic (ME): all three minority groups (black, Latino, and other) each compose at least 10 percent of the population, and at least 40 percent of the population is white.

As previously noted, neighborhoods are considered integrated if they are: 1) at least 40% white; and 2) at least 10% black, Latino, or other. Therefore, for the purposes of this analysis, the following types of neighborhoods are integrated: white-black, white-Latino, white-other, white-black-Latino, white-black-other, white-Latino-other, and multiethnic. All other neighborhoods—predominantly white, predominantly black, predominantly Latino, predominantly other, black-Latino, black-other, Latino-other, and black-Latino-other—are considered non-integrated. The definition of an integrated neighborhood includes a higher threshold for whites than minorities in order to reflect the majority-white makeup of Greater New Haven.

The descriptive analysis presented in this section differs from the studies conducted by Ellen and Fasenfest et al. in four respects. First, the scope of this study is limited to the Greater New Haven area. Second, four racial groups are considered in this analysis: 1) non-Hispanic white; 2) non-Hispanic black; 3) Latino; and 4) non-Hispanic other (non-black, non-Latino minorities). The studies by Ellen and Fasenfest et al. only included three racial groups: 1) white; 2) black; and 3) other (non-black minorities). Since the Latino population in Greater New Haven has increased significantly over the last few decades, an analysis that separately examines the residential patterns of this group is necessary to conduct a comprehensive examination of racial integration in the area.

Third, in contrast to previous studies, the following neighborhoods are considered to be non-integrated: black-Latino, black-other, Latino-other, and black-Latino-other. These neighborhood types are not counted as integrated because they represent majority-minority communities that typically emerge after whites leave an area with an increasing minority population, a phenomenon known as white flight.⁴⁴ Thus, studies such as those conducted by Ellen and Fasenfest et al. that count predominantly minority neighborhoods as integrated conflate neighborhoods that have tipped (or those that whites avoid)⁴⁵ with those that have achieved racial integration in the traditional sense.

Finally, the analysis presented in this section does not place a maximum threshold on the percent of whites and minorities necessary to constitute an integrated neighborhood. Ellen and Fasenfest et al. characterized neighborhoods that were more than 80% white and above 50% minority as non-integrated, notwithstanding the composition of other racial groups in the census tract. For instance, a neighborhood that is 81% white and 19% black is characterized as predominantly white. However, because this community's population is at least 10% black, it is considered an integrated (white-black) neighborhood for the purposes of this analysis.

1. Analysis by Neighborhood Type

Table II.3 illustrates the results of the descriptive analysis by neighborhood type. From 1970 to 2000, the overwhelming majority of neighborhoods in Greater New Haven were non-integrated. There were 96 predominantly white neighborhoods⁴⁶ (76%) in 1970. Although this number decreased to 68 (54%) in 2000, the share of other non-integrated neighborhoods

⁴⁴ For further explanation of the white flight phenomenon, see the discussion about the Schelling tipping model in Part II.D.

⁴⁵ See Part IV.B for a discussion of Ingrid Gould Ellen's theory of white avoidance.

⁴⁶ At least 80 percent of the population is white, and no minority group represents 10 percent or more of the population.

increased during this thirty-year period. The share of black-Latino neighborhoods⁴⁷ increased significantly, from 1 (0.8%) in 1970 to 15 (12%) in 2000. The number of predominantly black neighborhoods⁴⁸ rose from 2 (2%) in 1970 to 4 (3%) in 2000. Moreover, by 2000, predominantly Latino⁴⁹ and black-Latino-other neighborhoods⁵⁰ emerged.

Nevertheless, the number of racially integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven increased by about 30% between 1970 and 2000. In 1970, 27 neighborhoods (21%) were integrated, compared to 28 (22%) in 1980, 29 (23%) in 1990, and 35 (28%) in 2000. Although the number of integrated neighborhoods increased steadily over the thirty-year period, the number of specific types of integrated neighborhoods changed significantly. The most drastic change occurred with the share of white-black neighborhoods.⁵¹ In 1970, there were 20 white-black neighborhoods (16%). By 2000, white-black neighborhoods had reduced by half to just 10 communities (8%). As demonstrated in Part II.D below, the decrease in white-black neighborhoods cannot completely be explained by the increase in Latino and other race individuals in the area. Most white-black communities did not convert to other integrated

⁴⁷ At least 10 percent of the population is black, at least 10 percent is Latino, less than 40 percent is white, and less than 10 percent is classified as other.

⁴⁸ At least 50 percent of the population is black, less than 40 percent is white, less than 10 percent is Latino, and less than 10 percent is classified as other.

⁴⁹ At least 50 percent of the population is Latino, less than 40 percent is white, less than 10 percent is black, and less than 10 percent is classified as other.

⁵⁰ All three minority groups (black, Latino, and other) each compose at least 10 percent of the population, but less than 40 percent of the population is white.

⁵¹ At least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is black, less than 10 percent is Latino, and less than 10 percent is classified as other.

neighborhood types (e.g., white-black-Latino,⁵² white-black-other,⁵³ multiethnic⁵⁴) from 1970 to 2000. Instead, they became non-integrated neighborhoods, particularly black-Latino.⁵⁵

The number of all other integrated neighborhood types besides white-black increased from 1970 to 2000. The most substantial increase occurred with white-Latino neighborhoods.⁵⁶ In 1970, only 5 neighborhoods (4%) in the region were white-Latino, and this number decreased slightly to 4 (3%) in 1980. However, by 2000, there were 13 white-Latino neighborhoods (10%) in Greater New Haven. Thus, the number of white-Latino neighborhoods in the region more than tripled in a twenty-year period. In addition, 4 white-other communities⁵⁷ emerged.

Table II.4 shows the percent of the Greater New Haven population that lived in integrated neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000. These results present a less optimistic picture of neighborhood racial integration in the region. The percent of the region's residents living in white-black neighborhoods decreased significantly over the thirty-year period, while the share residing in all other integrated neighborhoods increased. However, when these fluctuations are aggregated, they reveal that roughly the same share of Greater New Haven's population, about 22%, has lived in integrated neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000. Nevertheless, the absolute numbers indicate an increase in the share of the population living in integrated neighborhoods. The total number of people living in integrated neighborhoods increased by about 23% from

⁵² At least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is black, at least 10 percent is Latino, and less than 10 percent is classified as other.

⁵³ At least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is black, at least 10 percent is classified as other, and less than 10 percent is Latino.

⁵⁴ All three minority groups (black, Latino, and other) each compose at least 10 percent of the population, and at least 40 percent of the population is white.

⁵⁵ See *infra* Part II.D.

⁵⁶ At least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 percent is Latino, less than 10 percent is black, and less than 10 percent is classified as other.

⁵⁷ At least 40 percent of the population is white, at least 10 is classified as other, less than 10 percent is black, and less than 10 percent is Latino.

1970 to 2000, and over 25,000 more people lived in integrated neighborhoods in 2000 than in 1970.

Table II.3: Greater New Haven Neighborhood Typology, 1970-2000

Neighborhood Typology	1970	1980	1990	2000
Predominantly White	96 (76.19%)	91 (72.22%)	86 (68.25%)	68 (53.97%)
Predominantly Black	2 (1.59%)	2 (1.59%)	3 (2.38%)	4 (3.17%)
Predominantly Latino	0	0	0	1 (0.79%)
Predominantly Other	0	0	0	0
White-Black	20 (15.87%)	18 (14.29%)	16 (12.70%)	10 (7.94%)
White-Latino	5 (3.97%)	4 (3.17%)	8 (6.35%)	13 (10.32%)
White-Other	0	0	0	4 (3.17%)
Black-Latino	1 (0.79%)	5 (3.97%)	8 (6.35%)	15 (11.91%)
Black-Other	0	0	0	0
Latino-Other	0	0	0	0
Black-Latino-Other	0	0	0	3 (2.38%)
White-black-Latino	2 (1.59%)	6 (4.76%)	3 (2.38%)	5 (3.97%)
White-black-other	0	0	2 (1.59%)	2 (1.59%)
White-Latino-other	0	0	0	0
Multiethnic	0	0	0	1 (0.79%)
TOTAL	126 (100%)	126 (100%)	126 (100%)	126 (100%)

Table II.4: Percent of the Population Living in Integrated Neighborhoods, 1970-2000

Type of Neighborhood	1970	1980	1990	2000
White-black	90,003 (17.72%)	84,055 (16.34%)	71,093 (13.24%)	34,361 (6.28%)
White-Latino	14,220 (2.8%)	7,934 (1.54%)	20,305 (3.78%)	42,329 (7.74%)
White-other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	17,713 (3.24%)
White-black-Latino	4,406 (0.87%)	17,623 (3.43%)	12,293 (2.29%)	28,164 (5.15%)
White-black-other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9,785 (1.82%)	9,366 (1.71%)
White-Latino-other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Multiethnic	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1,919 (0.35%)
TOTAL	108,629 (21.39%)	109,612 (22.31%)	113,476 (21.14%)	133,852 (24.48%)

Table 13 in the Appendix presents the share of each racial group that resided in each neighborhood type from 1970 to 2000. As expected, the number of whites living in predominantly white neighborhoods (81% in 1970 to 72% in 2000) and white-black neighborhoods (15% in 1970 to 6% in 2000) decreased during this period. In contrast, the white population in white-Latino neighborhoods (3% in 1970 to 8% in 2000) increased. There was a small increase in the percentage of whites living in white-other (3%), white-black-Latino (3%), and multiethnic neighborhoods (<1%).

Blacks became more concentrated in non-integrated neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000. In 1970, about 44% of blacks lived in white-black neighborhoods. By 2000, only 9% of blacks resided in these communities. The sharpest decline occurred from 1990 to 2000, when the percentage of blacks living in white-black communities decreased by 23%. Although, the share

of blacks in white-black-Latino neighborhoods increased from 3% in 1970 to 11% in 2000, this change did not offset the significant decrease of blacks in white-black neighborhoods. There was a small decrease (<1%) in the percentage of blacks in white-black-other neighborhoods from 1990 to 2000, and the percent of blacks in multiethnic neighborhoods (<1%) increased slightly during this period. On the other hand, the share of blacks in black-Latino communities (from 10% in 1970 to 33% in 2000) increased, and 9% of blacks lived in black-Latino-other neighborhoods in 2000. Moreover, although the percentage of blacks residing in predominantly black neighborhoods decreased by about 10% from 1970 to 2000, the absolute number increased by about 850 people.

The data for Latinos is somewhat inconclusive. It does not clearly reveal whether the group's access to integrated neighborhoods increased or decreased. The percent of Latinos living in white-Latino neighborhoods fluctuated between 1970 and 1990, and seemed to level off by 2000. In 1970, 15% of Latinos lived in white-Latino areas, compared to 9% in 1980, 16% in 1990, and 14% in 2000. The share of Latinos in white-black-Latino communities was also unstable during the 1970s and 1980s, but became more stable over the last 10 years: 9% in 1970, 22% in 1980, 11% in 1990, and 11% in 2000. However, the marked increase in the percent of Latinos in black-Latino neighborhoods during this period (from 9% in 1970 to 38% in 2000) was unmistakable.

This analysis indicates that while whites became less segregated from 1970 to 2000, blacks and Latinos became increasingly concentrated in non-integrated neighborhoods. Due to the relatively small size of the other race population, it is difficult to determine whether its access to integrated neighborhoods increased or decreased during the thirty-year period. In 2000, about 41% of other race individuals lived in predominantly white neighborhoods, 11% in white-other,

9% in black-Latino, and 8% in black-Latino-other communities. As the other race population increases, it may become more concentrated in non-integrated areas similar to blacks and Latinos.

2. Analysis by Town

As illustrated in Table II.5 below, the majority of the towns in Greater New Haven (9 out of 15) only contained predominantly white neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000. Hence, in 2000, the region's racially integrated neighborhoods were concentrated in 6 towns: Hamden, Meriden, Milford, New Haven, Wallingford, and West Haven. The range of neighborhood types expanded in all the towns with integrated neighborhoods, with the exception Wallingford, which only had predominantly white and white-Latino neighborhoods in both 1970 and 2000. Hamden had 11 predominantly white neighborhoods and 1 white-black community in 1970, but the range of neighborhood types increased in 2000 when it had 5 predominantly white neighborhoods, 1 predominantly black, 5 white-black, and 1 white-black-other. West Haven experienced a similar change. In 1970, it had 8 predominantly white and 3 white-black neighborhoods. By 2000, West Haven contained 5 predominantly white, 1 black-Latino-other, 2 white-black, 1 white-Latino, and 2 white-black-Latino neighborhoods. Over the thirty-year period, 1 predominantly Latino and 2 black-Latino communities emerged in Meriden. Milford had a more limited increase in integration; the town only had one integrated neighborhood, a white-other community, in 2000.

New Haven experienced the most dramatic neighborhood diversification from 1970 to 2000. In 1970, the city contained 9 predominantly white neighborhoods, 2 predominantly black, 16 white-black, 1 black-Latino, and 1 white-black-Latino. This distribution changed drastically by 2000, when New Haven had 1 predominantly white, 3 predominantly black, 2 black-Latino-

other, 3 white-black, 3 white-other, 13 black-Latino, 2 white-black-Latino, 1 white-black-other, and 1 multiethnic neighborhood. The number of white-black neighborhoods in New Haven decreased by over 80% during this period. This decline accounts for most of the decrease in white-black neighborhoods in the region from 1970 to 2000. The drastic reduction in New Haven's white population during this thirty-year period is the most apparent cause of the substantial decline in white-black neighborhoods in the city.

Table II.6 presents the number of racially integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven by town. Since Hamden, Meriden, Milford, New Haven, West Haven, and Wallingford are the only towns that contained integrated neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000, only data for these towns are included. The data reveals that the number of integrated neighborhoods increased in every town except New Haven. Hamden and Meriden experienced the most increase, with 5 integrated neighborhoods emerging in each town from 1970 to 2000. In contrast, New Haven experienced a significant decrease in the number of integrated neighborhoods (from 17 in 1970 to 10 in 2000).

In sum, the range and number of integrated neighborhoods increased in most Greater New Haven towns that contained integrated neighborhoods. However, although New Haven experienced the most diversification in integrated neighborhood types, the total number of integrated neighborhoods in the town declined from 1970 to 2000. Thus, in contrast to other towns in the region, New Haven's integrated neighborhoods simultaneously became more varied and less numerous.

Table II.5: Greater New Haven Neighborhood Typology by Town, 1970-2000

City/Town	1970	1980	1990	2000
Bethany	1 PW	1 PW	1 PW	1 PW
Branford	7 PW	7 PW	7 PW	7 PW
East Haven	7 PW	7 PW	7 PW	7 PW
Guilford	5 PW	5 PW	5 PW	5 PW
Hamden	11 PW 1 WB	10 PW 2 WB	9 PW 3 WB	5 PW 5 WB 1 PB 1 WBO
Madison	3 PW	3 PW	3 PW	3 PW
Meriden	12 PW 4 WL 1 WBL	11 PW 4 WL 2 WBL	8 PW 8 WL 1 WBL	4 PW 9 WL 1 WBL 1 PL 2 BL
Milford	12 PW	12 PW	12 PW	11 PW 1 WO
New Haven	9 PW 2 PB 16 WB 1 BL 1 WBL	6 PW 2 PB 12 WB 5 BL 4 WBL	5 PW 3 PB 9 WB 8 BL 2 WBL 2 WBO	1 PW 3 PB 3 WB 2 WBL 1 WBO 3 WO 13 BL 2 BLO 1 ME
North Branford	2 PW	2 PW	2 PW	2 PW
North Haven	4 PW	4 PW	4 PW	4 PW
Orange	4 PW	4 PW	4 PW	4 PW
Wallingford	9 PW 1 WL	10 PW	10 PW	7 PW 3 WL
West Haven	8 PW 3 WB	7 PW 4 WB	7 PW 4 WB	5 PW 2 WB 1 BLO 1 WL 2 WBL
Woodbridge	2 PW	2 PW	2 PW	2 PW

Table II.6: Number of Racially Integrated Neighborhoods in Greater New Haven by Town, 1970-2000

City/Town	1970	1980	1990	2000
Hamden	1	2	3	6
Meriden	5	6	9	10
Milford	0	0	0	1
New Haven	17	16	13	10
Wallingford	1	0	0	3
West Haven	3	4	4	5
TOTAL	27	28	29	35

3. Alternative Methods of Analysis

Due to the rigidity of the thresholds used in the neighborhood typology approach, the results yielded may present a skewed assessment of the extent of racial residential integration in Greater New Haven. For this reason, the demographic data was also examined using two alternative modes of analysis.

The first analysis examined the extent to which neighborhoods in the region remained unitary from 1970 to 2000. Any neighborhood that contained more than 75% of any racial group was considered unitary. Unlike the neighborhood typology approach, this analysis suggests that the region has made significant progress towards racial integration. In 1970, there were 117 unitary neighborhoods in Greater New Haven. The number of unitary neighborhoods steadily declined each decade, until it reached 80 in 2000. Thus, 37 neighborhoods that were unitary in 1970 became non-unitary by 2000. The same trend occurred in the City of New Haven, where the number of unitary neighborhoods decreased from 21 to just 4 during this thirty-year period.

Hence, the share of unitary and non-unitary neighborhoods completely reversed. These results are almost certainly a reflection of the decline in predominantly white neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000.

Table II.7: Number of Unitary Neighborhoods with Minorities Separated, 1970-2000

Year	Greater New Haven		City of New Haven	
	Unitary	Non-Unitary	Unitary	Non-Unitary
1970	117 (92.86%)	9 (7.14%)	21 (72.41%)	8 (27.59%)
1980	105 (83.33%)	21 (16.67%)	13 (44.83%)	16 (55.17%)
1990	97 (76.98%)	29 (23.02%)	11 (37.93%)	18 (62.07%)
2000	80 (63.49%)	46 (36.51%)	4 (13.79%)	25 (86.21%)

The second method of analysis is very similar to the first. The only difference is that minorities were aggregated to capture the existence of majority-minority communities. These results were less optimistic than those of the first analysis. The number of unitary neighborhoods in Greater New Haven only declined by 25 from 1970 to 2000, which indicates that the initial analysis counted 12 majority-minority neighborhoods as non-unitary. The decrease in unitary communities in the City of New Haven was also less marked than in the first analysis (from 21 in 1970 to 16 in 2000). In light of the sharp decline in predominantly-white neighborhoods and white population in the City of New Haven during this period, this result almost certainly reflects the increase in majority-minority neighborhoods. Thus, the nature of the unitary neighborhoods (all-white v. majority-minority) most likely changed from 1970 to 2000. However, this mode of analysis does not capture these nuances.

Table II.8: Number of Unitary Neighborhoods with Minorities Aggregated, 1970-2000

Year	Greater New Haven		City of New Haven	
	Unitary	Non-Unitary	Unitary	Non-Unitary
1970	117 (92.86%)	9 (7.14%)	21 (72.41%)	8 (27.59%)
1980	108 (85.71%)	18 (14.29%)	17 (58.62%)	12 (41.38%)
1990	100 (79.37%)	26 (20.63%)	14 (48.28%)	15 (51.72%)
2000	92 (73.02%)	34 (26.98%)	16 (55.17%)	13 (44.83%)

This exercise suggests that the extent of racial integration will appear more or less optimistic depending on how the data is analyzed. Therefore, it serves as reminder that the results of any analysis, including those yielded using the neighborhood typology approach above, should be viewed with caution. Nevertheless, despite the imperfections of the neighborhood typology approach, it allows for the most comprehensive analysis of neighborhood change over multiple decades. Hence, it is the best approach currently available and should be used until a better alternative is discovered.

4. Putting It All Together

On balance, neighborhood racial integration increased in Greater New Haven from 1970 to 2000. However, the increase occurred in just 6 towns in the region, and the share of the total population living in integrated neighborhoods remained fairly constant during this thirty-year period. Moreover, the number of white-black neighborhoods decreased substantially, and New Haven experienced a decline in the total number of integrated neighborhoods. Furthermore, blacks and Latinos became more concentrated in non-integrated communities. Nonetheless, albeit limited, Greater New Haven made some progress towards increased racial residential

integration at the neighborhood level. However, these results are not definitive because the analysis only captures aggregate changes in neighborhood type. A more micro-level analysis and an assessment of the stability of the integrated neighborhoods that have developed must be conducted to obtain a more thorough understanding of the nature and extent of racial integration in the region.

C. Racial Integration at the Block Level

The census tract is a useful unit of analysis. However, scholars who study racial residential change have discovered that segregation exists within some census tracts that appear to be integrated.⁵⁸ Therefore, block level analyses are essential to determining whether the integration that occurs at the census tract level reflects true racial mixing or the happenstance of predominantly white blocks being located adjacent to, and grouped with, predominantly minority blocks. Of course, every block will not mirror the racial composition of the neighborhood. Nevertheless, if a neighborhood is truly integrated, most of its blocks should be integrated.

Tables 19 and 20 in the Appendix present the results of a block-level analysis of the integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven for 1990 and 2000. The data indicates that about half (49.61%) of the blocks in racially integrated neighborhoods were non-integrated in 1990.⁵⁹ Most of the non-integrated blocks were predominantly white (31%), followed by predominantly black (11%), and black-Latino (5%), respectively. The neighborhoods with the highest percent of non-integrated blocks were a white-black section of Wooster Square in the City of New Haven (77% predominantly white blocks), a white-Latino community in Meriden (72% non-integrated blocks), and a white-black neighborhood in Hamden (66% non-integrated blocks).

⁵⁸ See Ellen, *supra*, at 14.

⁵⁹ The same neighborhood typology was used here as in Part II.B.

Several other neighborhoods had sizeable percentages of predominantly same-race blocks (e.g., predominantly white, predominantly black, etc.). For instance, the Prospect Hill neighborhood in the City of New Haven, which was classified as white-black-other, contained roughly 31% predominantly white blocks, 21% predominantly black blocks, and 4% predominantly other blocks. Only 38% of the blocks were integrated. This result is likely due to the location of Prospect Hill; it is bounded by Newhallville (a predominantly black neighborhood) to the west, Yale (a white-black-other community largely made up of Yale University students) to the south, and East Rock (a predominantly white community) on the east.⁶⁰ Thus, Prospect Hill is not truly racially mixed, but serves as a buffer zone between the three neighborhoods that surround it.

The 2000 data suggests that the integrated neighborhoods were more integrated at the block level than in 1990. About 41% of the blocks in integrated neighborhoods were non-integrated. As in 1990, most non-integrated blocks were predominantly white (26%). However, black-Latino blocks (7%) came in second, followed by predominantly black (3%) and predominantly Latino (2%), respectively. The neighborhoods with the highest percentage of non-integrated blocks were a white-Latino community in Meriden (60% predominantly white blocks), the white-black-Latino Annex neighborhood in New Haven (55% non-integrated blocks), and the white-black-other Prospect Hill neighborhood in New Haven (53% non-integrated blocks).

The results indicate that Greater New Haven became more integrated at the block level from 1990 to 2000. It will be interesting to see whether this trend continues in the coming decades.

⁶⁰ See *infra* Appendix, Map 2 for a depiction of the Prospect Hill community and the surrounding neighborhoods.

D. The Stability of Racially Integrated Neighborhoods

As demonstrated in Part II.B above, racial residential integration in Greater New Haven increased from 1970 to 2000. However, it is unclear whether this increased integration will be sustained. Are the integrated neighborhoods that have developed in the region stable? Have the integrated neighborhoods remained integrated over time? The analysis below addresses these questions.

During the 1950s and 1960s, most racial residential change was unstable. Thousands of blacks migrated to northern cities in search of manufacturing jobs during World War II. When black families began moving into predominantly white neighborhoods, whites left, many relocating to suburban communities with the help of government-financed mortgage insurance programs. Soon, all-white neighborhoods became all-black.⁶¹

In 1971, economist Thomas Schelling developed a model to explain this phenomenon, which is known as tipping or white flight. According to Schelling, racial residential integration is unstable because whites and minorities have different preferences with respect to the racial composition of their ideal neighborhood. Whites prefer neighborhoods with lower proportions of minorities than blacks. Moreover, individuals have varying tolerance levels for integration. Thus, when a minority family moves into an all-white neighborhood, the integration tolerance level of at least one white family is exceeded, and they leave. The departing white family is replaced by a minority family, which exceeds the tolerance level of another white family, and that family leaves and is replaced by a minority family, and so on. Hence, neighborhoods undergoing racial change have a tipping point, which is the point at which the number of minority families has exceeded the tolerance threshold of most, if not all, white families, who

⁶¹ See DOUGLAS S. MASSEY & NANCY A. DENTON, *AMERICAN APARTHEID: SEGREGATION AND THE MAKING OF THE UNDERCLASS* 17-59 (1993).

move in large numbers, leaving behind majority-minority neighborhoods.⁶² The analysis in this section examines whether the racially integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven have followed this historical trend of invasion and succession.

Tables II.9 through II.13 display the stability of integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven from 1970 to 2000. Tables II.9 through II.11 examine neighborhood change over a decade-long period, Table II.12 looks at the change over two decades, and Table II.13 presents a thirty-year outlook. For the purposes of this analysis, an integrated neighborhood is considered to be stable if it remained the same type or became another type of integrated neighborhood during the time period in question.

The data indicates that the region's integrated neighborhoods were relatively stable from 1970 to 1980. The majority of integrated neighborhoods remained the same type from 1970 to 1980: 70% of white-black, 60% of white-Latino, and 50% of white-black-Latino. Moreover, 20% of white-black neighborhoods and 20% of white-other communities became more integrated in 1980. Only 10% of white-black neighborhoods and 20% of white-Latino communities were non-integrated by 1980. Half of the white-black-Latino neighborhoods became non-integrated. However, on balance, only about 15% of the neighborhoods that were integrated in 1970 became non-integrated by 1980.

⁶² Schelling framed his model in terms of a white-black paradigm, but it can also apply to a multiracial context. See Thomas Schelling, *Dynamic Models of Segregation*, 1 *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 143-186 (1971). See also Ellen, *supra*, at 39-40. Massey & Denton, *supra*, at 96-7.

Table II.9: Stability of Integrated Neighborhoods, 1970-1980

1970 Neighborhood Type	1980 Neighborhood Type				
	PW	WB	WL	BL	WBL
WB	0	14 (70.0%)	0	2 (10.0%)	4 (20.0%)
WL	1 (20.0%)	0	3 (60.0%)	0	1 (20.0%)
WBL	0	0	0	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)
TOTAL	1 (3.70%)	14 (51.85%)	3 (11.11%)	3 (11.11%)	6 (22.22%)

Neighborhood racial integration was also stable from 1980 to 1990. Over 70% of the integrated neighborhoods remained the same type during this period, and about 14% became another type of integrated neighborhood. The white-Latino neighborhoods were the most stable; all of them remained the same type from 1980 to 1990. Only about 14% of the neighborhoods that were integrated in 1980 became non-integrated in 1990. Two of the white-black neighborhoods and two of the white-black-Latino neighborhoods became non-integrated during this period.

Table II.10: Stability of Integrated Neighborhoods, 1980-1990

1980 Neighborhood Type	1990 Neighborhood Type					
	PB	WB	WL	BL	WBL	WBO
WB	1 (5.56%)	14 (77.78%)	0	1 (5.56%)	1 (5.56%)	1 (5.56%)
WL	0	0	4 (100.0%)	0	0	0
WBL	0	1 (16.67%)	1 (16.67%)	2 (33.33%)	2 (33.33%)	0
TOTAL	1 (3.57%)	15 (53.57%)	5 (17.86%)	3 (10.71%)	3 (10.71%)	1 (3.57%)

The integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven were not as stable from 1990 to 2000. Only about 38% of the neighborhoods remained the same type, and approximately 21% became a different type of integrated neighborhood. Thus, about 60% of the neighborhoods that were integrated in 1990 remained integrated in 2000. However, 7 of the 16 white-black neighborhoods, and all of the white-black-Latino neighborhoods became non-integrated during this period. By 2000, one-fifth of the neighborhoods that were integrated in 1990 had become black-Latino communities. This data reflects the decline in the white population in New Haven and its inner ring suburbs.

Table II.11: Stability of Integrated Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

1990 Neighborhood Type	2000 Neighborhood Type									
	PB	PL	WB	WL	WO	BL	BLO	WBL	WBO	ME
WB	3 (18.8%)	0	5 (31.25%)	0	0	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.8%)	0	1 (6.25%)
WL	0	0	0	5 (62.5%)	0	2 (25.0%)	0	1 (12.5%)	0	0
WBL	0	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0	2 (66.7%)	0	0	0	0
WBO	0	0	0	0	1 (50%)	0	0	0	1 (50%)	0
TOTAL	3 (10.34%)	1 (3.45%)	5 (17.24%)	5 (17.24%)	1 (3.45%)	6 (20.7%)	2 (6.9%)	4 (13.8%)	1 (3.45%)	1 (3.45%)

The neighborhood stability data from 1980 to 2000 is less optimistic than the decade-long analyses presented above. Over half (about 54%) of the neighborhoods that were integrated in 1980 became non-integrated by 2000. White-black and white-black-Latino neighborhoods were the most unstable. In 2000, 3 neighborhoods that had been white-black in 1980 became predominantly black (17%), 4 became black-Latino (22%), and 3 black-Latino-other (17%). Of the 6 neighborhoods that were white-black-Latino in 1980, 1 became predominantly black and 4

become black-Latino by 2000. The white-Latino neighborhoods were the most stable. Three (75%) remained the same, and 1 became white-black-Latino. Given that the white-black-Latino neighborhoods were unstable from 1980 to 1990 and 1980 to 2000, the white-Latino community that has become white-black-Latino in 2000 may become non-integrated by 2010.

Table II.12: Stability of Integrated Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

1980 Neighborhood Type	2000 Neighborhood Type								
	PB	PL	WB	WL	BL	BLO	WBL	WBO	ME
WB	3 (16.67%)	0	4 (22.22%)	0	4 (22.22%)	3 (16.67%)	3 (16.67%)	1 (5.66%)	0
WL	0	0	0	3 (75.0%)	0	0	1 (25.0%)	0	0
WBL	0	1 (16.67%)	0	0	4 (66.67%)	0	0	0	1 (16.67%)
TOTAL	3 (10.71%)	1 (3.57%)	4 (14.29%)	3 (10.71%)	8 (28.57%)	3 (10.71%)	4 (14.29%)	1 (3.57%)	1 (3.57%)

The three-decade long perspective reveals that the integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven are, on balance, unstable. Nearly 60% of the neighborhoods that were integrated in 1970 became non-integrated by 2000. Again, the white-black and white-black-Latino neighborhoods were the most unstable. Of the 20 white-black neighborhoods in 1970, 13 (65%) became non-integrated. All of the neighborhoods that were white-black-Latino in 1970 were black-Latino by 2000. In contrast, 3 of the 5 white-Latino neighborhoods remained the same and 1 became white-black-Latino. This thirty-year analysis indicates that although the extent of racial integration in Greater New Haven may be increasing, the progress may not be sustained.

Table II.13: Stability of Integrated Neighborhoods, 1970-2000

1970 Neighborhood Type	2000 Neighborhood Type								
	PB	PL	WB	WL	BL	BLO	WBL	WBO	ME
WB	2 (10.0%)	0	2 (10.0%)	0	9 (45.0%)	2 (10.0%)	3 (15.0%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (5.0%)
WL	0	1 (20.0%)	0	3 (60.0%)	0	0	1 (20.0%)	0	0
WBL	0	0	0	0	2 (100.0%)	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	2 (7.41%)	1 (3.70%)	2 (7.41%)	3 (11.11%)	11 (40.74%)	2 (7.41%)	4 (14.81%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)

E. Conclusion

The analysis of racial demographic change presented above indicates that over the last thirty years, Greater New Haven became more racially diverse and its neighborhoods became more racially integrated. However, this progress towards integration was very limited. Integrated neighborhoods only existed in 6 of the 15 towns in the region, and some types of integration, notably black-white integration, declined. Nonetheless, over the last decade, racial integration on the block level increased. However, most of the integrated neighborhoods that developed from 1970 to 2000 did not remain integrated. Thus, the limited progress that Greater New Haven made towards racial integration is likely transient.

III. THE EMERGENCE OF THE TRIPLE-LAYER FAIR HOUSING RIGHTS SYSTEM

As demonstrated in Part II, Greater New Haven has made limited progress towards racial integration since the passage of the fair housing laws. Before addressing the reasons for this trend, it is necessary to examine why fair housing laws were enacted, what conduct they prohibit, and the mechanisms used to enforce them. This section focuses on the City of New Haven because the historical and institutional data is not available for other areas.

A. The Problem: Racially Segregated Neighborhoods

Racial minorities have lived in New Haven since the town was founded in 1638. Black slaves were among the town's first settlers.⁶³ In 1791, 207 black people (129 free and 78 slaves) resided in New Haven.⁶⁴ By 1840, the black population increased almost fivefold to 987 total (944 free and 43 slaves).⁶⁵ However, this growth stagnated between 1840 and 1860. While the city's population doubled, the number of black residents only increased by half.⁶⁶ The black population increased by about 700 people from 1860 to 1880.⁶⁷ Some of the newcomers were free blacks from southern port cities such as Norfolk, Virginia and Newbern, North Carolina, but most were born and raised in the North.⁶⁸

The residential settlement patterns of blacks changed significantly from 1830 to 1880. During the 1830s, no portion of New Haven was entirely black, and some blacks lived in

⁶³ YOHURU WILLIAMS, *BLACK POLITICS/WHITE POWER: CIVIL RIGHTS, BLACK POWER, AND THE BLACK PANTHERS IN NEW HAVEN 1* (2000). *See also* ROLLIN G. OSTERWEIS, *THREE CENTURIES OF NEW HAVEN: 1638-1938* 33 (1953) (court records for 1646 noted that the Lamberton and Eaton families owned slaves); Rae, *supra*, at 257.

⁶⁴ *See infra* Appendix, Table 21.

⁶⁵ *See infra* Appendix, Table 21.

⁶⁶ ROBERT AUSTIN WARNER, *NEW HAVEN NEGROES: A SOCIAL HISTORY* 15 (1940). *See also infra* Appendix, Table 21.

⁶⁷ *See infra* Appendix, Table 21.

⁶⁸ Warner, *supra*, at 15-6. In 1850, two-thirds of the black people in Connecticut had been born there and about 15% were from the South. *Id.* at 16.

predominantly white neighborhoods.⁶⁹ In 1845, about half of all working black adults were employed as domestic servants, and almost a quarter of black people lived with their employers.⁷⁰ The remainder lived in areas on the outskirts of town. Some lived in a poor, predominantly black section with a reputation for vice called New Liberia. This area was located to the east of the Green in the present-day Wooster Square neighborhood. Others resided among poor white families in Poverty Square, located between Whalley Avenue and Goffe Street, and in Slaughter Woods, located beyond Poverty Square near Eaton and Webster Streets.⁷¹ A sizeable black population also resided in the Hill, Oak Street, and Mount Pleasant areas located south of the Green.⁷² Black families with greater financial means lived on Negro Lane (now State Street) and Samaritan Street (now Elm Street).⁷³

New, better-quality neighborhoods developed in New Haven by 1850, and some blacks moved to the northwest portion of town.⁷⁴ In 1864, the majority of blacks were settling in the area between Poverty Square, the Farmington Canal, and Slaughter Woods. This area, which is the present-day Dixwell neighborhood, became the principal black enclave during the 1870s and 1880s.⁷⁵

After the Civil War, blacks gradually migrated to New Haven.⁷⁶ Between 1880 and 1900, the black population only increased by about one-third (from 2,192 in 1880 to 2,887 in 1900).⁷⁷ However, blacks began migrating to New Haven in large numbers during the early 1900s. Like many northern cities, New Haven had a shortage of industrial workers during this

⁶⁹ *Id.* at 30.

⁷⁰ *Id.* at 23.

⁷¹ *Id.* at 28-9, 30, 31.

⁷² *Id.* at 30.

⁷³ *Id.* See *infra* Appendix, Map 3.

⁷⁴ Warner, *supra*, at 30.

⁷⁵ *Id.* at 30-1.

⁷⁶ *Id.* at 122.

⁷⁷ See *infra* Appendix, Table 21.

period due to decreased European immigration to the United States as a result of World War I and the immigrant exclusion laws of 1921 to 1924. Also, boll-weevils ravaged cotton plantations in South Carolina and Georgia, resulting in fewer job opportunities for black sharecroppers. Thus, both push and pull factors contributed to black migration to New Haven.⁷⁸ From 1860 to 1930, the black population in New Haven more than tripled.⁷⁹

1. The Development of the Dixwell Neighborhood

As previously noted, the development of the Dixwell area into a black enclave was largely complete by 1890.⁸⁰ Forty-five percent (45%) of New Haven's black population resided in the area in 1860, 65% in 1870, and 73% in 1890.⁸¹ As black churches and other institutions⁸² began moving to the Dixwell area in 1890, middle-class blacks relocated there.⁸³ It is unclear whether blacks moved to Dixwell out of preference or necessity. In a 1913 survey of 330 households in the Ninth Ward, which contained the Dixwell neighborhood, the surveyor noted "the uniform and general complaint of the great difficulty experienced in trying to secure nice homes in respectable localities."⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Warner, *supra*, at 123. See also Massey & Denton, *supra*, at 28-9. Due to this influx of southerners, the composition of the black population in New Haven changed significantly. In 1930, about one-third of the black residents were Southern-born, three-fifths were Northern-born, and one-thirteenth was born in the West Indies, Portugal, and other foreign countries. Similar to the late 1880s, most of the southern blacks migrated from seacoast towns in North Carolina and Virginia. Most of the North Carolinians were from coastline cities from Edenton to Beaufort, a small area about 100 miles long and 30 miles wide. The remainder came from other Atlantic coastal states, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Texas. Many blacks also relocated from New York. Most of the West Indians emigrated from Nevis, and the rest came from Jamaica, St. Kitts, and Barbados. Warner, *supra*, at 124, 125, 194; William Michael Johnston, *On the Outside Looking In: Irish, Italian and Black Ethnic Politics in an American City 265* (1977) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University) (on file with University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan and Yale University Library).

⁷⁹ See *infra* Appendix, Table 21. See also Warner, *supra*, at 123.

⁸⁰ Warner, *supra*, at 196.

⁸¹ *Id.* at 197.

⁸² In 1896, the Temple Street Church relocated to the Dixwell neighborhood and changed its name to the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church. Johnston, *supra*, at 242.

⁸³ Warner, *supra*, at 197.

⁸⁴ CHARLES WESLEY BURTON. *LIVING CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES IN THE NINTH WARD, NEW HAVEN: A SOCIAL SURVEY 24* (1913).

The other black sections of town decreased in population or stagnated from 1870 to 1890.⁸⁵ By 1930, the areas known as New Liberia and Negro Lane were predominantly white immigrant neighborhoods.⁸⁶ Also, as the city's population grew, the Oak Street neighborhood became a tenement area with stores and small factories and was populated primarily by Eastern European Jewish families. In 1930, this area was 25% black; a number of West Indians lived in the neighborhood.⁸⁷

Although blacks and whites shared all New Haven neighborhoods during the 1930s,⁸⁸ blacks were concentrated in the Dixwell area.⁸⁹ According to the 1930 census, Ward 19, which constituted the Dixwell neighborhood, was only 51% black, but 48% of the total black population in New Haven lived there. When combined, Ward 19 and adjacent wards toward the southwest contained 73% of New Haven's black population. However, blacks only made up 15% of the city's total population.⁹⁰

World War II initiated a demographic change in New Haven that had never before occurred. Table III.1 outlines the black population change in New Haven from 1940 to 1960. During this period, the number of blacks in New Haven increased almost fourfold, from 6,235 in 1940 to 22,113 in 1960. This population boom occurred in many northern cities at the time. From the beginning of World War II to the mid-1970s, about 150,000 southern blacks moved to

⁸⁵ Warner, *supra*, at 196.

⁸⁶ *Id.* at 196-7.

⁸⁷ *Id.* at 197.

⁸⁸ *Id.* at 195 (During the 1930s, Warner noted: “[t]here is no section, perhaps no street block, where white people do not also dwell; and every ward in the city has at least one Negro resident.”).

⁸⁹ See *infra* Appendix, Map 4.

⁹⁰ Warner, *supra*, at 196. See also THELMA A. DREIS, A HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL STATISTICS OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 36-37 (1936).

northern cities annually.⁹¹ According to a 1966 survey, almost three-fourths (74%) of black New Haven heads of households were born in the South, while only 13% were born in New Haven.⁹²

Table III.1: Percent Growth in Black Population in the City of New Haven, 1940-1960

Year	Total	Percent Growth
1940	6,235	17.6%
1950	9,605	54.05%
1960	22,113	130.22%

Source: Author's tabulations of 1940, 1950, and 1960 census data

When the new black residents arrived to New Haven, they settled in the Dixwell neighborhood. In 1940, 53.5% of the city's black population lived in Dixwell, and nearly two-thirds (65.7%) of the community's residents were black.⁹³ Wooster Square, which housed 12.7% of the black residents, had the second largest concentration of blacks.⁹⁴ By 1950, almost three-fifths (56.4%) of New Haven's black population resided in Dixwell, which was 62.2% black. The remainder of the black population lived in the Hill (8.9%), Wooster Square (7.1%), West River (6.3%), and Fair Haven (5.3%).⁹⁵ In 1960, the concentration of the black population living in Dixwell had decreased to just one-third (33.4%). A large number of blacks settled in Newhallville between 1950 and 1960. The concentration of blacks in Newhallville increased from 3.3% in 1950 to 18.1% in 1960. Sizeable concentrations of the black population also lived in the Hill (12%) and Fair Haven (10.5%) in 1960.⁹⁶ This population shift was caused in part by

⁹¹ Rae, *supra*, at 255.

⁹² Johnston, *supra*, at 271-2.

⁹³ Author's tabulations of 1940 census data. *See also infra* Table III.2.

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ Author's tabulations of 1950 census data. *See also infra* Table III.2.

⁹⁶ *See infra* Table III.2. *See also* Johnston, *supra*, at 270 (notes that blacks moved to the Hill, Newhallville, and Fair Haven during the 1960s).

the relocation of black Dixwell residents who were displaced by urban renewal projects in the late 1950s.⁹⁷

Table III.2: Black Settlement in City of New Haven Neighborhoods, 1940-1960

Neighborhood	1940	1950	1960
Dixwell	3,334	5,421	7,388
Dwight	955	607	1,435
Fair Haven	106	251	837
Hill	607	1,026	2,756
Newhallville	242	319	4,005
TOTAL	6,235	9,605	23,951

Source: Author's tabulations of 1940, 1950, and 1960 census data

By 1943, about one-third of the Dixwell community had been replaced by the Elm Haven public housing project. The development was initially a success. The residents were both white and black families, and the affordable units were much-needed as the population increased and the housing market became tighter during the late 1940s and 1950s.⁹⁸ However, the Elm Haven public housing project soon “transformed from a temporary residence for working families into . . . a long-term stay for people of color living beneath the lower-edge of the mainstream economy.”⁹⁹ This change was due in part to the relocation of black families to Elm Haven during the late 1950s when the Oak Street neighborhood was demolished to make way for highway development.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the Winchester Repeating Arms plant declined, and the manufacturing jobs that had sustained the neighborhood’s retail and service economy vanished.

⁹⁷ Rae, *supra*, at 339.

⁹⁸ Johnston, *supra*, at 257

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ *See id.* at 339.

White Dixwell residents and those with enough savings left the community.¹⁰¹ By 1970, Dixwell had become a solidly black enclave ravaged by poverty.¹⁰²

2. The Role of Real Estate Agents

Real estate agents played a major role in the construction of racially segregated neighborhoods in New Haven.¹⁰³ A 1954 study of the role of real estate agents in the New Haven housing market indicates that agents exercised considerable influence over their clients' homebuying decisions.¹⁰⁴ The study was based on interviews of 50 real estate agents who were members of the New Haven Real Estate Board about the amount of control the agents had over the home purchase choices of their last three customers.¹⁰⁵ Although only one of the 150 customers the agents serviced during the relevant time frame was black,¹⁰⁶ some of the interview narratives and analysis are relevant to a discussion of the role of real estate agents in the development of racially segregated neighborhoods.

Most of the real estate agents in the sample clearly indicated that they did not serve black customers. Consequently, most blacks in New Haven purchased homes through real estate agents who were not members of the New Haven Real Estate Board.¹⁰⁷ During the interviews, agents indicated that they try to match up the customer with the neighborhood that would be the best fit. They explicitly stated that when they worked with black customers (which was rare), they took race into account to evaluate the social status of the customer and to make a

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² In 1970, Dixwell was 83.55% black and 14.86% white. *See infra* Appendix, Table 22.

¹⁰³ Several factors contributed to the development of racially segregated neighborhoods in New Haven, such as redlining, public housing site and tenant selection, urban renewal, and zoning restrictions. For a detailed analysis of the impact of these factors, see Rae, *supra*, at 261-80.

¹⁰⁴ Stuart Hunter Palmer, *The Role of the Real Estate Agent in the Structuring of Residential Areas: A Study of Social Control 23-4* (1955) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University) (on file with University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan)

¹⁰⁵ *Id.* at 24.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.* at 57.

¹⁰⁷ *Id.* at 57, 128.

recommendation about suitable neighborhoods. For instance, when an agent was asked how he evaluates the social status of his customers, he said: “Well, it’s no one thing about him. Unless he’s a Negro, of course. But leaving them out, there’s usually no one thing that you judge him on. It’s a lot of things.”¹⁰⁸ Therefore, race was the predominant, and perhaps sole, factor agents took into account when dealing with black customers.

In twenty-seven of the twenty-nine interviews in which serving black customers was discussed, all the agents essentially made the same point: “[t]hey would do everything legally possible to avoid selling a house to a Negro unless the area already contained a number of Negro residents.”¹⁰⁹ Agents also indicated that they avoided being the first to sell a home to a black family in a white neighborhood. However, two of the agents made most or a portion of their living by selling homes in white communities to black buyers.¹¹⁰

The interviews also addressed the manner in which real estate agents tried to convince their customers not to move into a particular neighborhood. The answers revealed that agents used three techniques when dealing with black customers: 1) avoidance of the customer; 2) warning of physical harm; and 3) decontrol. The study’s author used agent narratives to illustrate each of these methods. An agent who avoided the black customer noted:

I drove out to the home and there, in a fine, new car, sat this man. And do you know? He was as black as coal. As black as coal. I was flabbergasted. I didn’t know what to do. I introduced myself and I made a pretense of looking for the key. I told him I was awfully sorry but I had forgotten the key and I was tied up for the rest of the afternoon but would he call me and make another appointment? . . . I went directly back to my office and I told my secretary that no matter when that man called to say I was out and she was not allowed to make appointments. I was afraid to answer the ‘phone myself for the next three days. He called once and fortunately that was the end of it.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ *Id.* at 78.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.* at 128.

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹¹ *Id.* at 139-40.

One agent also recounted an incident in which he received a threat of violence if he moved a black family into a white neighborhood:

I had a house on _____ Street [an area with no black residents].¹¹² I had a Negro family wanted to buy it. They were willing to pay. I'd have made a nice little package (of money). Listen to this. I got a call from some (individuals of a European nationality who lived in the neighborhood). They threatened to *bomb me* and the [N****r] too. You read about it in the papers, don't you? There I was. Right here. I'll admit I didn't really think they'd really do it—not bomb me anyway. But by God, I wasn't taking any chances. I called up the [N****r]—no I didn't either—I went and saw him and told him what those (individuals of European nationality) had told me. I told him I wanted no part of it and if he was smart he wouldn't either. That [N****r] was scared I tell you and he didn't want any part of it either.¹¹³

The decontrol technique was the only one that actually resulted in a black family moving into a white neighborhood. An agent who used the strategy provided the following account:

I had this house on _____ Street in [an area with all white residents]. It's a beautiful house. The owner was gone, moved, he didn't care what I did with it. I had this [N****r with a professional occupation]. I knew he wanted to buy out there. And I knew he had money. I had to be careful. Those people would have killed me if they knew I was taking a [N****r] out there. (The agent is using the word "killed" figuratively). They'd have skinned me alive . . .

What did I do? Why I wasn't going to pass up that sale. I took that [N****r] out there at two o'clock in the morning. It was so black I couldn't see him at all and I don't think he could see much of me. We got in the house and I used the flashlight a little. Well, I knew he'd buy it, of course. We signed the papers next day and then he was on his own.¹¹⁴

The agent who recounted this story specialized in selling homes in white neighborhoods to black families, and he used this tactic frequently.¹¹⁵ One of the agents also indicated that he refused to sell a home in a white community to a black buyer because a resident in the neighborhood threatened to ensure that the agent lost business if he did so. The agent ultimately sold the home

¹¹² The street and neighborhood names were omitted from the report to protect the identity of real estate agents and their customers. *Id.* at 44.

¹¹³ *Id.* at 140.

¹¹⁴ *Id.* at 141.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

to a white couple at a price lower than the black couple offered.¹¹⁶ Another real estate agent who sold black families homes in his predominantly white neighborhood said that his neighbors ostracized him and his family, and that he planned to move because the treatment had taken a toll on his children.¹¹⁷

This study indicates that real estate agents were the gatekeepers to predominantly white communities in New Haven. They decided which customers to serve and what houses to show them. When making these decisions, agents had to balance the client's desires with the actual and perceived preferences of the client's potential neighbors. As demonstrated by the study, agents frequently accommodated the preferences of potential neighbors, even when this decision resulted in a short-term financial loss. As a result, exclusively white communities in New Haven remained all white, despite the demand of black families for homes in these areas.¹¹⁸

B. The Solution: Fair Housing Laws and Enforcement Institutions

The degree of racial segregation that blacks experienced in urban areas during the 1950s and 1960s was unprecedented.¹¹⁹ Moreover, unlike the residential isolation of white ethnic groups, black-white segregation seemed like an indelible feature of the urban landscape.¹²⁰ Consequently, civil rights advocates lobbied legislatures to pass open housing laws to ensure that all people had equal access to housing regardless of their race. After much debate, compromise, and social unrest, legislatures at all levels of government adopted fair housing laws during the 1960s and 1970s and created institutions to enforce them.¹²¹ This section outlines the

¹¹⁶ *Id.* at 164.

¹¹⁷ *Id.* at 163.

¹¹⁸ A 1962 study of 250 black families in the Dixwell neighborhood found that 26.5% of the respondents had tried to move to an all-white neighborhood, but they were unsuccessful. The Human Relations Council of Greater New Haven, 1962 Survey of 250 Negro Families in the Dixwell Avenue Area of New Haven, Connecticut 9 (1962).

¹¹⁹ Massey & Denton, *supra*, at 57.

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ *See id.* at 186-194.

development of fair housing legislation nationally, in Connecticut, and in the City of New Haven, and examines the enforcement of these laws by state and local fair housing institutions.

1. Federal Laws and Institutions

The federal Fair Housing Act was enacted on April 11, 1968.¹²² The Act made it illegal to engage in the following practices on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin: 1) refuse to rent or sell a home to someone; 2) discriminate when setting terms and conditions of a rental or sale; 3) state discriminatory preferences in advertisements; 4) make untrue statements about a unit's availability; and 5) try to induce someone to sell or rent a dwelling by making representations about the prospective entry of individuals of a particular race, color, religion, or national origin.¹²³ The Act also prohibited discrimination in the provision of real estate brokerage services and mortgage lending, and outlawed harassment or intimidation of people who attempt to meet their obligations or exercise their rights under the law.¹²⁴ Thus, eliminating the discriminatory conduct of real estate agents was the primary focus of the law.

Enacting the Fair Housing Act was an uphill battle. Housing was the civil rights area that was most resistant to change because Congress lacked the political will to dismantle the ghetto.¹²⁵ However, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the riots that erupted in cities across the country as a result, heightened the legislators' sense of urgency to pass a fair housing law.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, the initial law was largely ineffective at dismantling racially segregated neighborhoods because its enforcement provisions were extremely limited.

Under the 1968 Act, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) could only investigate housing discrimination complaints filed by "aggrieved persons" rather than

¹²² Civil Rights Act of 1968, 42 U.S.C. § 3601 (2000).

¹²³ 42 U.S.C. § 3604(a), (b), (c), (d), (e) (2000).

¹²⁴ 42 U.S.C. §§ 3605(a), 3606 (2000), and 3717.

¹²⁵ Massey & Denton, *supra*, at 191.

¹²⁶ *Id.* at 194.

conduct independent investigations. Once the complaint was filed, HUD had thirty days to decide whether the allegations warranted government action. If HUD concluded that discrimination had occurred, the agency was only authorized to use mediation efforts to address the violation. Moreover, if the violation occurred in a state with “substantially equivalent” fair housing law, HUD would refer the complaint to the state authorities rather than pursuing it at the federal level.¹²⁷

The Act also authorized HUD to refer complaints to the Department of Justice for possible prosecution, but that agency was similarly impotent. The Attorney General could only prosecute violators if there was evidence of a pattern or practice of discrimination or if the alleged discriminatory conduct presented an issue “of general public importance.”¹²⁸ Moreover, when a discriminator was prosecuted, minimal damages were assessed against him.¹²⁹ Thus, the Fair Housing Act failed to compensate victims of discrimination or deter potential violators.¹³⁰

Furthermore, the law’s statute of limitations was prohibitively short. Victims of housing discrimination had to file suit no later than 180 days after the alleged violation or 30 days after the end of HUD mediation. Due to the complexity of housing discrimination suits, plaintiffs often could not bring a suit before the statute of limitations expired.¹³¹

In 1988, Congress passed the Fair Housing Amendments Act¹³² to address the defects in the original legislation. The amendment made several significant changes. It authorized the

¹²⁷ *Id.* at 196.

¹²⁸ *Id.* The number of cases prosecuted by the Justice Department decreased significantly during the Reagan administration. From 1968 to 1978, the Department prosecuted about 32 cases each year. However, during the first year of the Reagan administration, the Department did not handle a single fair housing case, and only 2 cases were filed the following year. *Id.* at 207.

¹²⁹ Punitive damages were limited to \$1,000, and although there was no cap on compensatory damages, by 1980 only five plaintiffs were awarded more than \$3,500. *Id.* at 200.

¹³⁰ *Id.* at 196.

¹³¹ *Id.* at 198.

¹³² The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988 extended fair housing protections to cover discrimination on the basis of familial status and disability. Sex was added as a protected class in 1974. 42 U.S.C.A. § 3604 (2007).

HUD Secretary to initiate investigations and file complaints with the Attorney General, who was required to take prompt judicial action. The new law also extended the statute of limitations for filing a complaint to two years and allowed prevailing plaintiffs to recover attorney's fees and court costs. In addition, the amendment created a formal administrative law process for trying cases. Under the Act, when HUD finds evidence of discriminatory conduct, it is required to try the case before an administrative law judge, unless one of the parties elects to try the case in district court.¹³³ The judges have the power to order full compensatory damages and civil fines of up to \$10,000 for a first offense and \$50,000 for a third violation.

The Fair Housing Amendments Act also increased the punitive damages awards to \$10,000 for a first offense and gave the Attorney General the authority to impose a \$50,000 penalty for a first conviction in a pattern or practice case and \$100,000 for subsequent violations. The Attorney General may also file a civil action when a conciliation agreement is breached.¹³⁴ Therefore, unlike the initial legislation, the current federal Fair Housing Act has the enforcement mechanisms necessary to be effective.¹³⁵

2. State Laws and Institutions

The Connecticut Discriminatory Housing Protections Act is Connecticut's version of the federal Fair Housing Act. The state law largely tracts the language of the FHA. However, it includes four additional protected classes: marital status, age, sexual orientation, and lawful

¹³³ *Id.* at 211. If the defendant elects to try the case in U.S. district court rather than before an administrative law judge, the Attorney General is required to prosecute the case on behalf of the plaintiff. *Id.* An individual can file a complaint in district court without filing a complaint with HUD and may do so even if a HUD complaint is pending. 42 U.S.C. § 3613.

¹³⁴ *Id.* at 210-11.

¹³⁵ Whether the federal Fair Housing Act has sufficient enforcement mechanisms has been the topic of much debate. *See, e.g.,* Massey & Denton, *supra*, 212-16.

source of income.¹³⁶ The Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities (CHRO) enforces the law.

CHRO was the first public agency of its type in the country. It was established in 1943 as the Inter-racial Commission, which was charged with eliminating employment discrimination. Within a few years, the state civil rights laws were expanded, and the Commission began handling housing discrimination cases. In 1949, the Connecticut General Assembly outlawed discrimination in public housing, and by 1963, the housing law prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin, and ancestry in all housing except owner-occupied, two-family homes. The Inter-racial Commission soon became the Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, and the state legislature authorized the agency to establish regional offices that would address all forms of discrimination.¹³⁷

When CHRO initially began taking fair housing complaints, they were not handled by housing specialists. The same investigators who handled employment discrimination cases would also have a housing caseload.¹³⁸ When an investigator was assigned a housing case, she would set aside her other work in an attempt to comply with the 100-day investigation deadline

¹³⁶ Conn. Gen. Stat. § 46a-64c. Housing discrimination was originally prohibited under the state legislature's 1959 amendment to the public accommodations statute, Conn. Gen. Stat. §46-64. The 1959 Act covered housing of 5 or more units on a single parcel or continuous parcels of land owned or controlled by the same person. In 1961, the legislature amended the statute again to reduce the number of units from 5 to 3 and add building lots as covered property. This law prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color and creed. National origin and ancestry were added in 1965, and sex and physical disability were added in 1973. The other protected classes were added during the following years: marital status (1974), age (1975), mental retardation (1978), mental disability (1988), lawful source of income (1989), learning disability (1991). Discrimination against families with children was initially covered under a separate section (46a-64a), which was enacted in 1980. The classification was then incorporated into 46a-64c when it was passed in 1990. Housing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation was established as a separate section in 1991 (46a-81e). E-mail from Robert Zamlowski, Fair Housing Unit Supervisor, Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities (May 10, 2007) (on file with author).

¹³⁷ Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, Historical Overview, <http://www.ct.gov/chro/cwp/view.asp?a=2523&Q=315814>.

¹³⁸ Telephone interview with Robert Zamlowski, Fair Housing Unit Supervisor, Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, in Hartford, Conn. (April 5, 2007).

imposed by the state law.¹³⁹ In 1990, the Commission decided that it was necessary to create a separate division that handled fair housing cases, and it established the Fair Housing Unit (FHU).¹⁴⁰

Currently, the Fair Housing Unit processes and investigates all housing discrimination complaints filed with the Commission.¹⁴¹ Since the Connecticut Discriminatory Housing Protections Act is substantially equivalent¹⁴² to the federal Fair Housing Act, CHRO participates in HUD's Fair Housing Assistance Program (FHAP). As a program participant, CHRO handles complaints alleging violations of federal fair housing law and receives funding from HUD for every complaint it files. Consequently, many of the complaints filed with CHRO allege violations of both federal and state fair housing laws.¹⁴³

The complaint process has several steps. The complainant calls, writes, or visits CHRO to begin the process. Then, an FHU intake officer interviews the complainant and helps her complete the necessary forms.¹⁴⁴ Individuals who believe they have experienced housing discrimination must file a complaint with CHRO within 180 days of the alleged violation.¹⁴⁵ Once complete, the complaint is served on the alleged discriminator, who must respond under oath within 10 days.¹⁴⁶ If the respondent does not submit a reply within the specified time frame, the case may be sent directly to the hearing phase.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹ *Id.*; Conn. Gen. Stat. § 46-64c(g). CHRO must make an administrative determination within one year of the complaint filing, unless it is impracticable to do so. *Id.*

¹⁴⁰ Telephone interview with Robert Zamlowski, *supra*, note 138.

¹⁴¹ The Commission may also issue a complaint independently if it has reason to believe that an individual or institution has engaged in discriminatory practices. Conn. Gen. Stat. § 46a-82(b).

¹⁴² 42 U.S.C. § 3616 (2000); 24 CFR § 115 (2000).

¹⁴³ Telephone interview with Robert Zamlowski, *supra*, at note 138.

¹⁴⁴ Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, What Happens After I File a Complaint?, <http://www.ct.gov/chro/cwp/view.asp?a=2524&Q=316258>.

¹⁴⁵ Conn. Gen. Stat. § 46a-82(a) and (e).

¹⁴⁶ Respondents may request a 15-day extension.

¹⁴⁷ CHRO, What Happens After I File a Complaint?, *supra*, at note 144.

After a response is submitted, cases are assigned to an investigator who acts as a neutral third party and gathers information for both sides of the case. If the investigator determines that there is “no reasonable cause” for the complaint, the case is closed. If the investigator finds that there is reasonable cause to believe that discrimination occurred, she will help the parties negotiate a conciliation agreement, a process which is required by state law. The goal of the conciliation session is to eliminate the discrimination and compensate the aggrieved party for damages caused by the discriminatory conduct. FHU staff monitors and enforces conciliation agreements after they are made.¹⁴⁸

If the case cannot be settled, it advances to the hearing phase. Lawyers appointed by the Governor and approved by the legislature preside over the administrative hearing. During the hearing, an assistant attorney general presents the evidence of discrimination uncovered by CHRO’s investigation. The complainant may also hire an attorney to represent her at the hearing. The hearing operates much like a formal trial; evidence is submitted, witnesses testify, and both parties file legal pleadings. Within 90 days after the hearing, the hearing referee issues a written decision. If the hearing officer determines that discrimination has occurred, she can issue a cease and desist order, award the complainant compensatory damages and attorney’s fees, and mandate equitable relief, such as making housing available, if necessary.¹⁴⁹

Either party may choose to have the case decided in state court rather than participate in the administrative hearing process. When this option is elected, the Attorney General’s Office files the suit and represents the complainant. The same relief is available in state court as in the administrative hearing. However, the court can also impose fines and award punitive damages. The penalties for violations of the state fair housing law, a fine between \$25 and \$100 and/or

¹⁴⁸ *Id.*

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*

imprisonment for a maximum of thirty days, are significantly lower than those for the federal law.¹⁵⁰ The respondent or CHRO may appeal the decision made by the hearing referee or Superior Court judge. In addition, if complainants have not signed a conciliation agreement or started an administrative hearing, they may file a complaint at their own expense in state court within one year of the alleged violation.¹⁵¹

The Connecticut Fair Housing Center, a statewide, nonprofit fair housing agency, also investigates fair housing complaints and provides free legal representation to complainants. The organization was established in 1994 by local civil rights and legal aid attorneys who were frustrated with the limited enforcement efforts of CHRO. Currently, the Fair Housing Center has offices in Hartford and New Haven, and six staff members (one in New Haven and five in Hartford).¹⁵²

The Connecticut Fair Housing Center handles its complaint intake differently than CHRO. After a complainant describes the alleged incident of housing discrimination, a housing specialist determines whether the conduct falls within the ambit of the federal and state housing laws. If violation of the fair housing laws is suspected, a housing specialist investigates the claim. The usual means of investigation is a procedure called testing, in which two people, one from a protected class and one not from a protected class, successively inquire about an available apartment or house. If the protected class member is treated less favorably than the non-protected class member, then the test results can provide evidence of discrimination. If the

¹⁵⁰ Conn. Gen. Stat. § 46a-64c(g).

¹⁵¹ CHRO, *What Happens After I File a Complaint?*, *supra*, at note 144.

¹⁵² Telephone interview with Erin Kemple, Executive Director, Connecticut Fair Housing Center, in Hartford, Conn. (April 10, 2007).

evidence is strong, the Fair Housing Center's staff attorney will refer the case to HUD or CHRO or file a lawsuit on the complainant's behalf.¹⁵³

A detailed analysis of the work of the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities and the Connecticut Fair Housing Center is included below in Part IV.A.

3. Local Law and Institutions

In 1964, the New Haven Board of Alderman passed Section 12 1/2-4 of the New Haven Code of Ordinances, which authorizes the New Haven Commission on Equal Opportunities to implement the state fair housing law.¹⁵⁴ The Commission on Equal Opportunities (CEO), founded the same year that the housing ordinance was enacted, handles fair housing complaints for the City of New Haven. The CEO Fair Housing Program was established in 1978.¹⁵⁵

The complaint process utilized by the CEO is similar to that of CHRO. After complainants contact CEO, they are interviewed by a Commission staff person, and a formal charge is drafted and sent to the respondent. Then, a Commission staff person investigates the complaint. The investigation may involve a conference with the complainant, the respondent, and witnesses or a visit to the property by a Commission staff person. The investigator prepares a summary for the Commission's Executive Director and recommends that the Executive Director either finds "no reasonable cause" or "reasonable cause." The Executive Director reviews the entire file and makes a ruling. If the Executive Director decides that there is no reasonable cause for the complaint, the case is closed.¹⁵⁶

Once the Executive Director rules that there is sufficient evidence to substantiate a claim, CEO tries to get the parties to enter into a conciliation agreement. If the parties cannot reach an

¹⁵³ See generally telephone interview with Erin Kemple, *supra*, at note 152.

¹⁵⁴ New Haven Code of Ordinances Sec. 12 1/2-4(b).

¹⁵⁵ City of New Haven, Connecticut, Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing 61, 63 (2003), http://www.cityofnewhaven.com/Finance/pdfs/Impediments_to_Housing_2003.pdf.

¹⁵⁶ *Id.* at 62.

agreement, the case goes to public hearing. If discrimination is proven at the hearing, the presiding body orders remedies for the complainant.¹⁵⁷

After several unreturned phone calls to the Commission on Equal Opportunities and other city departments, I learned that the official who handles fair housing complaints, the Fair Housing Program Assistant, no longer works for the City of New Haven.¹⁵⁸ The 2003 Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing for the City of New Haven indicated that the CEO Fair Housing Program did not have staff from June 1999 to April 2000.¹⁵⁹ It appears that the program is currently undergoing another staff shortage. Thus, the information necessary to conduct a detailed analysis of its work was unavailable.

IV. THE CAUSES OF CONTINUED RACIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

As demonstrated in Part II, Greater New Haven made limited progress towards racial residential integration from 1970 to 2000. Segregation persists in the region despite the passage of fair housing laws because these laws are underenforced and underinclusive. I will address each argument in turn.

A. The Fair Housing Laws Are Underenforced

The towns in Greater New Haven are covered by at least two, if not three, layers of fair housing protection. Nevertheless, racial discrimination, and, in turn, segregation persist because

¹⁵⁷ *Id.* at 62-3.

¹⁵⁸ In a phone conversation on April 20, 2007, Steven Beck, the Deputy of the Administrative Services Division of the Livable City Initiative, informed me that Cynthia Brown-McLaurin, the Fair Housing Program Assistant, had worked in the Livable City Initiative until around March 2007 and recently had been transferred to the Commission on Equal Opportunities (CEO). In a phone conversation with a CEO staff person on April 24, 2007, I was informed that Ms. Brown-McLaurin no longer works for the City of New Haven. I was told to contact Otis Johnson, the Executive Director of the Fair Rent Commission, for additional information about the enforcement of fair housing laws in New Haven. Mr. Johnson did not return my calls.

¹⁵⁹ City of New Haven, Connecticut, Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing, *supra*, at 64.

these laws are not fully enforced. The main reason for this underenforcement is the limited capacity of fair housing institutions. The agencies that enforce fair housing laws in the region: 1) have small staffs; 2) operate on modest budgets; and 3) largely rely on the complaints of victims of housing discrimination to enforce the law.

The Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities and the Connecticut Fair Housing Center handle fair housing complaints from the entire state with tiny staffs and shoestring budgets. The Fair Housing Unit of CHRO operates with a six-person staff and an annual budget of \$365,000. The staff includes one supervisor, four investigators, and one administrative assistant.¹⁶⁰ The Connecticut Fair Housing Center also has six staff members and an operating budget of \$450,000 for FY2007. The staff consists of the executive director; two fair housing specialists (one in New Haven and one in Hartford) who investigate complaints and coordinate testing; one attorney who represents complainants; one staff person who handles predatory lending issues; and an administrative assistant. According to Executive Director Erin Kemple, to operate at full capacity, the group needs a \$1 million operating budget, two additional fair housing specialists (one in New Haven and one in Hartford), and two or three more attorneys.¹⁶¹

In fall 2006, the Fair Housing Center learned that its grant from HUD's Fair Housing Initiatives Program (FHIP) would not be renewed for 2007-2008.¹⁶² In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, HUD decided to redirect most of the program's grant money to the Gulf Coast.¹⁶³ In 2006-2007, the Center received \$220,000 in FHIP grant funding, which constituted about half of

¹⁶⁰ E-mail from Robert Zamlowski, Fair Housing Unit Supervisor, Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities (May 8, 2007) (on file with author).

¹⁶¹ Telephone interview with Erin Kemple, *supra*, at note 152.

¹⁶² *Id.* See also Connecticut Fair Housing Center, Fall 2006 Newsletter 1 (2006), <http://www.ctfairhousing.org/Brochures/CT%20FHC%20Newsletter%20Web%201116-2.pdf>

¹⁶³ Telephone interview with Erin Kemple, *supra*, at note 152.

its annual budget.¹⁶⁴ Thus, unless the organization receives supplemental grant money, its capacity will be extremely limited in the future.

The current lack of staff at the New Haven Commission on Equal Opportunities Fair Housing Program clearly indicates that the fair housing laws are extremely underenforced in the City of New Haven. Moreover, when the unit was operative, it did not handle many complaints. From 1999 to 2002, the Commission received 240 inquiries, but only filed 11 complaints.¹⁶⁵

Furthermore, due to limited staff and budgets, CHRO and the Fair Housing Center are not able to independently assess whether racial discrimination exists in Connecticut's real estate market. Fair housing audits¹⁶⁶ are the principal mechanism for testing the market for discrimination. CHRO does not conduct any testing, and the Fair Housing Center's testing program lacks the necessary funds to be effective. In 1999, the Center obtained a four-year grant from the City of New Haven to test for discrimination in the rental market. The group conducted 154 tests from October 1999 to October 2003. Of this number, 39% were for source of income discrimination, 28% for race discrimination, 24% for familial status discrimination, and 8% for national origin discrimination. Although the majority of the properties tested were in the City of New Haven, 18% were in East Haven, 9% in Hamden, and 8% in West Haven.¹⁶⁷

The tests indicated that discrimination was occurring in the New Haven rental market. Evidence of race discrimination was found 25% of the time, national origin discrimination 5% of

¹⁶⁴ Connecticut Fair Housing Center, Fall 2006 Newsletter, *supra*, at 1. See also Department of Housing and Urban Development, HUD Awards Grant To Continue Fight Against Housing Bias in Connecticut 1 (2005), <http://www.hud.gov/local/ct/news/pr2005-10-06.cfm>.

¹⁶⁵ City of New Haven, Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing, *supra*, at 63.

¹⁶⁶ Fair housing audits are a series of tests for discrimination in the real estate market. These tests use a test group and a control group. The test group is composed of members of a protected class and the control group contains individuals who are not members of a protected class. Thus, for race cases, the test group is racial minorities, and whites are the control group. In a test for racial discrimination, a racial minority attempts to rent an apartment or purchase a house, and later a white person who is as qualified, or less qualified, for the home does the same. If the white tester is treated more favorably than the minority tester, the results can serve as evidence of racial discrimination.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Erin Kemple, *supra*, at note 152.

the time, source of income discrimination 47% of the time, and familial status discrimination 19% of the time. The housing specialists were only able to rule out discrimination in 35% of race tests, 5% of national origin tests, 25% of source of income tests, and 33% of familial status tests. The remainder of the tests (40% of race, 90% of national origin, 28% of source of income, and 48% of familial status) were inconclusive, meaning that the initial test revealed some evidence of discrimination and more testing needed to be conducted. However, the group did not receive additional funding to conduct follow-up tests, and it was forced to give the City of New Haven incomplete results that were not sufficient to convince local officials that discrimination was a problem in the rental market.¹⁶⁸

Currently, the Fair Housing Center is conducting audits for racial discrimination in the homebuying market in Greater New Haven. The test group consists of blacks and Latinos who are pre-qualified for a mortgage and have sufficient income to purchase a home in a predominantly white community. The control group is whites who have lower pre-qualification and downpayment amounts as well as a less favorable credit history than the test group members. The preliminary results indicate that despite the more favorable profile of the black and Latino homebuyers, real estate agents steer them to neighborhoods of color.¹⁶⁹ Although these audits have uncovered evidence of racial steering, the results will be inefficacious if the Fair Housing Center lacks funding to conduct the necessary follow-up tests to substantiate them.

Since CHRO does not do any testing, and the Fair Housing Center has a limited testing program, these agencies must rely on the victims of housing discrimination to report violations in order to enforce the fair housing laws. This approach is problematic because it can only be

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*

¹⁶⁹ *Id.*

effective if people: 1) know the law; 2) can determine when they have experienced illegal discrimination; 3) and report these incidents. Recent studies indicate that all of these factors rarely align.

In 2002, HUD conducted a study that evaluated the public's awareness of fair housing laws. Respondents were given ten scenarios and asked to identify the ones that violated the fair housing laws. Eight of the scenarios described illegal conduct, and two depicted legal discrimination. The experiment revealed that the general public has a moderate level of knowledge about the fair housing laws. Approximately half of the respondents accurately identified at least six of the eight discriminatory scenarios.¹⁷⁰ The subjects were most likely to answer correctly when presented with scenarios that dealt with race and ethnicity discrimination. However, 46% of the respondents did not know that it is illegal for a real estate agent to steer white families to all-white neighborhoods.¹⁷¹ Thus, there are significant gaps in the general public's knowledge of the fair housing laws, even as it relates to discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity.

Furthermore, discrimination has become covert since the enactment of the fair housing laws. Most discrimination today manifests itself in subtle ways like quoting white and minority homeseekers different rental amounts or terms. Therefore, it is difficult for individuals to determine when they have been the victims of housing discrimination.¹⁷² Most of the time, testers participating in audits are not aware that they have experienced discrimination until the results of the tests are revealed.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research, *How Much Do We Know?: Public Awareness of the Nation's Fair Housing Laws* vi (2002).

¹⁷¹ *Id.* at 11.

¹⁷² See Massey & Denton, *supra*, 198.

¹⁷³ Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Fiscal Year 2006 Annual Report on the State of Fair Housing* 7 (2006), <http://www.hud.gov/offices/ftheo/fy2006rpt.pdf>.

Moreover, many victims of housing discrimination do not report these incidents to fair housing organizations. The 2002 HUD study revealed that 83% of the respondents who indicated that they had experienced housing discrimination did nothing about it.¹⁷⁴ Only 17% of people took action in response. Of these individuals, one-third confronted the person who engaged in the alleged discriminatory conduct; one-third reported the discrimination to a nonprofit fair housing group, government agency, or lawyer; and the remaining one-third did something else.¹⁷⁵ Respondents with a high level of knowledge about the fair housing laws were two-and-a-half times more likely to act than those with a low awareness level.¹⁷⁶ The main reasons that people gave for failing to act were the following: reporting the incident was not worth the time and effort (22%), taking action would not have helped the situation (16%), they did not know what to do (14%), and they went somewhere else to find housing (12%).¹⁷⁷ This study demonstrates that relying almost exclusively on complaint intake to enforce fair housing laws is not the best way to assess the nature and extent of housing discrimination and effectively combat it.

An analysis of the work of CHRO and the Fair Housing Center also illustrates the problems with solely relying on complaints to enforce the fair housing laws. From FY 1999-2000 to FY 2005-2006, CHRO received an average of 151 complaints each year, or about 13 each month. Although the number of annual complaints was fairly stable during this period, the variance between some years was substantial. For instance, there were 84 more complaints in

¹⁷⁴ *How Much Do We Know*, *supra*, at 25. These results represent the responses of a small sample of the subjects. Only 14% of the respondents indicated that they had experienced housing discrimination. The study's sample size was 1,001 adults nationwide. Therefore, these results are only based on the responses of 145 subjects. *Id.* at vi, 26, 27. However, the study's findings are instructive.

¹⁷⁵ *Fiscal Year 2006 Annual Report on the State of Fair Housing*, *supra*, at 7.

¹⁷⁶ The study defined a "low" level of awareness as two or fewer situations correctly identified, "medium" as three to five situations correctly identified, and "high" as six or more situations correctly identified. *How Much Do We Know*, *supra*, at 12.

¹⁷⁷ *Id.* at 28.

FY 2002-2003 than in FY 2001-2002. However, the next year (FY2003-2004), the total declined to 119, which was 103 fewer complaints than in the previous year. In each of the last four years, CHRO received more complaints alleging discrimination on the basis of physical disability and source of income than race-related¹⁷⁸ discrimination. From FY1999-2000 to FY2005-2006, CHRO received an average of 44 complaints for physical disability discrimination, 35 for source of income discrimination, 34 for race, 32 for color, 22 for familial status, 15 for ancestry, and 14 for national origin.¹⁷⁹

From 1999 to 2005, the Connecticut Fair Housing Center received an average of 271 complaints annually, 46 for race/ethnicity discrimination and 12 for national origin discrimination.¹⁸⁰ Similar to CHRO, race-related discrimination was not the most common type of discrimination alleged in complaints submitted to the Fair Housing Center. The majority of the Center's intake was source of income complaints, averaging 107 per year.¹⁸¹

Many of the complaints filed with CHRO and the Fair Housing Center alleged discrimination on multiple bases (e.g., race and color or national origin and physical disability).¹⁸² Therefore, it is difficult to determine how much race-related discrimination occurs in the market and whether this type of discrimination is reported more often than other types. Moreover, it is unclear how well these statistics reflect the extent and nature of discrimination in the real estate market since they are generated from complaints. The higher number of physical

¹⁷⁸ Race-related discrimination is discrimination based on race, color, national origin, or ancestry.

¹⁷⁹ University of Connecticut Department of Public Policy & Connecticut Fair Housing Center, *State of Connecticut Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice Update* 15, Table 2 (2006); Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, FY 2005-2006 Annual Report 3 (2006), <http://www.ct.gov/chro/lib/chro/pdf/fy2006.pdf>. See also *infra* Table IV.1.

¹⁸⁰ *State of Connecticut Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice Update*, *supra*, at 16, Table 3a. See also *infra* Table IV.2. Each year, about 8% to 9% of the group's complaints concern properties in the City of New Haven, and about one-fourth concern housing in the Greater New Haven area.

¹⁸¹ Many of these complaints are about properties in East Haven and Hamden. Interview with Erin Kemple, *supra*, at note 152.

¹⁸² Interview with Robert Zamlowski, *supra*, at note 138; Interview with Erin Kemple, *supra*, at note 152.

disability and source of income complaints could mean that these types of housing discrimination are more prevalent than race-related discrimination, or that victims can more easily detect these kinds of discrimination, or that victims are more likely to report discriminatory conduct when it is based on their disability or source of income.

Table IV.1: Fair Housing Complaints Filed with the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights, 1999-2005

Type of Discrimination	FY 1999-2000	FY 2000-2001	FY 2001-2002	FY 2002-2003	FY 2003-2004	FY 2004-2005	FY 2005-2006
Ancestry	15 (10.87%)	6 (3.97%)	21 (15.22%)	14 (6.31%)	16 (13.45%)	18 (11.54%)	14 (10.37%)
Color	49 (35.51%)	39 (25.83%)	34 (24.64%)	35 (15.77%)	16 (13.45%)	32 (20.51%)	19 (14.07%)
National Origin	7 (5.07%)	4 (2.65%)	8 (5.80%)	20 (9.01%)	18 (15.13%)	23 (14.74%)	16 (11.85%)
Race	36 (28.09%)	38 (25.17%)	35 (25.36%)	46 (20.72%)	24 (20.17%)	35 (22.44%)	22 (16.30%)
Physical Disability	31 (22.46%)	41 (27.15%)	33 (23.91%)	74 (33.33%)	29 (24.37%)	53 (33.97%)	47 (34.81%)
Familial Status	28 (20.29%)	24 (15.89%)	14 (10.14%)	45 (20.27%)	11 (9.24%)	20 (12.82%)	15 (11.11%)
Source of Income	24 (17.39%)	41 (27.15%)	27 (19.57%)	55 (24.77%)	33 (27.73%)	38 (24.36%)	25 (18.52%)
Total Complaints	138	151	138	222	119	156	135

Sources: University of Connecticut Department of Public Policy & Connecticut Fair Housing Center, *State of Connecticut Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice Update 15*, Table 2 (2006); CHRO Annual Report, FY 2005-2006.

Table IV.2: Fair Housing Complaints Filed with the Connecticut Fair Housing Center, 1999-2005

Type of Discrimination	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Race/Ethnicity	65 (29.95%)	93 (27.03%)	39 (19.50%)	33 (9.88%)	36 (10.68%)	27 (9.96%)	29 (15.03%)
National Origin	17 (7.83%)	17 (4.94%)	9 (4.50%)	6 (1.80%)	14 (4.15%)	4 (1.48%)	18 (9.33%)
Disability	33 (15.21%)	47 (13.66%)	54 (27.0%)	46 (13.77%)	74 (21.96%)	77 (28.41%)	54 (27.98%)
Familial Status	28 (12.90%)	63 (18.31%)	29 (14.50%)	28 (8.38%)	32 (9.50%)	36 (13.28%)	31 (16.06%)
Source of Income	51 (23.50%)	104 (30.23%)	69 (34.50%)	190 (56.89%)	174 (51.63%)	96 (35.42%)	66 (34.20%)
Total	217	344	200	334	337	271	193

Source: University of Connecticut Department of Public Policy & Connecticut Fair Housing Center, *State of Connecticut Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice Update 16*, Table 3a (2006).

A more detailed analysis of the complaints filed with CHRO and the Fair Housing Center highlights additional problems with relying on complaint intake as the primary fair housing enforcement mechanism. Table IV.3 displays the location, basis, issue, and outcome of all race-related fair housing cases filed regarding properties in Greater New Haven from January 2000 to March 2007. During this period, CHRO received 49 complaints alleging race-related discrimination in the region. The majority of these complaints concerned housing in New Haven (40.82%) and West Haven (32.65%), and alleged discrimination on the basis of race (67.35%) and color (71.43%). In addition, most of the complainants alleged that they had been denied rental housing or that the terms and conditions of their rental or ownership agreement were discriminatory.

Almost half (46.94%) of the complaints were deemed to have “no reasonable cause.” This finding suggests that the general public is not very adept at identifying incidents of

discrimination.¹⁸³ Furthermore, of the 42 complaints that had reached the final disposition phase as of April 2007, only 6 complainants (14.29%) received a monetary award. The average award was about \$1600.¹⁸⁴ Given these small returns, it may be reasonable for victims of discrimination to forgo filing complaints because the relief awarded is not worth the time and effort.

The Connecticut Fair Housing Center's intake also suggests that a sizeable amount of complaints lack a sufficient basis. On average, the Fair Housing Center substantiates discrimination for about 30% to 40% of the complaints it receives each year, and only about 10% to 15% of all complaints result in litigation. From March 2006 to February 2007, the Center received 220 complaints. Of that total, 36% were closed because no basis for discrimination could be found, the complainant obtained relief in 11% of the cases, and 20% of the cases are still pending. The remaining cases (33%) are still undergoing investigation, awaiting filing with an administrative agency, or in court. About 35% of the pending cases will likely be closed due to lack of evidence.¹⁸⁵

These figures indicate that almost half (48%) of the complaints received by the Fair Housing Center from March 2006 to February 2007 did not have sufficient evidence to substantiate a discrimination claim. This result is most likely due to the merits of the complaints that the Center receives rather than the quality of the group's investigatory work. During an interview with Executive Director Erin Kemple noted that the organization could file a lot more lawsuits if it was willing to litigate cases with dubious merits.¹⁸⁶ However, to maintain its

¹⁸³ This finding may also result from the difficulty fair housing agencies have with substantiating covert discrimination without testing.

¹⁸⁴ Author's analysis of race-related complaints filed with the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities (CHRO) from January 2000 to March 2007, forwarded by Robert Zamlowski, CHRO Fair Housing Unit Supervisor (on file with author)

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Erin Kemple, *supra*, at note 152.

¹⁸⁶ *Id.*

reputation as a credible agency, the Fair Housing Center only litigates cases with strong evidence of discrimination.¹⁸⁷

Moreover, in contrast to CHRO, the Fair Housing Center's advocacy efforts have resulted in significant relief for its clients. From March 2000 to February 2007, the group collected \$240,000 in actual and compensatory damages and attorney's fees for victims of housing discrimination. In addition, as part of the relief in these cases, the landlords agreed to cease their discriminatory conduct, advertise in social agencies where protected class members would be looking for housing, and attend fair housing training. As a result, between 500 and 600 units of housing were opened to protected class members.¹⁸⁸

Thus, despite limited funding, small staffs, and reliance on the general public to report incidents of discriminatory conduct, fair housing agencies have made strides in the effort to combat race discrimination. Nevertheless, active, well-funded testing programs are necessary to fully enforce the fair housing laws.

¹⁸⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸⁸ *Id.*

Table IV.3: Profile of Fair Housing Complaints Filed in Greater New Haven, 2000-2007

Location	East Haven	Hamden	Milford	New Haven	Orange	Wallingford	West Haven	
	1 (2.04%)	7 (14.29%)	2 (4.08%)	20 (40.82%)	1 (2.04%)	2 (4.08%)	16 (32.65%)	
Basis	Ancestry	Color	National Origin	Race				
	11 (22.45%)	35 (71.43%)	8 (16.33%)	33 (67.35%)				
Issue	Denial of Rental	Denial of Sale	Terms and Conditions	Retaliation	Eviction	Reasonable Accommodation	Other	
	20 (40.82%)	4 (8.16%)	20 (40.82%)	1 (2.04%)	2 (4.08%)	1 (2.04%)	1 (2.04%)	
Outcome	Pending	No Reasonable Cause	Predetermination Conciliation	Withdrawn with Settlement	Satisfactory Adjustment	Public Hearing/ Court Closure	Administrative Dismissal	Withdrawal
	7 (14.29%)	23 (46.94%)	5 (10.20%)	2 (4.08%)	2 (4.08%)	6 (12.24%)	2 (4.08%)	2 (4.08%)

Source: Author's analysis of complaints filed with the Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities

B. The Fair Housing Laws Are Underinclusive

The second reason that the enactment of fair housing laws has not resulted in a substantial increase in racially integrated neighborhoods in Greater New Haven is that these laws only address one link in the causal chain of racial residential segregation: discrimination by real estate agents and landlords. However, several other factors, such as the availability of affordable housing, the diversity of the housing stock (i.e., number of multifamily and single-family units in an area), and neighborhood preferences, contribute to the development of racially segregated communities. Thus, even if the laws were fully enforced and no one was barred entry or steered to a neighborhood on the basis of race, segregated neighborhoods would continue to exist to some extent.

Some fair housing advocates have noted that open housing laws are necessary, but not sufficient, to address racial residential segregation.¹⁸⁹ However, many have overlooked or undervalued the role of neighborhood preferences in the maintenance of segregated neighborhoods.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, a number of sociological studies have revealed that whites and minorities have different conceptions of the racial composition of their ideal neighborhood, which impacts the extent of racial mixing in communities.

One of the most recent neighborhood preference studies, which was conducted by sociologist Camille Zubrinsky Charles, examined the neighborhood racial composition preferences of white, black, Latino, and Asian adults in Los Angeles County.¹⁹¹ Subjects were given a card that pictured 15 houses in 3 rows of 5 with the house in the middle marked “your

¹⁸⁹ See, e.g., Nancy A. Denton, *Half Empty or Half Full: Segregation and Segregated Neighborhoods 30 Years After the Fair Housing Act*, *Cityscape*, 1999, at 111 (notes that racial residential segregation is the result of a long history of strained race relations and is caused by factors other than discrimination by individuals).

¹⁹⁰ See, e.g., Massey & Denton, *supra*, at 88-96.

¹⁹¹ Camille Zubrinsky Charles, *Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences: Evidence from a Multiethnic Metropolis*, 47 *Social Problems* 385 (2000). The sample size for the study was 3,909 adults: 818 white, 1,082 black, 982 Latino, and 1,027 Asian. *Id.* at 387, Table 2.

house.” They were instructed to use the card to denote the racial composition of their ideal neighborhood.¹⁹²

Charles found that all groups preferred integrated neighborhoods in which their group was in the majority. However, white respondents displayed the strongest affinity for neighborhoods with a high percentage of in-group members. On average, whites preferred a neighborhood that was 50% white, while the mean percentage of same-race neighbors for Asians and Latinos was 41% and the average black respondent preferred a neighborhood that was 37% black.¹⁹³ Furthermore, whites were most likely to indicate that an exclusively same-race neighborhood was their ideal choice (11.16%), and blacks were the least likely to prefer an entirely same-race community (2.76%). Latinos and Asians preferred exclusively same-race communities at about the same rate, 6.6% and 7.06%, respectively.¹⁹⁴

The results also uncovered the existence of a preference hierarchy. Blacks were the least preferred neighbors, and all groups most desired to live with whites. Asians and Latinos were in the middle, and every group except blacks preferred Asian over Latino neighbors. Thus, for the most part, the study revealed the following racial hierarchy (from most to least favored): whites, Asians, Latinos, and blacks.¹⁹⁵

This preference hierarchy was most clearly demonstrated by the out-groups that each group of respondents excluded from its ideal neighborhood. One-fifth of whites completely excluded blacks from their ideal neighborhood, compared to about one-third of Latinos and 40%

¹⁹² Each subject was given the following instructions: “Now, I want you to imagine an ideal neighborhood that had the ethnic and racial mix you, personally, would feel comfortable in. Here is a blank neighborhood card like those we have been using. Using the letters A for Asian, B for Black, H for Hispanic, and W for White, please put a letter in each of these houses to represent your ideal neighborhood, where you would most like to live. Please be sure to fill in all the houses.” *Id.* at 386.

¹⁹³ *Id.*

¹⁹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁹⁵ *Id.* at 386, 388-89.

of Asians.¹⁹⁶ Asian respondents were most likely to exclude Latinos (26.42%), followed by whites (17.05%) and blacks (8.55%), respectively. Roughly 12% of Latinos did not include whites in their ideal neighborhood, compared to 10.10% of blacks and 7.24% of Asians. In addition, Latinos were most likely to exclude Asians (22.43%), and whites and blacks omitted Asians at about the same rate, 15.88% and 15.57%, respectively.¹⁹⁷

The ideal neighborhood for the average respondent in each group also reflects the hierarchy. The mean white subject constructed a neighborhood that was 49% white, 16% black, 17% Latino, and 18% Asian. On average, blacks preferred a community with 24% whites, 37% blacks, 21% Latino, and 18% Asian. Latinos desire a neighborhood that is 28% white, 14% black, 41% Latino, and 17% Asian. The average Asian respondent selected a community that was 33% white, 11% black, 16% Latino, and 41% Asian.

Although whites are the preferred out-group neighbor for all racial minorities, very small percentages of these groups constructed an all-white neighborhood as their ideal racial composition. No black respondents constructed an exclusively white neighborhood, compared to 0.52% of Asians and 1.44% of Latinos.¹⁹⁸ This finding is consistent with other studies that have concluded that minorities, especially blacks, are reluctant to be pioneers in all-white communities.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ *Id.* at 387, Table 2. The Latino and Asian subjects were overwhelmingly foreign-born, 73.5% for Latinos and 88.2% for Asians. Native-born Latinos and Asians prefer more black neighbors than their foreign-born counterparts, and they are about as likely to exclude blacks from their ideal neighborhood as whites. Charles believes that this finding results from the tension that has emerged between long-time black residents and new Latino and Asian immigrants in Los Angeles, particularly South Central. *Id.* at 386-87.

¹⁹⁷ *Id.* at 387, Table 2.

¹⁹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹⁹ See Ellen, *supra*, at 58; SHERYLL CASHIN, THE FAILURES OF INTEGRATION: HOW RACE AND CLASS ARE UNDERMINING THE AMERICAN DREAM 9 (2004).

A 1996 study conducted by Camille Zubrinsky Charles and Lawrence Bobo found that the willingness to live in all-white neighborhoods varies across minority groups.²⁰⁰ Asians were the most willing to live in an exclusively white community, followed by Latinos²⁰¹ and blacks, respectively.²⁰² Only 28% of Asians said they would not be willing to move into an all-white neighborhood, compared to 42% of Latinos and 64% of blacks.²⁰³ Thus, the willingness of minorities to move into all-white neighborhoods mirrored the preference hierarchy of whites: Asians most preferred, then Latinos, and finally blacks.

Although findings from these studies reflect the neighborhood preferences of adults in Los Angeles, they help shed light on the patterns of racial residential integration in Greater New Haven. As outlined in Part II.B, the nature of neighborhood integration in the region changed from 1970 to 2000. In 1970, most of the integrated neighborhoods were white-black communities. However, by 2000, white-Latino neighborhoods became more numerous than white-black ones, and white-other communities emerged. Since the definition of an integrated neighborhood used in the analysis in Part II.B is predicated on the presence of a substantial number of white residents in a community, these results may reflect white preferences for Asian and Latino neighbors over black ones.

²⁰⁰ Camille L. Zubrinsky & Lawrence Bobo, *Prismatic Metropolis: Race and Residential Segregation in the City of the Angels*, 25 *Social Science Research* 355 (1996). Minority respondents were asked to imagine that they had been looking for a house and had found a nice, affordable one. They were told that the house could be located in several different types of neighborhoods, and shown a series of five cards. These cards ranged from an all in-group neighborhood (e.g., for blacks, it was an all-black neighborhood) to an entirely out-group neighborhood (e.g., for blacks, it was an all-white, Latino, or Asian neighborhood), with the exception of the subject's home in the center. Respondents were asked to indicate which neighborhoods they would be unwilling to move into. A split-ballot format was used: one-third of the respondents from each minority group considered neighborhoods with varying levels of integration with each of the other out-groups (e.g., one-third of blacks considered varying levels of integration with whites, one-third with Latinos, and one-third with Asians). *Id.* at 358.

²⁰¹ Native born Latinos were more willing to live in an all-white neighborhood than foreign born Latinos. Charles and Bobo argue that this result reflects the desire for co-ethnic neighborhoods among first- and second-generation Latinos due to language barriers and the need for institutional support, while the later generations find all-white neighborhoods more attractive they believe that these communities offer a better quality of life and higher social status. *Id.* at 362.

²⁰² *Id.* at 363.

²⁰³ *Id.* at 359, 361, 364.

The trajectory of predominantly white neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000 provides insight into the neighborhood preferences of whites. Table IV.4 illustrates the neighborhood change over this period. Not surprisingly, most predominantly white neighborhoods remained predominantly white throughout the thirty-year period. From 1970 to 1980, predominantly white neighborhoods were second-most likely to become white-black communities. However, this changed from 1980 to 1990 and 1990 to 2000, when white-Latino neighborhoods took second-place. This pattern is also revealed when the analyses is conducted using twenty and thirty-year intervals. Thus, this data reveals that over time, whites have come to prefer Latino neighbors over black ones.

Table IV.4: Trajectory of Predominantly White Neighborhoods, 1970-2000

Year	Neighborhood Type								
	PW	PB	WB	WL	WO	BL	BLO	WBL	WBO
1970-1980	90 (93.75%)	0	4 (4.17%)	1 (1.04%)	0	1 (1.04%)	0	0	0
1980-1990	86 (94.51%)	0	1 (1.1%)	3 (3.3%)	0	0	0	0	1 (1.1%)
1990-2000	68 (79.07%)	0	5 (5.81%)	8 (9.3%)	3 (3.49%)	0	0	1 (1.16%)	1 (1.16%)
1980-2000	68 (74.73%)	0	6 (6.59%)	10 (10.99%)	4 (4.4%)	1 (1.1%)	0	1 (1.1%)	1 (1.1%)
1970-2000	68 (70.83%)	1 (1.04%)	8 (8.33%)	10 (10.42%)	4 (4.17%)	2 (2.08%)	1 (1.04%)	1 (1.04%)	1 (1.04%)

The data on the stability of integrated neighborhoods also suggests that whites prefer to live with Latinos and other race individuals rather than blacks. White-black and white-black-Latino neighborhoods are the most unstable over time, while white-Latino neighborhoods remain stable. Therefore, Schelling's hypothesis may still be relevant to current patterns of neighborhood change in Greater New Haven. The data suggests that when a critical mass of blacks enters a formerly all-white neighborhood, that community becomes white-black or white-

black-Latino, but over the next two or three decades, it becomes predominantly black, predominantly Latino, black-Latino, or another type of non-integrated neighborhood.

Ingrid Gould Ellen argues that white neighborhood preferences are not only manifested by white flight, but by white avoidance as well. Thus, whites avoid moving into neighborhoods with an increasing minority population. Ellen claims that this phenomenon accounts for more of the persistence of racially segregated communities than white flight.²⁰⁴ Therefore, if Ellen's theory holds, the maintenance of predominantly white neighborhoods in Greater New Haven can be at least partially explained by whites avoiding minority communities. Unfortunately, data on the rate of entry of whites into transitioning neighborhoods is not available to thoroughly test this hypothesis.

Furthermore, the unwillingness of racial minorities, especially blacks, to be pioneers in all-white neighborhoods may partially explain the limited progress with racial integration in Greater New Haven. The region is overwhelmingly white. In 1970, over three-fourths of the neighborhoods were predominantly white. Although nearly 30 of these neighborhoods became integrated by 2000, most of the decline in the number of predominantly white communities occurred between 1990 and 2000. During this period, 8 predominantly white neighborhoods became white-Latino communities and 3 became white-other. Thus, the combination of the increased presence of Latinos and other race individuals (primarily Asians) in the area, the preference of whites for Asian and Latino neighbors, and the willingness of these Asians and Latinos to be pioneers, most likely account for the significant decrease in predominantly white neighborhoods from 1990 to 2000.

The decreased level of integration between blacks and whites from 1970 to 2000 may be the result of blacks' unwillingness to be pioneers in all-white communities. Law professor

²⁰⁴ Ellen, *supra*, at 57-8.

Sheryll Cashin refers to this phenomenon as “integration exhaustion.” She notes that blacks are reluctant to move into neighborhoods that do not have a critical mass of blacks because “they prefer places that are recognized as welcoming to blacks and seem less willing than in the past to be integration pioneers and move into neighborhoods that might be hostile to their presence.”²⁰⁵ Cashin argues that many blacks have adopted a “post-integrationist” mindset, and value living with other blacks. This phenomenon is particularly acute among middle-class blacks. The development of suburban black communities such as Prince George’s County in Maryland illustrates this trend. The Beaver Hill community in the City of New Haven is another example of a middle-class black community that most likely exists because blacks prefer living there than in exclusively white communities in the suburbs.

Hence, the neighborhood preferences of both whites and minorities is one of the driving forces of the continued racial segregation in Greater New Haven. Fair housing laws do not regulate these preferences. Therefore, even if the laws were fully enforced, segregation would continue to some degree. Consequently, integration advocates must begin to devise other means, in addition to enforcing the fair housing laws, to promote racial mixing at the neighborhood level.

C. Interaction Between Discrimination and Preferences

Over the last decade, a debate about the causes of continued racial residential segregation has emerged in the literature on racial change. Scholars such as Douglas Massey, Nancy Denton, and John Yinger claim that racial discrimination is the primary cause of segregation, while Orlando Patterson and Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom contend that the ethnocentric preferences

²⁰⁵ Cashin, *supra*, at 9.

of all racial groups is the driving force behind the persistence of segregated neighborhoods.²⁰⁶ As outlined above, continued racial discrimination and divergent neighborhood preferences both contribute to the limited progress that Greater New Haven has made with respect to racial integration. Thus, this debate creates a false dichotomy.

Moreover, the interactive effects of discrimination and preferences also drive racial segregation. Neighborhood preferences contribute to racial discrimination, and vice versa. Most landlords and homeowners have a conception of what type of person they want to rent their apartments or buy their houses. Sometimes, the race of the potential renter or buyer is part of this vision. In turn, some homeowners and landlords discriminate against people on the basis of race to satisfy their personal preferences. Furthermore, landlords and real estate agents are primarily motivated by profit. Therefore, as illustrated in the study on New Haven real estate agents presented in Part III.B, they sometimes accommodate the interests of third parties who prefer not to have neighbors of a certain race, even when this decision results in short-term financial loss. Consequently, real estate agents steer minorities to communities of color (and whites into all-white areas), and landlords try to dissuade minority renters from leasing their property by quoting them less favorable terms than whites or telling them that the apartment has already been rented. It is likely that real estate agents and landlords will be especially accommodating to the preferences of current residents when they are repeat players in same area.

In addition, the perception that a community discriminates against people on the basis of race shapes the neighborhood preferences of minority homeseekers. For example, it is unlikely that a black family searching for a home in the City of New Haven would consider available

²⁰⁶ See generally Massey & Denton, *supra*, at 97-109; JOHN YINGER, CLOSED DOORS, OPPORTUNITIES LOST (1995); ORLANDO PATTERSON, THE ORDEAL OF INTEGRATION: PROGRESS AND RESENTMENT IN AMERICA'S "RACIAL" CRISIS (1997); STEPHAN THERNSTROM & ABIGAIL THERNSTROM, AMERICA IN BLACK AND WHITE: ONE NATION, INDIVISIBLE (1997).

properties in Morris Cove, even if they were cheaper than homes in other areas. This neighborhood is known for being unfriendly, and even violent, to racial minorities.²⁰⁷ Thus, the discrimination of the current residents prevents certain homeseekers from demanding housing in the neighborhood.

All of these dynamics, and many more, contribute to racial residential segregation. The mechanisms that influence the racial composition of a neighborhood are difficult to identify and extremely complex. There is no single cause of racial segregation. This phenomenon is the product of centuries of individual and structural racism, violence, and hostility. No study or analysis can definitively pinpoint all of the variables at play and their influence on segregated living patterns. However, research must continue, and the false dichotomy that has emerged in the literature on racial residential segregation must be deconstructed.

V. CONCLUSION

Like many areas of the country, Greater New Haven has made limited progress towards racial residential integration despite the existence of fair housing laws, which aim to promote integrated communities. Racial segregation continues because the law is underenforced, and the law fails to address the myriad of other factors that contribute to racially isolated living patterns, most notably neighborhood preferences. Racial segregation is a complex phenomenon. Therefore, efforts to promote integration must be varied and multidimensional. No one has the answers, but more research like the analysis conducted here will help us get closer to finding them.

²⁰⁷ Interview with Shelley White, Staff Attorney, New Haven Legal Assistance, New Haven, Conn. (April 23, 2007) (on file with author).

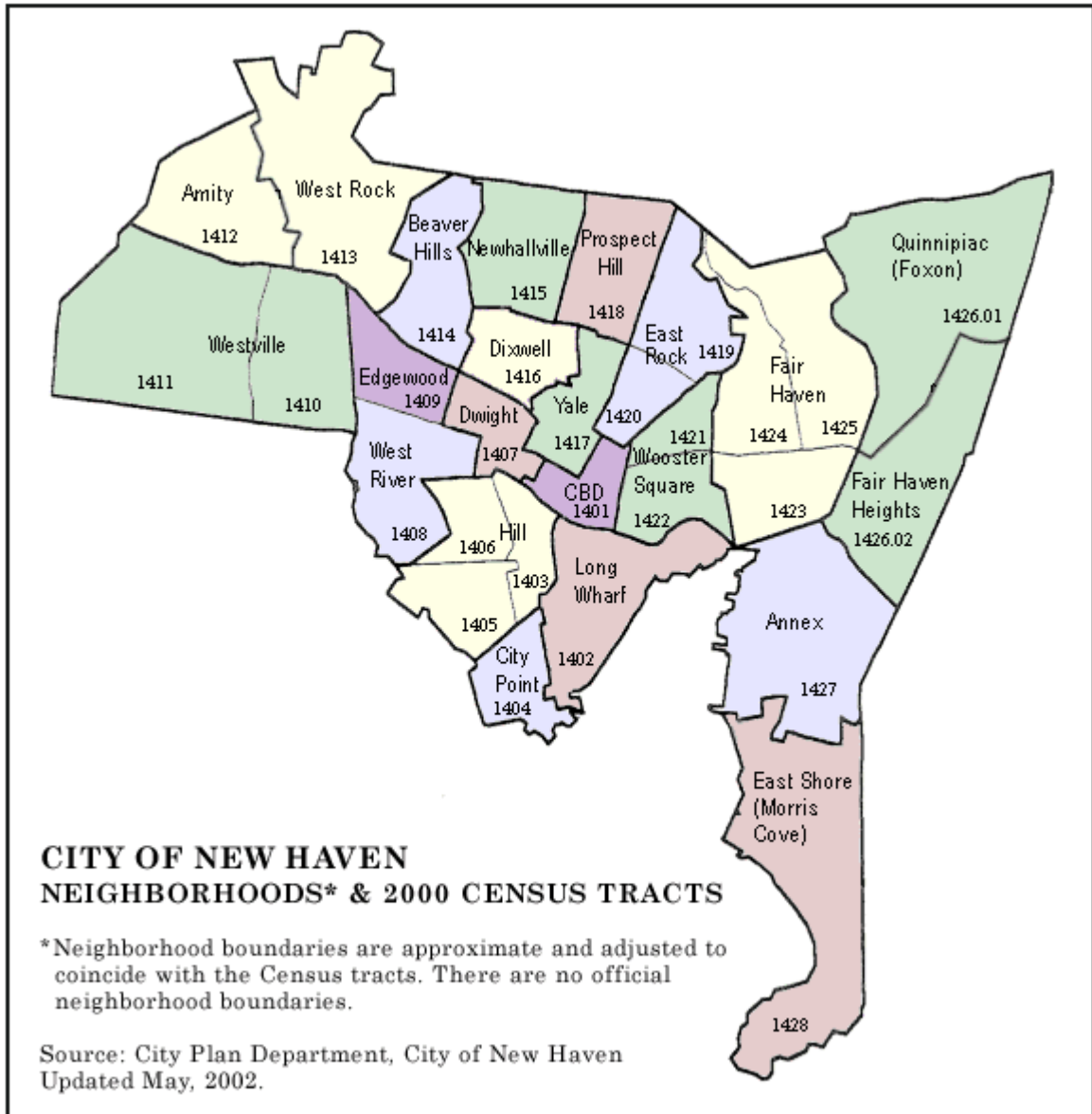
APPENDIX

Map 1: Greater New Haven

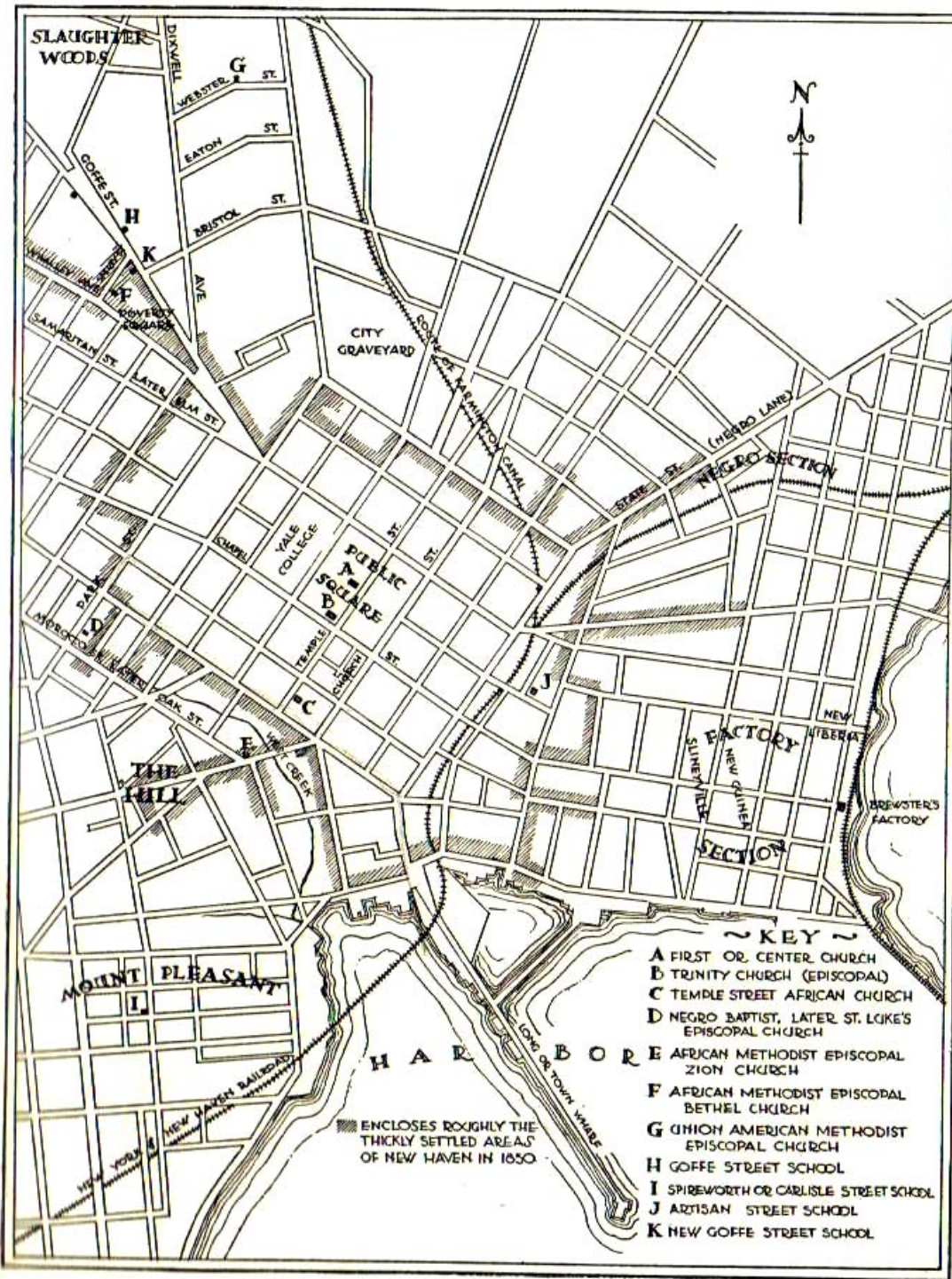


Source: Connecticut Department of Economic and Community Development <http://www.ct.gov/ecd>

Map 2: City of New Haven by 2000 Census Tracts

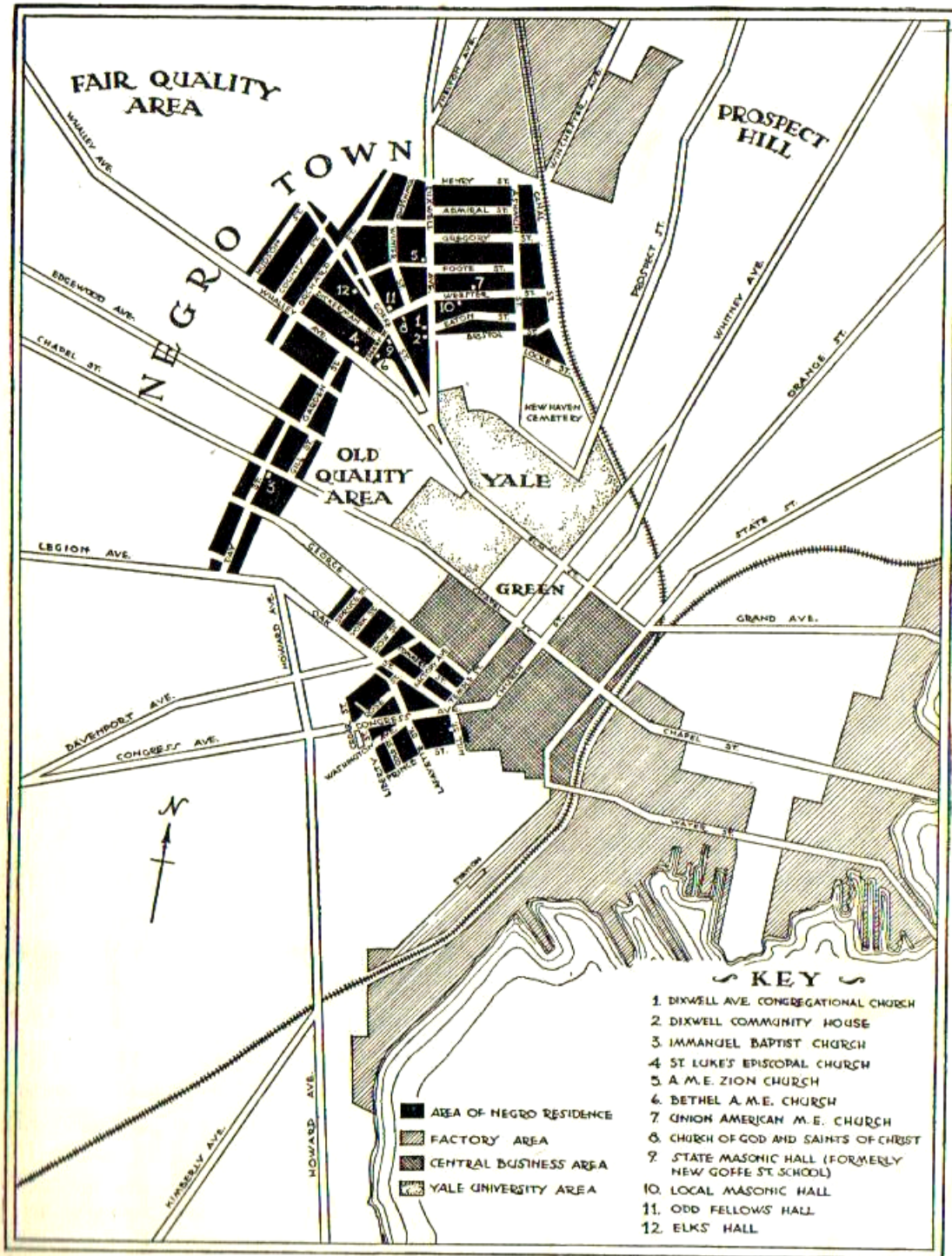


Map 3: Black Settlement in the City of New Haven, 1810-1850



Source: Robert Austin Warner, *New Haven Negroes*

Map 4: Black Settlement in the City of New Haven, 1930



Source: Robert Austin Warner, *New Haven Negroes*

Table 1: Population Change in Greater New Haven, 1970-2000

Town Name	1970	1980	1990	2000	% Change 1970- 1980	% Change 1980- 1990	% Change 1990- 2000	% Change 1970- 2000
Bethany	3,857	4,330	4,608	5,040	12.26%	6.42%	9.38%	30.67%
Branford	20,444	23,363	27,603	28,683	14.28%	18.15%	3.91%	40.30%
East Haven	25,163	25,028	26,144	28,189	-0.54%	4.46%	7.82%	12.03%
Guilford	12,033	17,375	19,848	21,398	44.39%	14.23%	7.81%	77.83%
Hamden	49,563	51,182	52,494	56,913	3.27%	2.56%	8.42%	14.83%
Madison	9,768	14,031	15,485	17,858	43.64%	10.36%	15.32%	82.82%
Meriden	55,959	57,118	59,479	58,244	2.07%	4.13%	-2.08%	4.08%
Milford	50,858	50,898	49,938	52,305	0.08%	-1.89%	4.74%	2.85%
New Haven	137,586	126,098	130,466	123,626	-8.35%	3.46%	-5.24%	-10.15%
North Branford	10,778	11,554	12,996	13,906	7.20%	12.48%	7.00%	29.02%
North Haven	21,945	21,969	22,197	23,035	0.11%	1.04%	3.78%	4.97%
Orange	13,524	13,237	12,830	13,233	-2.12%	-3.07%	3.14%	-2.15%
Wallingford	35,714	37,274	40,820	43,026	4.37%	9.51%	5.40%	20.47%
West Haven	52,851	53,184	54,021	52,360	0.63%	1.57%	-3.07%	-0.93%
Woodbridge	7,740	7,761	7,924	8,983	0.27%	2.10%	13.36%	16.06%
TOTAL	507,783	514,402	536,853	546,799	1.30%	4.36%	1.85%	7.68%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 2: Greater New Haven Racial Composition by City/Town, 1970

Town Name	Total population	Total Non-Hisp. White ²⁰⁸	Total Black	Total Latino	Total Non-Hisp. Other	% Non-Hisp. White	% Black	% Latino	% Non-Hisp. Other
Bethany	3,857	3,755	102	0	0	97.36%	2.64%	0.00%	0.00%
Branford	20,444	20,071	195	108	70	98.18%	0.95%	0.53%	0.34%
East Haven	25,163	24,981	87	70	25	99.28%	0.35%	0.28%	0.10%
Guilford	12,033	11,647	196	170	19	96.79%	1.63%	1.41%	0.16%
Hamden	49,563	47,431	1,707	334	91	95.70%	3.44%	0.67%	0.18%
Madison	9,768	9,612	13	143	0	98.40%	0.13%	1.46%	0.00%
Meriden	55,959	50,970	1,443	3,546	0	91.08%	2.58%	6.34%	0.00%
Milford	50,858	49,799	509	550	0	97.92%	1.00%	1.08%	0.00%
New Haven	137,586	96,368	36,157	4,909	152	70.04%	26.28%	3.57%	0.11%
North Branford	10,778	10,624	31	123	0	98.57%	0.29%	1.14%	0.00%
North Haven	21,945	21,326	369	250	0	97.18%	1.68%	1.14%	0.00%
Orange	13,524	13,343	19	103	59	98.66%	0.14%	0.76%	0.44%
Wallingford	35,714	34,349	136	1,229	0	96.18%	0.38%	3.44%	0.00%
West Haven	52,851	49,589	2,732	510	20	93.83%	5.17%	0.96%	0.04%
Woodbridge	7,740	7,595	71	0	74	98.13%	0.92%	0.00%	0.96%
TOTAL	507,783	451,460	43,767	12,045	510	88.91%	8.62%	2.37%	0.10%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

²⁰⁸ The 1970 Census coded Latinos as white. However, the data included the total non-Hispanic population, which made it possible to calculate the non-Hispanic white population. The formula used assumes that all blacks were non-Hispanic. The total black population was subtracted from the total non-Hispanic population. Then, the total white population was subtracted from this result to yield the total non-Hispanic other population. If the number was positive, this was noted as the total non-Hispanic other population. If the figure was negative, the total non-Hispanic other population was calculated as zero. The non-Hispanic white population was calculated by subtracting the black population and non-Hispanic other population from the total non-Hispanic population.

Table 3: Greater New Haven Racial Composition by City/Town, 1980

Town Name	Total Population	Total Non-Hisp. White	Total Non-Hisp. Black	Total Latino	Total Non-Hisp. Other	% Non-Hisp. White	% Non-Hisp. Black	% Latino	% Non-Hisp. Other
Bethany	4,330	4,169	85	37	39	96.28%	1.96%	0.85%	0.90%
Branford	23,363	22,786	232	158	187	97.53%	0.99%	0.68%	0.80%
East Haven	25,028	24,549	107	328	44	98.09%	0.43%	1.31%	0.18%
Guilford	17,375	16,748	163	278	184	96.39%	0.94%	1.60%	1.06%
Hamden	51,182	46,805	3,359	340	677	91.45%	6.56%	0.66%	1.32%
Madison	14,031	13,844	8	149	30	98.67%	0.06%	1.06%	0.21%
Meriden	57,118	50,250	1,802	4,817	249	87.98%	3.15%	8.43%	0.44%
Milford	50,898	49,129	746	581	442	96.52%	1.47%	1.14%	0.87%
New Haven	126,098	74,546	39,590	10,138	1,824	59.12%	31.40%	8.04%	1.45%
North Branford	11,554	11,410	67	19	58	98.75%	0.58%	0.16%	0.50%
North Haven	21,969	21,273	333	99	264	96.83%	1.52%	0.45%	1.20%
Orange	13,237	12,947	24	38	228	97.81%	0.18%	0.29%	1.72%
Wallingford	37,274	36,032	341	797	104	96.67%	0.91%	2.14%	0.28%
West Haven	53,184	47,553	4,612	647	372	89.41%	8.67%	1.22%	0.70%
Woodbridge	7,761	7,448	37	97	179	95.97%	0.48%	1.25%	2.31%
TOTAL	514,402	439,489	51,506	18,523	4,881	85.44%	10.01%	3.60%	0.95%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 4: Greater New Haven Racial Composition by City/Town, 1990

Town Name	Total population	Total Non-Hisp. White	Total Non-Hisp. Black	Total Latino	Total Non-Hisp. Other	% Non-Hisp. White	% Non-Hisp. Black	% Latino	% Non-Hisp. Other
Bethany	4,608	4,400	52	55	101	95.49%	1.13%	1.19%	2.19%
Branford	27,603	26,369	442	354	438	95.53%	1.60%	1.28%	1.59%
East Haven	26,144	25,200	297	465	182	96.39%	1.14%	1.78%	0.70%
Guilford	19,848	19,359	90	200	199	97.54%	0.45%	1.01%	1.00%
Hamden	52,494	46,003	4,522	948	1,022	87.63%	8.61%	1.81%	1.95%
Madison	15,485	15,267	95	36	87	98.59%	0.61%	0.23%	0.56%
Meriden	59,479	49,228	2,145	7,695	411	82.77%	3.61%	12.94%	0.69%
Milford	49,938	47,806	702	983	447	95.73%	1.41%	1.97%	0.90%
New Haven	130,466	63,929	46,213	16,348	3,977	49.00%	35.42%	12.53%	3.05%
North Branford	12,996	12,736	142	67	51	98.00%	1.09%	0.52%	0.39%
North Haven	22,197	21,090	495	294	316	95.01%	2.23%	1.32%	1.42%
Orange	12,830	12,393	85	106	246	96.59%	0.66%	0.83%	1.92%
Wallingford	40,820	38,992	311	1,192	325	95.52%	0.76%	2.92%	0.80%
West Haven	54,021	44,421	6,398	1,726	1,476	82.23%	11.84%	3.20%	2.73%
Woodbridge	7,924	7,384	121	111	308	93.19%	1.53%	1.40%	3.89%
TOTAL	536,853	434,577	62,110	30,580	9,586	80.95%	11.57%	5.70%	1.79%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 5: Greater New Haven Racial Composition by City/Town, 2000

Town Name	Total population	Total Non-Hisp. White	Total Non-Hisp. Black	Total Latino	Total Non-Hisp. Other	% Non-Hisp. White	% Non-Hisp. Black	% Latino	% Non-Hisp. Other
Bethany	5,040	4,713	92	102	133	93.51%	1.83%	2.02%	2.64%
Branford	28,683	26,424	374	737	1,148	92.12%	1.30%	2.57%	4.00%
East Haven	28,189	25,754	377	1,228	830	91.36%	1.34%	4.36%	2.94%
Guilford	21,398	20,209	192	455	542	94.44%	0.90%	2.13%	2.53%
Hamden	56,913	42,812	8,642	2,425	3,034	75.22%	15.18%	4.26%	5.33%
Madison	17,858	17,070	70	240	478	95.59%	0.39%	1.34%	2.68%
Meriden	58,244	40,709	3,321	12,296	1,918	69.89%	5.70%	21.11%	3.29%
Milford	52,305	47,740	951	1,750	1,864	91.27%	1.82%	3.35%	3.56%
New Haven	123,626	43,979	44,598	26,443	8,606	35.57%	36.07%	21.39%	6.96%
North Branford	13,906	13,258	163	250	235	95.34%	1.17%	1.80%	1.69%
North Haven	23,035	21,127	502	433	973	91.72%	2.18%	1.88%	4.22%
Orange	13,233	12,312	100	190	631	93.04%	0.76%	1.44%	4.77%
Wallingford	43,026	39,458	417	1,946	1,205	91.71%	0.97%	4.52%	2.80%
West Haven	52,360	36,521	8,257	4,757	2,825	69.75%	15.77%	9.09%	5.40%
Woodbridge	8,983	8,110	135	138	600	90.28%	1.50%	1.54%	6.68%
TOTAL	546,799	400,196	68,191	53,390	25,022	73.19%	12.47%	9.76%	4.58%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 6: Greater New Haven Racial Change by City/Town²⁰⁹

Town Name	% White 1970- 1980	% Black 1970- 1980	% Latino 1970- 1980	% Other 1970- 1980	% White 1980- 1990	% Black 1980- 1990	% Latino 1980- 1990	% Other 1980- 2000	% White 1990- 2000	% Black 1990- 2000	% Latino 1990- 2000	% Other 1990- 2000
Bethany	11.03%	-16.67%	37%*	39%*	5.54%	-38.82%	48.65%	158.97%	7.11%	76.92%	85.45%	31.68%
Branford	13.53%	18.97%	46.30%	167.14%	15.72%	90.52%	124.05%	134.22%	0.21%	-15.38%	108.19%	162.10%
East Haven	-1.73%	22.99%	368.57%	76.00%	2.65%	177.57%	41.77%	313.64%	2.20%	26.94%	164.09%	356.04%
Guilford	43.80%	-16.84%	63.53%	868.42%	15.59%	-44.79%	-28.06%	8.15%	4.39%	113.33%	127.50%	172.36%
Hamden	-1.32%	96.78%	1.80%	643.96%	-1.71%	34.62%	178.82%	50.96%	-6.94%	91.11%	155.80%	196.87%
Madison	44.03%	-38.46%	4.20%	30%*	10.28%	1087.5%	-75.84%	190.00%	11.81%	-26.32%	566.67%	449.43%
Meriden	-1.41%	24.88%	35.84%	249%*	-2.03%	19.03%	59.75%	65.06%	-17.31%	54.83%	59.79%	366.67%
Milford	-1.35%	46.56%	5.64%	442%*	-2.69%	-5.90%	69.19%	1.13%	-0.14%	35.47%	78.03%	317.00%
New Haven	-22.64%	9.49%	106.52	1,100.0%	-14.24%	16.73%	61.25%	118.04%	-31.21%	-3.49%	61.75%	116.39%
North Branford	7.40%	116.13%	-84.55%	58%*	11.62%	111.94%	252.63%	-12.07%	4.10%	14.79%	273.13%	360.78%
North Haven	-0.25%	-9.76%	-60.40%	264%*	-0.86%	48.65%	196.97%	19.70%	0.18%	1.41%	47.28%	207.91%
Orange	-2.97%	26.32%	-63.11%	286.44%	-4.28%	254.17%	178.95%	7.89%	-0.65%	17.65%	79.25%	156.50%
Wallingford	4.90%	150.74%	-35.15%	104%*	8.21%	-8.80%	49.56%	212.50%	1.20%	34.08%	63.26%	270.77%
West Haven	-4.11%	68.81%	26.86%	1760.00%	-6.59%	38.73%	166.77%	296.77%	-17.78%	29.06%	175.61%	91.40%
Woodbridge	-1.94%	-47.89%	97%*	141.89%	-0.86%	227.03%	14.43%	72.07%	9.83%	11.57%	24.32%	94.81%
TOTAL	-2.65%	17.68%	53.78%	857.06%	-1.12%	20.59%	65.09%	96.39%	-7.91%	9.79%	74.59%	161.03%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

²⁰⁹ When the percent change could not be calculated because the initial population was zero, the difference between the initial and final population was used to approximate the increase. These approximated figures are denoted with an asterisk.

Table 7: Racial Change in Greater New Haven from 1970-2000²¹⁰

Town Name	1970 Total White	1970 Total Black	1970 Total Latino	1970 Total Other	2000 Total White	2000 Total Black	2000 Total Latino	2000 Total Other	White % Change	Black % Change	Latino % Change	Other % Change
Bethany	3,755	102	0	0	4,713	92	102	133	25.51%	-9.80%	102%*	133%*
Branford	20,071	195	108	70	26,424	374	737	1,148	31.65%	91.79%	582.41%	1,540.00%
East Haven	24,981	87	70	25	25,754	377	1,228	830	3.09%	333.33%	1,654.29%	3,220.00%
Guilford	11,647	196	170	19	20,209	192	455	542	73.51%	-2.04%	167.65%	2,752.63%
Hamden	47,431	1,707	334	91	42,812	8,642	2,425	3,034	-9.74%	406.27%	626.05%	3,234.07%
Madison	9,612	13	143	0	17,070	70	240	478	77.59%	438.46%	67.83%	478%*
Meriden	50,970	1,443	3,546	0	40,709	3,321	12,296	1,918	-20.13%	130.15%	246.76%	1,918%*
Milford	49,799	509	550	0	47,740	951	1,750	1,864	-4.13%	86.84%	218.18%	1,864%*
New Haven	96,368	36,157	4,909	152	43,979	44,598	26,443	8,606	-54.36%	23.35%	438.66%	5,561.84%
North Branford	10,624	31	123	0	13,258	163	250	235	24.79%	425.81%	103.25%	235%*
North Haven	21,326	369	250	0	21,127	502	433	973	-0.93%	36.04%	73.20%	973%*
Orange	13,343	19	103	59	12,312	100	190	631	-7.73%	426.32%	84.47%	969.49%
Wallingford	34,349	136	1,229	0	39,458	417	1,946	1,205	14.87%	206.62%	58.34%	1,205%*
West Haven	49,589	2,732	510	20	36,521	8,257	4,757	2,825	-26.35%	202.23%	832.75%	14,025.00%
Woodbridge	7,595	71	0	74	8,110	135	138	600	6.78%	90.14%	135%*	710.81%
TOTAL	451,460	43,767	12,045	510	400,196	68,191	53,390	25,022	-11.36%	55.80%	343.25%	4806.27%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

²¹⁰ When the percent change could not be calculated because the initial population was zero, the difference between the initial and final population was used to approximate the increase. These approximated figures are denoted with an asterisk.

Table 8: Distribution of Greater New Haven Population by Town, 2000

Town Name	Total Population	Total White	Total Black	Total Latino	Total Other	% of Regional Total				
						Total Population	White	Black	Latino	Other
Bethany	5,040	4,713	92	102	133	0.92%	1.18%	0.13%	0.19%	0.53%
Branford	28,683	26,424	374	737	1,148	5.25%	6.60%	0.55%	1.38%	4.59%
East Haven	28,189	25,754	377	1,228	830	5.16%	6.44%	0.55%	2.30%	3.32%
Guilford	21,398	20,209	192	455	542	3.91%	5.05%	0.28%	0.85%	2.17%
Hamden	56,913	42,812	8,642	2,425	3,034	10.41%	10.70%	12.67%	4.54%	12.13%
Madison	17,858	17,070	70	240	478	3.27%	4.27%	0.10%	0.45%	1.91%
Meriden	58,244	40,709	3,321	12,296	1,918	10.65%	10.17%	4.87%	23.03%	7.67%
Milford	52,305	47,740	951	1,750	1,864	9.57%	11.93%	1.39%	3.28%	7.45%
New Haven	123,626	43,979	44,598	26,443	8,606	22.61%	10.99%	65.40%	49.53%	34.39%
North Branford	13,906	13,258	163	250	235	2.54%	3.31%	0.24%	0.47%	0.94%
North Haven	23,035	21,127	502	433	973	4.21%	5.28%	0.74%	0.81%	3.89%
Orange	13,233	12,312	100	190	631	2.42%	3.08%	0.15%	0.36%	2.52%
Wallingford	43,026	39,458	417	1,946	1,205	7.87%	9.86%	0.61%	3.64%	4.82%
West Haven	52,360	36,521	8,257	4,757	2,825	9.58%	9.13%	12.11%	8.91%	11.29%
Woodbridge	8,983	8,110	135	138	600	1.64%	2.03%	0.20%	0.26%	2.40%
TOTAL	546,799	400,196	68,191	53,390	25,022	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 9: 1970 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract²¹¹

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name ²¹²	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1401	Downtown (CBD)	1,148	969	154	10	15	84.41%	13.41%	0.87%	1.31%	WB
Tract 1402	Long Wharf	317	300	17	0	0	94.64%	5.36%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1403	Hill	4,679	2,775	1,499	405	0	59.31%	32.04%	8.66%	0.00%	WB* (WBL)
Tract 1404	City Point	3,478	2,711	534	233	0	77.95%	15.35%	6.70%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1405	Hill	5,166	2,443	2,286	437	0	47.29%	44.25%	8.46%	0.00%	WB* (WBL)
Tract 1406	Hill	7,987	2,588	4,270	1,129	0	32.40%	53.46%	14.14%	0.00%	BL
Tract 1407	Dwight	6,593	4,230	2,208	155	0	64.16%	33.49%	2.35%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1408	West River	4,316	3,489	735	92	0	80.84%	17.03%	2.13%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1409	Edgewood	4,421	4,220	116	85	0	95.45%	2.62%	1.92%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1410	Westville	4,346	4,244	4	48	50	97.65%	0.09%	1.10%	1.15%	PW
Tract 1411	Westville	3,019	2,882	78	59	0	95.46%	2.58%	1.95%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1412	Amity	5,765	4,087	1,638	40	0	70.89%	28.41%	0.69%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1413	West Rock	5,477	3,467	1,928	82	0	63.30%	35.20%	1.50%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1414	Beaver Hills	5,024	3,935	902	187	0	78.32%	17.95%	3.72%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1415	Newhallville	9,121	1,660	7,410	51	0	18.20%	81.24%	0.56%	0.00%	PB
Tract 1416	Dixwell	7,283	1,082	6,085	116	0	14.86%	83.55%	1.59%	0.00%	PB
Tract 1417	Yale	5,218	4,777	300	141	0	91.55%	5.75%	2.70%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1418	Prospect Hill	4,715	3,321	1,240	67	87	70.43%	26.30%	1.42%	1.85%	WB
Tract 1419	East Rock	5,617	5,366	198	53	0	95.53%	3.53%	0.94%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1420	East Rock	3,736	3,482	152	102	0	93.20%	4.07%	2.73%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1421	Wooster Square	2,170	927	1,025	218	0	42.72%	47.24%	10.05%	0.00%	WBL
Tract 1422	Wooster Square	2,202	1,841	247	114	0	83.61%	11.22%	5.18%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1423	Fair Haven	5,127	4,109	747	271	0	80.14%	14.57%	5.29%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1424	Fair Haven	5,151	4,092	576	483	0	79.44%	11.18%	9.38%	0.00%	WB* (WBL)
Tract 1425	Fair Haven	5,512	4,676	718	118	0	84.83%	13.03%	2.14%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1426.01	Quinnipiac (Foxon)	3,575	3,118	420	37	0	87.22%	11.75%	1.03%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1426.02	Fair Haven Heights	4,970	4,335	584	51	0	87.22%	11.75%	1.03%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1427	Annex	5,402	5,292	77	33	0	97.96%	1.43%	0.61%	0.00%	PW

²¹¹ Census tracts that are on the borderline of meeting the definition of an integrated or more integrated neighborhood are marked with an asterisk and the new neighborhood code is indicated in parenthesis. Neighborhoods that were 37.5%-39.9% white and/or 7.5%-9.9% minority are considered “on the borderline”.

²¹² City of New Haven census tracts are listed by neighborhood.

Table 9: 1970 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1428	East Shore (Morris Cove)	6,051	5,950	9	92	0	98.33%	0.15%	1.52%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1501	Milford	4,322	4,233	17	72	0	97.94%	0.39%	1.67%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1502	Milford	3,849	3,772	15	62	0	98.00%	0.39%	1.61%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1503	Milford	4,374	4,308	30	36	0	98.49%	0.69%	0.82%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1504	Milford	4,471	4,404	61	6	0	98.50%	1.36%	0.13%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1505	Milford	4,806	4,745	20	41	0	98.73%	0.42%	0.85%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1506	Milford	3,956	3,921	16	19	0	99.12%	0.40%	0.48%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1507	Milford	3,037	2,935	61	40	0	96.64%	2.01%	1.32%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1508	Milford	3,408	3,336	70	3	0	97.89%	2.05%	0.09%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1509	Milford	4,570	4,543	20	7	0	99.41%	0.44%	0.15%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1510	Milford	4,516	4,320	47	149	0	95.66%	1.04%	3.30%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1511	Milford	6,567	6,384	129	54	0	97.21%	1.96%	0.82%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1512	Milford	2,982	2,898	23	61	0	97.18%	0.77%	2.05%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1541	West Haven	7,250	5,819	1,372	59	0	80.26%	18.92%	0.81%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1542	West Haven	6,316	5,646	523	147	0	89.39%	8.28%	2.33%	0.00%	PW* (WB)
Tract 1543	West Haven	620	533	79	8	0	85.97%	12.74%	1.29%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1544	West Haven	4,439	3,901	468	70	0	87.88%	10.54%	1.58%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1545	West Haven	4,730	4,695	35	0	0	99.26%	0.74%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1546	West Haven	3,889	3,806	39	44	0	97.87%	1.00%	1.13%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1547	West Haven	6,289	6,248	31	0	10	99.35%	0.49%	0.00%	0.16%	PW
Tract 1548	West Haven	6,588	6,467	22	99	0	98.16%	0.33%	1.50%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1549	West Haven	3,089	3,064	0	25	0	99.19%	0.00%	0.81%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1550	West Haven	5,717	5,707	0	0	10	99.83%	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%	PW
Tract 1551	West Haven	3,924	3,703	163	58	0	94.37%	4.15%	1.48%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1571	Orange	2,091	2,067	0	24	0	98.85%	0.00%	1.15%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1572	Orange	4,279	4,262	0	8	9	99.60%	0.00%	0.19%	0.21%	PW
Tract 1573	Orange	2,508	2,452	0	6	50	97.77%	0.00%	0.24%	1.99%	PW
Tract 1574	Orange	4,646	4,562	19	65	0	98.19%	0.41%	1.40%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1601	Woodbridge	3,238	3,166	50	0	22	97.78%	1.54%	0.00%	0.68%	PW
Tract 1602	Woodbridge	4,502	4,429	21	0	52	98.38%	0.47%	0.00%	1.16%	PW
Tract 1611	Bethany	3,857	3,755	102	0	0	97.36%	2.64%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1651	Hamden	4,343	4,259	59	0	25	98.07%	1.36%	0.00%	0.58%	PW
Tract 1652	Hamden	3,455	3,395	31	0	29	98.26%	0.90%	0.00%	0.84%	PW

Table 9: 1970 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1653	Hamden	2,573	2,510	13	35	15	97.55%	0.51%	1.36%	0.58%	PW
Tract 1654	Hamden	4,428	3,979	409	40	0	89.86%	9.24%	0.90%	0.00%	PW* (WB)
Tract 1655	Hamden	4,796	4,010	757	29	0	83.61%	15.78%	0.60%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1656	Hamden	6,255	6,167	44	44	0	98.59%	0.70%	0.70%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1657	Hamden	3,943	3,788	129	26	0	96.07%	3.27%	0.66%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1658.01	Hamden	4,199	4,108	60	26	5	97.83%	1.43%	0.62%	0.12%	PW
Tract 1658.02	Hamden	3,095	3,027	44	20	4	97.80%	1.42%	0.65%	0.13%	PW
Tract 1659	Hamden	3,929	3,778	61	90	0	96.16%	1.55%	2.29%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1660.01	Hamden	3,672	3,613	43	10	6	98.39%	1.17%	0.27%	0.16%	PW
Tract 1660.02	Hamden	4,875	4,797	57	14	7	98.40%	1.17%	0.29%	0.14%	PW
Tract 1671	North Haven	7,251	7,103	99	49	0	97.96%	1.37%	0.68%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1672.01	North Haven	4,019	3,936	83	0	0	97.93%	2.07%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1672.02	North Haven	4,838	4,739	99	0	0	97.95%	2.05%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1673	North Haven	5,837	5,548	88	201	0	95.05%	1.51%	3.44%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1701	Meriden	2,236	1,091	297	848	0	48.79%	13.28%	37.92%	0.00%	WBL
Tract 1702	Meriden	2,449	2,039	51	359	0	83.26%	2.08%	14.66%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1703	Meriden	3,005	2,470	190	345	0	82.20%	6.32%	11.48%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1704	Meriden	1,797	1,661	35	101	0	92.43%	1.95%	5.62%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1705	Meriden	4,523	4,402	56	65	0	97.32%	1.24%	1.44%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1706	Meriden	2,894	2,848	13	33	0	98.41%	0.45%	1.14%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1707	Meriden	3,042	2,898	24	120	0	95.27%	0.79%	3.94%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1708	Meriden	5,199	5,126	27	46	0	98.60%	0.52%	0.88%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1709	Meriden	2,675	2,290	109	276	0	85.61%	4.07%	10.32%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1710	Meriden	1,828	1,394	101	333	0	76.26%	5.53%	18.22%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1711	Meriden	4,005	3,852	49	104	0	96.18%	1.22%	2.60%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1712	Meriden	5,973	5,816	13	144	0	97.37%	0.22%	2.41%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1713	Meriden	4,126	3,848	119	159	0	93.26%	2.88%	3.85%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1714	Meriden	2,031	1,682	173	176	0	82.82%	8.52%	8.67%	0.00%	PW* (WBL)
Tract 1715	Meriden	3,553	3,185	45	323	0	89.64%	1.27%	9.09%	0.00%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1716	Meriden	3,273	3,069	141	63	0	93.77%	4.31%	1.92%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1717	Meriden	3,350	3,299	0	51	0	98.48%	0.00%	1.52%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1751	Wallingford	3,470	3,347	19	104	0	96.46%	0.55%	3.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1752	Wallingford	2,364	2,160	17	187	0	91.37%	0.72%	7.91%	0.00%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1753	Wallingford	5,130	5,042	0	88	0	98.28%	0.00%	1.72%	0.00%	PW

Table 9: 1970 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1754	Wallingford	4,263	3,713	73	477	0	87.10%	1.71%	11.19%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1755	Wallingford	5,278	5,112	2	164	0	96.85%	0.04%	3.11%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1756	Wallingford	4,191	4,130	10	51	0	98.54%	0.24%	1.22%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1757	Wallingford	2,088	2,057	0	31	0	98.52%	0.00%	1.48%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1758	Wallingford	2,376	2,307	0	69	0	97.10%	0.00%	2.90%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1759	Wallingford	4,750	4,709	15	26	0	99.14%	0.32%	0.55%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1760	Wallingford	1,804	1,772	0	32	0	98.23%	0.00%	1.77%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1801	East Haven	5,982	5,884	32	66	0	98.36%	0.53%	1.10%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1802	East Haven	4,979	4,975	4	0	0	99.92%	0.08%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1803	East Haven	2,915	2,903	0	4	8	99.59%	0.00%	0.14%	0.27%	PW
Tract 1804	East Haven	1,663	1,663	0	0	0	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1805	East Haven	2,513	2,455	51	0	7	97.69%	2.03%	0.00%	0.28%	PW
Tract 1806.01	East Haven	3,359	3,354	0	0	5	99.85%	0.00%	0.00%	0.15%	PW
Tract 1806.02	East Haven	3,752	3,747	0	0	5	99.87%	0.00%	0.00%	0.13%	PW
Tract 1841	Branford	4,705	4,584	109	0	12	97.43%	2.32%	0.00%	0.26%	PW
Tract 1842	Branford	2,088	2,084	0	0	4	99.81%	0.00%	0.00%	0.19%	PW
Tract 1843	Branford	3,267	3,164	68	0	35	96.85%	2.08%	0.00%	1.07%	PW
Tract 1844	Branford	3,122	3,099	0	23	0	99.26%	0.00%	0.74%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1845	Branford	2,585	2,482	18	85	0	96.02%	0.70%	3.29%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1846	Branford	1,952	1,938	0	0	14	99.28%	0.00%	0.00%	0.72%	PW
Tract 1847	Branford	2,725	2,720	0	0	5	99.82%	0.00%	0.00%	0.18%	PW
Tract 1861	North Branford	5,613	5,573	0	40	0	99.29%	0.00%	0.71%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1862	North Branford	5,165	5,051	31	83	0	97.79%	0.60%	1.61%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1901	Guilford	3,338	3,105	82	151	0	93.02%	2.46%	4.52%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1902	Guilford	2,094	2,079	10	5	0	99.28%	0.48%	0.24%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1903.01	Guilford	2,684	2,628	42	6	8	97.91%	1.56%	0.22%	0.30%	PW
Tract 1903.02	Guilford	2,537	2,484	40	5	7	97.91%	1.58%	0.20%	0.28%	PW
Tract 1903.03	Guilford	1,380	1,351	22	3	4	97.90%	1.59%	0.22%	0.29%	PW
Tract 1941	Madison	3,807	3,727	13	67	0	97.90%	0.34%	1.76%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1942.01	Madison	3,566	3,520	0	45	0	98.71%	0.00%	1.26%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1942.02	Madison	2,395	2,365	0	31	0	98.75%	0.00%	1.29%	0.00%	PW
TOTAL		507,783	451,460	43,767	12,045	510	88.91%	8.62%	2.37%	0.10%	PW

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 10: 1980 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1401	Downtown (CBD)	570	361	64	106	39	63.33%	11.23%	18.60%	6.84%	WBL
Tract 1402	Long Wharf	1,679	351	1,099	212	17	20.91%	65.46%	12.63%	1.01%	BL
Tract 1403	Hill	3,123	762	1,111	1,172	78	24.40%	35.57%	37.53%	2.50%	BL
Tract 1404	City Point	3,301	1,647	1,044	598	12	49.89%	31.63%	18.12%	0.36%	WBL
Tract 1405	Hill	4,175	865	1,952	1,355	3	20.72%	46.75%	32.46%	0.07%	BL
Tract 1406	Hill	5,067	852	3,096	1,084	36	16.81%	61.10%	21.39%	0.71%	BL
Tract 1407	Dwight	6,132	2,872	2,693	332	235	46.84%	43.92%	5.41%	3.83%	WB
Tract 1408	West River	4,259	2,184	1,770	252	52	51.28%	41.56%	5.92%	1.22%	WB
Tract 1409	Edgewood	4,301	3,298	787	187	29	76.68%	18.30%	4.35%	0.67%	WB
Tract 1410	Westville	3,953	3,858	16	37	42	97.60%	0.40%	0.94%	1.06%	PW
Tract 1411	Westville	2,766	2,368	367	3	28	85.61%	13.27%	0.11%	1.01%	WB
Tract 1412	Amity	4,695	2,831	1,813	33	18	60.30%	38.62%	0.70%	0.38%	WB
Tract 1413	West Rock	4,491	2,325	1,957	170	39	51.77%	43.58%	3.79%	0.87%	WB
Tract 1414	Beaver Hills	5,771	4,180	1,475	108	8	72.43%	25.56%	1.87%	0.14%	WB
Tract 1415	Newhallville	7,796	443	7,141	188	24	5.68%	91.60%	2.41%	0.31%	PB
Tract 1416	Dixwell	6,944	839	5,911	138	56	12.08%	85.12%	1.99%	0.81%	PB
Tract 1417	Yale	5,771	4,745	369	271	386	82.22%	6.39%	4.70%	6.69%	PW
Tract 1418	Prospect Hill	4,645	2,428	1,692	210	315	52.27%	36.43%	4.52%	6.78%	WB
Tract 1419	East Rock	4,979	4,338	374	172	95	87.13%	7.51%	3.45%	1.91%	PW* (WB)
Tract 1420	East Rock	3,323	2,972	179	140	32	89.44%	5.39%	4.21%	0.96%	PW
Tract 1421	Wooster Square	1,836	642	962	225	7	34.97%	52.40%	12.25%	0.38%	BL
Tract 1422	Wooster Square	1,776	1,465	233	78	0	82.49%	13.12%	4.39%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1423	Fair Haven	4,222	2,766	449	991	16	65.51%	10.63%	23.47%	0.38%	WBL
Tract 1424	Fair Haven	4,594	2,804	683	1,088	19	61.04%	14.87%	23.68%	0.41%	WBL
Tract 1425	Fair Haven	5,079	3,493	1,050	470	66	68.77%	20.67%	9.25%	1.30%	WB* (WBL)
Tract 1426.01	Quinnipiac (Foxon)	4,298	3,644	481	116	56	84.78%	11.19%	2.70%	1.30%	WB
Tract 1426.02	Fair Haven Heights	5,976	5,066	668	162	81	84.77%	11.18%	2.71%	1.36%	WB
Tract 1427	Annex	5,035	4,702	154	150	29	93.39%	3.06%	2.98%	0.58%	PW
Tract 1428	East Shore (Morris Cove)	5,541	5,445	0	90	6	98.27%	0.00%	1.62%	0.11%	PW
Tract 1501	Milford	3,679	3,646	17	16	0	99.10%	0.46%	0.43%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1502	Milford	3,875	3,735	66	40	34	96.39%	1.70%	1.03%	0.88%	PW
Tract 1503	Milford	4,059	3,948	10	58	43	97.27%	0.25%	1.43%	1.06%	PW
Tract 1504	Milford	4,831	4,702	99	7	23	97.33%	2.05%	0.14%	0.48%	PW
Tract 1505	Milford	4,536	4,475	0	30	31	98.66%	0.00%	0.66%	0.68%	PW

Table 10: 1980 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1506	Milford	4,254	4,091	134	0	29	96.17%	3.15%	0.00%	0.68%	PW
Tract 1507	Milford	3,129	2,957	77	42	53	94.50%	2.46%	1.34%	1.69%	PW
Tract 1508	Milford	3,754	3,576	54	16	108	95.26%	1.44%	0.43%	2.88%	PW
Tract 1509	Milford	4,083	3,927	86	70	0	96.18%	2.11%	1.71%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1510	Milford	4,835	4,582	152	74	27	94.77%	3.14%	1.53%	0.56%	PW
Tract 1511	Milford	6,718	6,450	31	168	69	96.01%	0.46%	2.50%	1.03%	PW
Tract 1512	Milford	3,145	3,040	20	60	25	96.66%	0.64%	1.91%	0.79%	PW
Tract 1541	West Haven	7,121	4,859	1,980	199	83	68.23%	27.81%	2.79%	1.17%	WB
Tract 1542	West Haven	7,519	5,937	1,283	198	101	78.96%	17.06%	2.63%	1.34%	WB
Tract 1543	West Haven	445	392	53	0	0	88.09%	11.91%	0.00%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1544	West Haven	4,874	3,684	1,042	59	89	75.58%	21.38%	1.21%	1.83%	WB
Tract 1545	West Haven	4,287	4,245	18	24	0	99.02%	0.42%	0.56%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1546	West Haven	3,827	3,727	50	4	46	97.39%	1.31%	0.10%	1.20%	PW
Tract 1547	West Haven	6,773	6,696	33	38	6	98.86%	0.49%	0.56%	0.09%	PW
Tract 1548	West Haven	5,909	5,878	0	11	20	99.48%	0.00%	0.19%	0.34%	PW
Tract 1549	West Haven	3,429	3,384	32	13	0	98.69%	0.93%	0.38%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1550	West Haven	5,229	5,142	0	87	0	98.34%	0.00%	1.66%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1551	West Haven	3,771	3,609	121	14	27	95.70%	3.21%	0.37%	0.72%	PW
Tract 1571	Orange	1,914	1,824	0	18	72	95.30%	0.00%	0.94%	3.76%	PW
Tract 1572	Orange	4,269	4,193	0	0	76	98.22%	0.00%	0.00%	1.78%	PW
Tract 1573	Orange	3,021	2,994	13	14	0	99.11%	0.43%	0.46%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1574	Orange	4,033	3,936	11	6	80	97.59%	0.27%	0.15%	1.98%	PW
Tract 1601	Woodbridge	3,046	2,957	0	59	30	97.08%	0.00%	1.94%	0.98%	PW
Tract 1602	Woodbridge	4,715	4,491	37	38	149	95.25%	0.78%	0.81%	3.16%	PW
Tract 1611	Bethany	4,330	4,169	85	37	39	96.28%	1.96%	0.85%	0.90%	PW
Tract 1651	Hamden	3,784	3,529	150	48	57	93.26%	3.96%	1.27%	1.51%	PW
Tract 1652	Hamden	2,894	2,792	72	2	28	96.48%	2.49%	0.07%	0.97%	PW
Tract 1653	Hamden	2,382	2,310	45	0	27	96.98%	1.89%	0.00%	1.13%	PW
Tract 1654	Hamden	4,800	4,022	669	53	56	83.79%	13.94%	1.10%	1.17%	WB
Tract 1655	Hamden	5,107	3,809	1,200	28	70	74.58%	23.50%	0.55%	1.37%	WB
Tract 1656	Hamden	5,264	4,994	164	22	84	94.87%	3.12%	0.42%	1.60%	PW
Tract 1657	Hamden	3,735	3,431	271	27	6	91.86%	7.26%	0.72%	0.16%	PW
Tract 1658.01	Hamden	5,392	4,961	251	55	124	92.01%	4.66%	1.02%	2.30%	PW
Tract 1658.02	Hamden	3,974	3,656	185	41	93	92.00%	4.66%	1.03%	2.34%	PW
Tract 1659	Hamden	5,146	4,979	64	7	96	96.75%	1.24%	0.14%	1.87%	PW

Table 10: 1980 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1660.01	Hamden	3,783	3,617	126	25	16	95.61%	3.33%	0.66%	0.42%	PW
Tract 1660.02	Hamden	4,921	4,705	162	32	20	95.61%	3.29%	0.65%	0.41%	PW
Tract 1671	North Haven	7,379	7,061	138	39	141	95.69%	1.87%	0.53%	1.91%	PW
Tract 1672.01	North Haven	3,926	3,798	82	15	30	96.74%	2.09%	0.38%	0.76%	PW
Tract 1672.02	North Haven	4,726	4,573	99	18	37	96.76%	2.09%	0.38%	0.78%	PW
Tract 1673	North Haven	5,938	5,841	14	27	56	98.37%	0.24%	0.45%	0.94%	PW
Tract 1701	Meriden	2,092	1,040	228	810	14	49.71%	10.90%	38.72%	0.67%	WBL
Tract 1702	Meriden	2,685	1,867	116	697	5	69.53%	4.32%	25.96%	0.19%	WL
Tract 1703	Meriden	2,844	2,061	285	489	9	72.47%	10.02%	17.19%	0.32%	WBL
Tract 1704	Meriden	1,344	1,279	15	50	0	95.16%	1.12%	3.72%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1705	Meriden	5,616	5,227	76	220	93	93.07%	1.35%	3.92%	1.66%	PW
Tract 1706	Meriden	2,563	2,478	59	21	5	96.68%	2.30%	0.82%	0.20%	PW
Tract 1707	Meriden	2,779	2,492	72	215	0	89.67%	2.59%	7.74%	0.00%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1708	Meriden	5,987	5,449	155	377	6	91.01%	2.59%	6.30%	0.10%	PW
Tract 1709	Meriden	1,634	1,406	40	188	0	86.05%	2.45%	11.51%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1710	Meriden	1,678	1,185	83	410	0	70.62%	4.95%	24.43%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1711	Meriden	5,547	5,278	72	153	44	95.15%	1.30%	2.76%	0.79%	PW
Tract 1712	Meriden	6,437	6,246	78	96	17	97.03%	1.21%	1.49%	0.26%	PW
Tract 1713	Meriden	3,811	3,278	202	325	6	86.01%	5.30%	8.53%	0.16%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1714	Meriden	1,937	1,470	60	385	22	75.89%	3.10%	19.88%	1.14%	WL
Tract 1715	Meriden	3,093	2,650	219	212	12	85.68%	7.08%	6.85%	0.39%	PW
Tract 1716	Meriden	3,458	3,298	42	102	16	95.37%	1.21%	2.95%	0.46%	PW
Tract 1717	Meriden	3,613	3,546	0	67	0	98.15%	0.00%	1.85%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1751	Wallingford	3,302	3,096	8	198	0	93.76%	0.24%	6.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1752	Wallingford	2,061	2,000	23	32	6	97.04%	1.12%	1.55%	0.29%	PW
Tract 1753	Wallingford	4,490	4,298	34	150	8	95.72%	0.76%	3.34%	0.18%	PW
Tract 1754	Wallingford	3,714	3,435	20	242	17	92.49%	0.54%	6.52%	0.46%	PW
Tract 1755	Wallingford	6,596	6,503	41	39	12	98.59%	0.62%	0.59%	0.18%	PW
Tract 1756	Wallingford	4,648	4,464	179	0	6	96.04%	3.85%	0.00%	0.13%	PW
Tract 1757	Wallingford	1,971	1,955	0	11	5	99.19%	0.00%	0.56%	0.25%	PW
Tract 1758	Wallingford	2,396	2,353	0	38	5	98.21%	0.00%	1.59%	0.21%	PW
Tract 1759	Wallingford	4,931	4,823	24	50	34	97.81%	0.49%	1.01%	0.69%	PW
Tract 1760	Wallingford	3,165	3,105	12	37	11	98.10%	0.38%	1.17%	0.35%	PW
Tract 1801	East Haven	6,371	6,249	16	90	16	98.09%	0.25%	1.41%	0.25%	PW
Tract 1802	East Haven	5,299	5,240	0	59	0	98.89%	0.00%	1.11%	0.00%	PW

Table 10: 1980 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1803	East Haven	2,171	2,118	0	53	0	97.56%	0.00%	2.44%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1804	East Haven	1,645	1,645	0	0	0	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1805	East Haven	2,850	2,783	47	20	0	97.65%	1.65%	0.70%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1806.01	East Haven	3,161	3,077	21	50	13	97.34%	0.66%	1.58%	0.41%	PW
Tract 1806.02	East Haven	3,531	3,437	23	56	15	97.34%	0.65%	1.59%	0.42%	PW
Tract 1841	Branford	4,458	4,323	99	9	27	96.97%	2.22%	0.20%	0.61%	PW
Tract 1842	Branford	2,881	2,806	35	5	35	97.40%	1.21%	0.17%	1.21%	PW
Tract 1843	Branford	3,874	3,766	41	39	28	97.21%	1.06%	1.01%	0.72%	PW
Tract 1844	Branford	3,166	3,124	0	30	12	98.67%	0.00%	0.95%	0.38%	PW
Tract 1845	Branford	2,589	2,493	21	17	58	96.29%	0.81%	0.66%	2.24%	PW
Tract 1846	Branford	2,266	2,240	0	20	6	98.85%	0.00%	0.88%	0.26%	PW
Tract 1847	Branford	4,129	4,034	36	38	21	97.70%	0.87%	0.92%	0.51%	PW
Tract 1861	North Branford	5,645	5,621	17	7	0	99.57%	0.30%	0.12%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1862	North Branford	5,909	5,789	50	12	58	97.97%	0.85%	0.20%	0.98%	PW
Tract 1901	Guilford	3,319	3,191	13	115	0	96.14%	0.39%	3.46%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1902	Guilford	2,963	2,821	77	24	41	95.21%	2.60%	0.81%	1.38%	PW
Tract 1903.01	Guilford	4,511	4,365	30	57	58	96.76%	0.67%	1.26%	1.29%	PW
Tract 1903.02	Guilford	4,263	4,126	28	53	55	96.79%	0.66%	1.24%	1.29%	PW
Tract 1903.03	Guilford	2,319	2,245	15	29	30	96.81%	0.65%	1.25%	1.29%	PW
Tract 1941	Madison	4,526	4,425	8	93	0	97.77%	0.18%	2.05%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1942.01	Madison	5,686	5,634	0	33	18	99.09%	0.00%	0.58%	0.32%	PW
Tract 1942.02	Madison	3,819	3,785	0	23	12	99.11%	0.00%	0.60%	0.31%	PW
TOTAL		514,402	439,489	51,506	18,523	4,881	86.90%	8.68%	3.56%	0.86%	PW

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 11: 1990 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1401	Downtown (CBD)	997	571	273	87	66	57.27%	27.38%	8.73%	6.62%	WB* (WBL)
Tract 1402	Long Wharf	1,655	458	943	220	34	27.67%	56.98%	13.29%	2.05%	BL
Tract 1403	Hill	3,105	331	1,278	1,454	42	10.66%	41.16%	46.83%	1.35%	BL
Tract 1404	City Point	3,370	1,180	1,217	940	33	35.01%	36.11%	27.89%	0.98%	BL
Tract 1405	Hill	4,684	450	2,377	1,857	0	9.61%	50.75%	39.65%	0.00%	BL
Tract 1406	Hill	6,097	499	3,398	2,164	37	8.18%	55.73%	35.49%	0.61%	BL
Tract 1407	Dwight	6,799	2,411	3,397	596	395	35.46%	49.96%	8.77%	5.81%	PB* (BL) ²¹³
Tract 1408	West River	4,689	1,450	2,563	530	145	30.92%	54.66%	11.30%	3.09%	BL
Tract 1409	Edgewood	4,371	2,396	1,552	249	174	54.82%	35.51%	5.70%	3.98%	WB
Tract 1410	Westville	3,827	3,451	135	133	108	90.18%	3.53%	3.48%	2.82%	PW
Tract 1411	Westville	3,077	2,425	501	49	102	78.81%	16.28%	1.59%	3.31%	WB
Tract 1412	Amity	4,548	2,113	2,139	204	92	46.46%	47.03%	4.49%	2.02%	WB
Tract 1413	West Rock	6,772	3,661	2,636	372	103	54.06%	38.92%	5.49%	1.52%	WB
Tract 1414	Beaver Hills	4,953	2,560	2,158	230	5	51.69%	43.57%	4.64%	0.10%	WB
Tract 1415	Newhallville	7,714	277	7,184	192	62	3.59%	93.13%	2.49%	0.80%	PB
Tract 1416	Dixwell	6,298	578	5,270	373	77	9.18%	83.68%	5.92%	1.22%	PB
Tract 1417	Yale	5,383	3,630	694	382	677	67.43%	12.89%	7.10%	12.58%	WBO
Tract 1418	Prospect Hill	4,402	1,934	1,650	279	539	43.93%	37.48%	6.34%	12.24%	WBO
Tract 1419	East Rock	4,969	4,088	359	185	337	82.27%	7.22%	3.72%	6.78%	PW
Tract 1420	East Rock	4,321	3,458	243	195	425	80.03%	5.62%	4.51%	9.84%	PW* (WO)
Tract 1421	Wooster Square	1,533	579	708	215	31	37.77%	46.18%	14.02%	2.02%	BL* (WBL)
Tract 1422	Wooster Square	1,517	1,264	173	63	17	83.32%	11.40%	4.15%	1.12%	WB
Tract 1423	Fair Haven	4,920	2,276	1,003	1,611	30	46.26%	20.39%	32.74%	0.61%	WBL
Tract 1424	Fair Haven	4,866	1,886	1,065	1,863	52	38.76%	21.89%	38.29%	1.07%	BL* (WBL)
Tract 1425	Fair Haven	4,770	2,776	1,134	771	89	58.20%	23.77%	16.16%	1.87%	WBL
Tract 1426.01	Quinnipiac (Foxon)	4,227	3,223	727	226	51	76.25%	17.20%	5.35%	1.21%	WB
Tract 1426.02	Fair Haven Heights	6,119	4,600	980	450	89	75.18%	16.02%	7.35%	1.45%	WB
Tract 1427	Annex	5,362	4,479	431	342	110	83.53%	8.04%	6.38%	2.05%	PW* (WB)
Tract 1428	East Shore (Morris Cove)	5,121	4,925	25	116	55	96.17%	0.49%	2.27%	1.07%	PW

²¹³ Census Tract 1407 technically does not fit the definition of any neighborhood type because it is not more than 50% black, no other minority group constitutes at least 10% of the population, and whites do not make up at least 40% of the tract. Therefore, the tract was assigned to the neighborhood type that most accurately described it. Since it is so close to satisfying the definition of a predominantly black neighborhood, it was coded as such.

Table 11: 1990 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1501	Milford	3,709	3,560	23	79	47	95.98%	0.62%	2.13%	1.27%	PW
Tract 1502	Milford	3,574	3,342	103	63	66	93.51%	2.88%	1.76%	1.85%	PW
Tract 1503	Milford	4,155	4,059	5	69	22	97.69%	0.12%	1.66%	0.53%	PW
Tract 1504	Milford	4,525	4,281	50	138	56	94.61%	1.10%	3.05%	1.24%	PW
Tract 1505	Milford	4,392	4,175	47	124	46	95.06%	1.07%	2.82%	1.05%	PW
Tract 1506	Milford	4,483	4,231	86	126	40	94.38%	1.92%	2.81%	0.89%	PW
Tract 1507	Milford	3,293	3,220	37	23	14	97.78%	1.12%	0.70%	0.43%	PW
Tract 1508	Milford	3,526	3,441	57	1	26	97.59%	1.62%	0.03%	0.74%	PW
Tract 1509	Milford	3,923	3,827	23	66	7	97.55%	0.59%	1.68%	0.18%	PW
Tract 1510	Milford	4,592	4,322	59	176	35	94.12%	1.28%	3.83%	0.76%	PW
Tract 1511	Milford	6,659	6,372	149	86	52	95.69%	2.24%	1.29%	0.78%	PW
Tract 1512	Milford	3,107	2,976	63	32	36	95.78%	2.03%	1.03%	1.16%	PW
Tract 1541	West Haven	7,422	4,541	2,090	312	479	61.18%	28.16%	4.20%	6.45%	WB
Tract 1542	West Haven	7,641	4,636	2,141	573	291	60.67%	28.02%	7.50%	3.81%	WB* (WBL)
Tract 1543	West Haven	115	101	14	0	0	87.83%	12.17%	0.00%	0.00%	WB
Tract 1544	West Haven	5,833	3,971	1,466	179	217	68.08%	25.13%	3.07%	3.72%	WB
Tract 1545	West Haven	4,395	4,090	96	155	54	93.06%	2.18%	3.53%	1.23%	PW
Tract 1546	West Haven	4,014	3,424	276	193	121	85.30%	6.88%	4.81%	3.01%	PW
Tract 1547	West Haven	6,370	6,243	31	67	29	98.01%	0.49%	1.05%	0.46%	PW
Tract 1548	West Haven	5,627	5,430	65	68	64	96.50%	1.16%	1.21%	1.14%	PW
Tract 1549	West Haven	3,815	3,585	102	56	72	93.97%	2.67%	1.47%	1.89%	PW
Tract 1550	West Haven	5,276	5,007	63	63	143	94.90%	1.19%	1.19%	2.71%	PW
Tract 1551	West Haven	3,513	3,393	54	60	6	96.58%	1.54%	1.71%	0.17%	PW
Tract 1571	Orange	1,947	1,827	57	11	52	93.84%	2.93%	0.56%	2.67%	PW
Tract 1572	Orange	3,813	3,702	10	14	87	97.09%	0.26%	0.37%	2.28%	PW
Tract 1573	Orange	3,116	3,053	6	25	32	97.98%	0.19%	0.80%	1.03%	PW
Tract 1574	Orange	3,954	3,811	12	56	75	96.38%	0.30%	1.42%	1.90%	PW
Tract 1601	Woodbridge	3,011	2,855	17	14	125	94.82%	0.56%	0.46%	4.15%	PW
Tract 1602	Woodbridge	4,913	4,529	104	97	183	92.18%	2.12%	1.97%	3.72%	PW
Tract 1611	Bethany	4,608	4,400	52	55	101	95.49%	1.13%	1.19%	2.19%	PW
Tract 1651	Hamden	3,649	3,293	245	91	19	90.24%	6.71%	2.49%	0.52%	PW
Tract 1652	Hamden	2,637	2,514	40	29	55	95.34%	1.52%	1.10%	2.09%	PW
Tract 1653	Hamden	2,418	2,338	52	0	28	96.69%	2.15%	0.00%	1.16%	PW
Tract 1654	Hamden	5,020	4,167	674	110	69	83.01%	13.43%	2.19%	1.37%	WB
Tract 1655	Hamden	4,616	2,890	1,509	99	117	62.61%	32.69%	2.14%	2.53%	WB

Table 11: 1990 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1656	Hamden	5,112	4,691	220	99	102	91.76%	4.30%	1.94%	2.00%	PW
Tract 1657	Hamden	3,865	3,132	512	146	75	81.03%	13.25%	3.78%	1.94%	WB
Tract 1658.01	Hamden	5,217	4,346	473	185	213	83.30%	9.07%	3.55%	4.08%	PW* (WB)
Tract 1658.02	Hamden	3,845	3,542	220	59	24	92.12%	5.72%	1.53%	0.62%	PW
Tract 1659	Hamden	6,560	6,175	177	58	150	94.13%	2.70%	0.88%	2.29%	PW
Tract 1660.01	Hamden	4,184	3,792	235	34	123	90.63%	5.62%	0.81%	2.94%	PW
Tract 1660.02	Hamden	5,371	5,123	165	38	47	95.38%	3.07%	0.71%	0.88%	PW
Tract 1671	North Haven	7,207	6,810	163	63	169	94.49%	2.26%	0.87%	2.34%	PW
Tract 1672.01	North Haven	3,791	3,592	96	58	45	94.75%	2.53%	1.53%	1.19%	PW
Tract 1672.02	North Haven	4,564	4,325	115	69	55	94.76%	2.52%	1.51%	1.21%	PW
Tract 1673	North Haven	6,635	6,363	121	104	47	95.90%	1.82%	1.57%	0.71%	PW
Tract 1701	Meriden	1,989	1,109	170	674	36	55.76%	8.55%	33.89%	1.81%	WL* (WBL)
Tract 1702	Meriden	2,827	1,705	166	933	23	60.31%	5.87%	33.00%	0.81%	WL
Tract 1703	Meriden	2,603	1,361	335	883	24	52.29%	12.87%	33.92%	0.92%	WBL
Tract 1704	Meriden	1,530	1,452	0	57	21	94.90%	0.00%	3.73%	1.37%	PW
Tract 1705	Meriden	5,663	5,328	112	200	23	94.08%	1.98%	3.53%	0.41%	PW
Tract 1706	Meriden	2,590	2,344	35	146	65	90.50%	1.35%	5.64%	2.51%	PW
Tract 1707	Meriden	2,653	2,312	16	325	0	87.15%	0.60%	12.25%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1708	Meriden	5,682	4,958	181	536	7	87.26%	3.19%	9.43%	0.12%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1709	Meriden	2,138	1,564	22	538	14	73.15%	1.03%	25.16%	0.65%	WL
Tract 1710	Meriden	1,584	963	89	532	0	60.80%	5.62%	33.59%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1711	Meriden	5,574	5,105	167	257	45	91.59%	3.00%	4.61%	0.81%	PW
Tract 1712	Meriden	7,515	7,251	38	226	0	96.49%	0.51%	3.01%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1713	Meriden	3,592	2,972	206	403	11	82.74%	5.73%	11.22%	0.31%	WL
Tract 1714	Meriden	2,072	1,269	105	698	0	61.25%	5.07%	33.69%	0.00%	WL
Tract 1715	Meriden	3,450	2,343	331	728	48	67.91%	9.59%	21.10%	1.39%	WL* (WBL)
Tract 1716	Meriden	4,189	3,627	159	392	11	86.58%	3.80%	9.36%	0.26%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1717	Meriden	3,828	3,565	13	167	83	93.13%	0.34%	4.36%	2.17%	PW
Tract 1751	Wallingford	2,968	2,770	20	156	22	93.33%	0.67%	5.26%	0.74%	PW
Tract 1752	Wallingford	2,311	2,206	0	105	0	95.46%	0.00%	4.54%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1753	Wallingford	4,258	3,954	0	183	121	92.86%	0.00%	4.30%	2.84%	PW
Tract 1754	Wallingford	4,056	3,673	26	335	22	90.56%	0.64%	8.26%	0.54%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1755	Wallingford	8,223	7,911	86	153	72	96.21%	1.05%	1.86%	0.88%	PW
Tract 1756	Wallingford	4,093	3,977	55	51	10	97.17%	1.34%	1.25%	0.24%	PW
Tract 1757	Wallingford	2,236	2,156	0	40	41	96.42%	0.00%	1.79%	1.83%	PW

Table 11: 1990 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total Population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Type
Tract 1758	Wallingford	3,076	2,992	60	24	0	97.27%	1.95%	0.78%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1759	Wallingford	5,178	4,977	51	119	31	96.12%	0.98%	2.30%	0.60%	PW
Tract 1760	Wallingford	4,421	4,376	13	26	6	98.98%	0.29%	0.59%	0.14%	PW
Tract 1801	East Haven	6,279	6,035	58	110	76	96.11%	0.92%	1.75%	1.21%	PW
Tract 1802	East Haven	4,837	4,672	44	98	23	96.59%	0.91%	2.03%	0.48%	PW
Tract 1803	East Haven	2,346	2,319	0	27	0	98.85%	0.00%	1.15%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1804	East Haven	1,952	1,872	80	0	0	95.90%	4.10%	0.00%	0.00%	PW
Tract 1805	East Haven	3,637	3,418	90	94	35	93.98%	2.47%	2.58%	0.96%	PW
Tract 1806.01	East Haven	3,350	3,234	0	102	14	96.54%	0.00%	3.04%	0.42%	PW
Tract 1806.02	East Haven	3,743	3,650	25	34	34	97.52%	0.67%	0.91%	0.91%	PW
Tract 1841	Branford	4,699	4,453	108	106	33	94.76%	2.30%	2.26%	0.70%	PW
Tract 1842	Branford	3,656	3,406	50	66	134	93.16%	1.37%	1.81%	3.67%	PW
Tract 1843	Branford	4,392	4,139	58	87	108	94.24%	1.32%	1.98%	2.46%	PW
Tract 1844	Branford	3,413	3,332	33	13	35	97.63%	0.97%	0.38%	1.03%	PW
Tract 1845	Branford	2,613	2,533	46	14	19	96.94%	1.76%	0.54%	0.73%	PW
Tract 1846	Branford	3,007	2,935	62	4	6	97.61%	2.06%	0.13%	0.20%	PW
Tract 1847	Branford	5,823	5,571	85	64	103	95.67%	1.46%	1.10%	1.77%	PW
Tract 1861	North Branford	6,332	6,218	74	14	26	98.20%	1.17%	0.22%	0.41%	PW
Tract 1862	North Branford	6,664	6,518	68	53	25	97.81%	1.02%	0.80%	0.38%	PW
Tract 1901	Guilford	3,385	3,297	13	68	7	97.40%	0.38%	2.01%	0.21%	PW
Tract 1902	Guilford	3,195	3,093	0	52	50	96.81%	0.00%	1.63%	1.56%	PW
Tract 1903.01	Guilford	5,388	5,301	4	24	59	98.39%	0.07%	0.45%	1.10%	PW
Tract 1903.02	Guilford	5,099	5,027	27	23	22	98.59%	0.53%	0.45%	0.43%	PW
Tract 1903.03	Guilford	2,781	2,641	46	33	61	94.97%	1.65%	1.19%	2.19%	PW
Tract 1941	Madison	4,822	4,731	38	22	31	98.11%	0.79%	0.46%	0.64%	PW
Tract 1942.01	Madison	6,340	6,249	57	7	27	98.56%	0.90%	0.11%	0.43%	PW
Tract 1942.02	Madison	4,323	4,287	0	7	29	99.17%	0.00%	0.16%	0.67%	PW
TOTAL		536,853	434,577	62,110	30,580	9,586	80.95%	11.57%	5.70%	1.79%	WB

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 12: 2000 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hisp. Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Code
Tract 1401	Downtown (CBD)	1,919	860	474	265	320	44.82%	24.70%	13.81%	16.68%	ME
Tract 1402	Long Wharf	1,652	323	460	822	47	19.55%	27.85%	49.76%	2.85%	BL
Tract 1403	Hill	2,496	280	958	1161	97	11.22%	38.38%	46.51%	3.89%	BL
Tract 1404	City Point	3,349	644	987	1578	140	19.23%	29.47%	47.12%	4.18%	BL
Tract 1405	Hill	3,430	190	1,418	1717	105	5.54%	41.34%	50.06%	3.06%	BL
Tract 1406	Hill	4,815	397	2,244	1971	203	8.25%	46.60%	40.93%	4.22%	BL
Tract 1407	Dwight	6,619	1,974	2,417	1388	840	29.82%	36.52%	20.97%	12.69%	BLO
Tract 1408	West River	4,149	674	2,584	707	184	16.24%	62.28%	17.04%	4.43%	BL
Tract 1409	Edgewood	4,684	1,142	2,788	437	317	24.38%	59.52%	9.33%	6.77%	PB* (BL)
Tract 1410	Westville	3,641	2,789	498	196	158	76.60%	13.68%	5.38%	4.34%	WB
Tract 1411	Westville	2,803	1,694	848	122	139	60.44%	30.25%	4.35%	4.96%	WB
Tract 1412	Amity	4,545	1,237	2,537	524	247	27.22%	55.82%	11.53%	5.43%	BL
Tract 1413	West Rock	5,313	1,834	2,721	570	188	34.52%	51.21%	10.73%	3.54%	BL
Tract 1414	Beaver Hills	4,965	1,199	3,147	397	222	24.15%	63.38%	8.00%	4.47%	PB* (BL)
Tract 1415	Newhallville	6,478	127	5,873	304	174	1.96%	90.66%	4.69%	2.69%	PB
Tract 1416	Dixwell	5,011	605	3,600	616	190	12.07%	71.84%	12.29%	3.79%	BL
Tract 1417	Yale	6,042	3,765	482	438	1357	62.31%	7.98%	7.25%	22.46%	WO* (WBO)
Tract 1418	Prospect Hill	4,052	1,656	1,298	200	898	40.87%	32.03%	4.94%	22.16%	WBO
Tract 1419	East Rock	4,910	3,508	421	386	595	71.45%	8.57%	7.86%	12.12%	WO* (ME)
Tract 1420	East Rock	3,088	2,216	254	188	430	71.76%	8.23%	6.09%	13.92%	WO* (WBO)
Tract 1421	Wooster Square	1,446	313	635	438	60	21.65%	43.91%	30.29%	4.15%	BL
Tract 1422	Wooster Square	1,465	1,127	137	123	78	76.93%	9.35%	8.40%	5.32%	WB* (WBL) ²¹⁴
Tract 1423	Fair Haven	4,709	930	1,033	2606	140	19.75%	21.94%	55.34%	2.97%	BL
Tract 1424	Fair Haven	4,831	827	1,123	2715	166	17.12%	23.25%	56.20%	3.44%	BL
Tract 1425	Fair Haven	5,329	1,421	1,440	2282	186	26.67%	27.02%	42.82%	3.49%	BL
Tract 1426.01	Quinnipiac (Foxon)	5,277	2,061	1,568	1111	537	39.06%	29.71%	21.05%	10.18%	BLO* (ME)
Tract 1426.02	Fair Haven Heights	6,442	3,157	1,634	1410	241	49.01%	25.36%	21.89%	3.74%	WBL
Tract 1427	Annex	5,529	2,879	966	1442	242	52.07%	17.47%	26.08%	4.38%	WBL
Tract 1428	East Shore (Morris Cove)	4,637	4,150	53	329	105	89.50%	1.14%	7.10%	2.26%	PW

²¹⁴ Census Tract 1422 technically does not fit the definition of any neighborhood type because it is not more than 80% white and no minority group constitutes at least 10% of the population. Therefore, the tract was assigned to the neighborhood type that most accurately described it.

Table 12: 2000 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Code
Tract 1501	Milford	3,936	3,651	57	117	111	92.76%	1.45%	2.97%	2.82%	PW
Tract 1502	Milford	3,673	3,082	103	112	376	83.91%	2.80%	3.05%	10.24%	WO
Tract 1503	Milford	4,177	3,848	79	164	86	92.12%	1.89%	3.93%	2.06%	PW
Tract 1504	Milford	4,332	3,850	97	180	205	88.87%	2.24%	4.16%	4.73%	PW
Tract 1505	Milford	4,207	3,908	62	152	85	92.89%	1.47%	3.61%	2.02%	PW
Tract 1506	Milford	5,919	5,262	138	224	295	88.90%	2.33%	3.78%	4.98%	PW
Tract 1507	Milford	3,768	3,523	62	113	70	93.50%	1.65%	3.00%	1.86%	PW
Tract 1508	Milford	3,842	3,610	51	76	105	93.96%	1.33%	1.98%	2.73%	PW
Tract 1509	Milford	3,958	3,704	51	118	85	93.58%	1.29%	2.98%	2.15%	PW
Tract 1510	Milford	4,448	4,089	70	142	147	91.93%	1.57%	3.19%	3.30%	PW
Tract 1511	Milford	7,053	6,511	92	245	205	92.32%	1.30%	3.47%	2.91%	PW
Tract 1512	Milford	2,992	2,702	89	107	94	90.31%	2.97%	3.58%	3.14%	PW
Tract 1541	West Haven	7,672	3,687	2,352	1,110	523	48.06%	30.66%	14.47%	6.82%	WBL
Tract 1542	West Haven	6,564	2,479	2,257	1,129	699	37.77%	34.38%	17.20%	10.65%	BLO* (ME)
Tract 1543	West Haven	107	80	25	1	1	74.77%	23.36%	0.93%	0.93%	WB
Tract 1544	West Haven	6,090	2,882	1,942	814	452	47.32%	31.89%	13.37%	7.42%	WBL
Tract 1545	West Haven	4,206	3,174	356	461	215	75.46%	8.46%	10.96%	5.11%	WL* (WBL)
Tract 1546	West Haven	3,830	2,884	417	307	222	75.30%	10.89%	8.02%	5.80%	WB* (WBL)
Tract 1547	West Haven	6,411	5,938	152	188	133	92.62%	2.37%	2.93%	2.07%	PW
Tract 1548	West Haven	5,344	5,048	70	110	116	94.46%	1.31%	2.06%	2.17%	PW
Tract 1549	West Haven	3,541	3,056	157	167	161	86.30%	4.43%	4.72%	4.55%	PW
Tract 1550	West Haven	5,032	4,237	330	315	150	84.20%	6.56%	6.26%	2.98%	PW
Tract 1551	West Haven	3,563	3,056	199	155	153	85.77%	5.59%	4.35%	4.29%	PW
Tract 1571	Orange	2,207	2,036	26	41	104	92.25%	1.18%	1.86%	4.71%	PW
Tract 1572	Orange	3,671	3,462	16	37	156	94.31%	0.44%	1.01%	4.25%	PW
Tract 1573	Orange	3,211	2,985	20	30	176	92.96%	0.62%	0.93%	5.48%	PW
Tract 1574	Orange	4,144	3,829	38	82	195	92.40%	0.92%	1.98%	4.71%	PW
Tract 1601	Woodbridge	3,456	3,220	38	43	155	93.17%	1.10%	1.24%	4.48%	PW
Tract 1602	Woodbridge	5,527	4,890	97	95	445	88.47%	1.76%	1.72%	8.05%	PW* (WO)
Tract 1611	Bethany	5,040	4,713	92	102	133	93.51%	1.83%	2.02%	2.64%	PW
Tract 1651	Hamden	3,633	2,718	462	271	182	74.81%	12.72%	7.46%	5.01%	WB
Tract 1652	Hamden	2,605	2,301	121	69	114	88.33%	4.64%	2.65%	4.38%	PW
Tract 1653	Hamden	2,397	2,231	42	56	68	93.07%	1.75%	2.34%	2.84%	PW
Tract 1654	Hamden	5,001	3,566	986	196	253	71.31%	19.72%	3.92%	5.06%	WB
Tract 1655	Hamden	4,429	1,330	2,533	378	188	30.03%	57.19%	8.53%	4.24%	PB* (BL)

Table 12: 2000 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Code
Tract 1656	Hamden	5,252	3,822	831	355	244	72.77%	15.82%	6.76%	4.65%	WB
Tract 1657	Hamden	4,511	2,678	1,416	219	198	59.37%	31.39%	4.85%	4.39%	WB
Tract 1658.01	Hamden	5,314	3,730	679	252	653	70.19%	12.78%	4.74%	12.29%	WBO
Tract 1658.02	Hamden	4,118	3,301	525	131	161	80.16%	12.75%	3.18%	3.91%	WB
Tract 1659	Hamden	7,010	6,157	411	153	289	87.83%	5.86%	2.18%	4.12%	PW
Tract 1660.01	Hamden	5,726	4,632	420	190	484	80.89%	7.33%	3.32%	8.45%	PW* (WO)
Tract 1660.02	Hamden	6,917	6,346	216	155	200	91.74%	3.12%	2.24%	2.89%	PW
Tract 1671	North Haven	7,686	6,935	202	152	397	90.23%	2.63%	1.98%	5.17%	PW
Tract 1672.01	North Haven	3,691	3,435	79	57	120	93.06%	2.14%	1.54%	3.25%	PW
Tract 1672.02	North Haven	4,397	4,028	79	102	188	91.61%	1.80%	2.32%	4.28%	PW
Tract 1673	North Haven	7,261	6,729	142	122	268	92.67%	1.96%	1.68%	3.69%	PW
Tract 1701	Meriden	1,783	488	208	1,014	73	27.37%	11.67%	56.87%	4.09%	BL
Tract 1702	Meriden	2,431	978	284	1,074	95	40.23%	11.68%	44.18%	3.91%	WBL
Tract 1703	Meriden	2,358	838	167	1,257	96	35.54%	7.08%	53.31%	4.07%	PL
Tract 1704	Meriden	1,654	1,293	77	223	61	78.17%	4.66%	13.48%	3.69%	WL
Tract 1705	Meriden	5,490	4,915	102	359	114	89.53%	1.86%	6.54%	2.08%	PW
Tract 1706	Meriden	2,452	2,100	64	219	69	85.64%	2.61%	8.93%	2.81%	PW* (WL)
Tract 1707	Meriden	2,534	1,852	103	516	63	73.09%	4.06%	20.36%	2.49%	WL
Tract 1708	Meriden	5,584	4,047	355	998	184	72.47%	6.36%	17.87%	3.30%	WL
Tract 1709	Meriden	1,925	946	184	738	57	49.14%	9.56%	38.34%	2.96%	WL* (WBL)
Tract 1710	Meriden	1,645	771	123	696	55	46.87%	7.48%	42.31%	3.34%	WL
Tract 1711	Meriden	5,451	4,315	261	627	248	79.16%	4.79%	11.50%	4.55%	WL
Tract 1712	Meriden	7,565	6,794	176	436	159	89.81%	2.33%	5.76%	2.10%	PW
Tract 1713	Meriden	3,604	2,424	252	814	114	67.26%	6.99%	22.59%	3.16%	WL
Tract 1714	Meriden	1,994	969	171	789	65	48.60%	8.58%	39.57%	3.26%	WL* (WBL)
Tract 1715	Meriden	3,524	1,395	389	1,596	144	39.59%	11.04%	45.29%	4.09%	BL* (WBL)
Tract 1716	Meriden	4,402	3,111	324	737	230	70.67%	7.36%	16.74%	5.22%	WL
Tract 1717	Meriden	3,848	3,473	81	203	91	90.25%	2.10%	5.28%	2.36%	PW
Tract 1751	Wallingford	3,039	2,570	40	367	62	84.57%	1.32%	12.08%	2.04%	WL
Tract 1752	Wallingford	2,279	1,883	39	262	95	82.62%	1.71%	11.50%	4.17%	WL
Tract 1753	Wallingford	4,145	3,765	39	206	135	90.83%	0.94%	4.97%	3.26%	PW
Tract 1754	Wallingford	4,012	3,299	50	473	190	82.23%	1.25%	11.79%	4.74%	WL
Tract 1755	Wallingford	7,580	7,167	99	145	169	94.55%	1.31%	1.91%	2.23%	PW
Tract 1756	Wallingford	4,844	4,641	38	99	66	95.81%	0.78%	2.04%	1.36%	PW
Tract 1757	Wallingford	2,313	2,190	23	56	44	94.68%	0.99%	2.42%	1.90%	PW

Table 12: 2000 Greater New Haven Racial Composition by Census Tract (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Total population	Total Non- Hispanic White	Total Non-Hispanic Black	Total Latino	Total Non- Hispanic Other	% Non- Hispanic White	% Non- Hispanic Black	% Latino	% Non- Hispanic Other	Neighborhood Code
Tract 1758	Wallingford	3,559	3,376	12	77	94	94.86%	0.34%	2.16%	2.64%	PW
Tract 1759	Wallingford	5,010	4,635	41	155	179	92.51%	0.82%	3.09%	3.57%	PW
Tract 1760	Wallingford	6,245	5,932	36	106	171	94.99%	0.58%	1.70%	2.74%	PW
Tract 1801	East Haven	6,258	5,913	39	197	109	94.49%	0.62%	3.15%	1.74%	PW
Tract 1802	East Haven	5,226	4,739	42	301	144	90.68%	0.80%	5.76%	2.76%	PW
Tract 1803	East Haven	2,479	2,229	27	147	76	89.92%	1.09%	5.93%	3.07%	PW
Tract 1804	East Haven	2,464	2,241	37	100	86	90.95%	1.50%	4.06%	3.49%	PW
Tract 1805	East Haven	4,759	4,052	177	229	301	85.14%	3.72%	4.81%	6.32%	PW
Tract 1806.01	East Haven	3,209	3,018	13	132	46	94.05%	0.41%	4.11%	1.43%	PW
Tract 1806.02	East Haven	3,794	3,562	42	122	68	93.89%	1.11%	3.22%	1.79%	PW
Tract 1841	Branford	5,025	4,528	66	207	224	90.11%	1.31%	4.12%	4.46%	PW
Tract 1842	Branford	4,095	3,495	95	178	327	85.35%	2.32%	4.35%	7.99%	PW* (WO)
Tract 1843	Branford	4,544	4,170	57	141	176	91.77%	1.25%	3.10%	3.87%	PW
Tract 1844	Branford	3,437	3,296	14	49	78	95.90%	0.41%	1.43%	2.27%	PW
Tract 1845	Branford	2,566	2,464	30	31	41	96.02%	1.17%	1.21%	1.60%	PW
Tract 1846	Branford	3,152	3,060	11	29	52	97.08%	0.35%	0.92%	1.65%	PW
Tract 1847	Branford	5,864	5,411	101	102	250	92.27%	1.72%	1.74%	4.26%	PW
Tract 1861	North Branford	7,233	6,853	94	163	123	94.75%	1.30%	2.25%	1.70%	PW
Tract 1862	North Branford	6,673	6,405	69	87	112	95.98%	1.03%	1.30%	1.68%	PW
Tract 1901	Guilford	3,297	3,116	22	108	51	94.51%	0.67%	3.28%	1.55%	PW
Tract 1902	Guilford	3,395	3,222	32	71	70	94.90%	0.94%	2.09%	2.06%	PW
Tract 1903.01	Guilford	6,177	5,876	40	79	182	95.13%	0.65%	1.28%	2.95%	PW
Tract 1903.02	Guilford	5,333	4,938	74	151	170	92.59%	1.39%	2.83%	3.19%	PW
Tract 1903.03	Guilford	3,196	3,057	24	46	69	95.65%	0.75%	1.44%	2.16%	PW
Tract 1941	Madison	5,046	4,886	15	79	66	96.83%	0.30%	1.57%	1.31%	PW
Tract 1942.01	Madison	7,638	7,249	28	88	273	94.91%	0.37%	1.15%	3.57%	PW
Tract 1942.02	Madison	5,174	4,935	27	73	139	95.38%	0.52%	1.41%	2.69%	PW
TOTAL		546,799	400,196	68,191	53,390	25,022	73.19%	12.47%	9.76%	4.58%	WB* (WBL)

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 13: Share of Each Racial Group by Neighborhood Type, 1970-2000

Race/ Ethnicity	Neighborhood Type										
	PW	PB	PL	WB	WL	WO	BL	BLO	WBL	WBO	ME
1970											
Total	374,763 (73.80%)	16,404 (3.23%)	0	90,003 (17.72%)	14,220 (2.80%)	0	7,987 (1.57%)	0	4,406 (0.87%)	0	0
White	364,345 (80.70%)	2,742 (0.61%)	0	67,861 (15.03%)	11,906 (2.64%)	0	2,588 (0.57%)	0	2,018 (0.45%)	0	0
Black	5,064 (11.57%)	13,495 (30.83%)	0	19,092 (43.62%)	524 (1.20%)	0	4,270 (9.76%)	0	1,322 (3.02%)	0	0
Latino	4,945 (41.05%)	167 (1.39%)	0	2,948 (24.47%)	1,790 (14.86%)	0	1,129 (9.37%)	0	1,066 (8.85%)	0	0
Other	408 (80.0%)	0	0	102 (20.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980											
Total	374,170 (72.74%)	14,740 (2.87%)	0	84,055 (16.34%)	7,934 (1.54%)	0	15,880 (3.09%)	0	17,623 (3.43%)	0	0
White	359,271 (81.75%)	1,282 (0.29%)	0	58,857 (13.39%)	5,928 (1.35%)	0	3,472 (0.79%)	0	10,679 (2.43%)	0	0
Black	5,969 (11.59%)	13,052 (25.34%)	0	21,213 (41.19%)	299 (0.58%)	0	8,220 (15.96%)	0	2,753 (5.35%)	0	0
Latino	5,729 (30.93%)	326 (1.76%)	0	2,658 (14.35%)	1,680 (9.07%)	0	4,048 (21.85%)	0	4,082 (22.04%)	0	0
Other	3,198 (65.52%)	80 (1.64%)	0	1,326 (27.17%)	27 (0.55%)	0	141 (2.89%)	0	109 (2.23%)	0	0
1990											
Total	372,567 (69.40%)	20,811 (3.88%)	0	71,093 (13.24%)	20,305 (3.78%)	0	29,999 (5.59%)	0	12,293 (2.29%)	9,785 (1.82%)	0
White	352,013 (81.0%)	3,266 (0.75%)	0	46,251 (10.64%)	14,237 (3.28%)	0	6,833 (1.57%)	0	6,413 (1.48%)	5,564 (1.28%)	0
Black	7,244 (11.66%)	15,851 (25.52%)	0	19,545 (31.47%)	1,105 (1.78%)	0	13,549 (21.81%)	0	2,472 (3.98%)	2,344 (3.77%)	0
Latino	8,070 (26.39%)	1,161 (3.80%)	0	3,349 (10.95%)	4,831 (15.80%)	0	9,243 (30.23%)	0	3,265 (10.68%)	661 (2.16%)	0
Other	5,240 (54.66%)	534 (5.57%)	0	1,947 (20.31%)	132 (1.38%)	0	374 (3.90%)	0	143 (1.49%)	1,216 (12.69%)	0

Table 13: Share of Each Racial Group by Neighborhood Type, 1970-2000 (cont.)

Race/ Ethnicity	Neighborhood Type										
	PW	PB	PL	WB	WL	WO	BL	BLO	WBL	WBO	ME
2000											
Total	315,191 (57.64%)	20,556 (3.76%)	2,358 (0.43%)	34,361 (6.28%)	42,329 (7.74%)	17,713 (3.24%)	56,382 (10.31%)	18,460 (3.38%)	28,164 (5.15%)	9,366 (1.71%)	1,919 (0.35%)
White	289,775 (72.41%)	3,798 (0.95%)	838 (0.21%)	24,659 (6.16%)	30,654 (7.66%)	12,571 (3.14%)	11,558 (2.89%)	6,514 (1.63%)	13,583 (3.39%)	5,386 (1.35%)	860 (0.21%)
Black	5,735 (8.41%)	14,341 (21.03%)	167 (0.24%)	6,145 (9.01%)	2,335 (3.42%)	1,260 (1.85%)	22,337 (32.76%)	6,242 (9.15%)	7,178 (10.53%)	1,977 (2.90%)	474 (0.70%)
Latino	9,359 (17.53%)	1,516 (2.84%)	1,257 (2.35%)	1,921 (3.60%)	7,701 (14.42%)	1,124 (2.11%)	20,317 (38.05%)	3,628 (6.80%)	5,850 (10.96%)	452 (0.85%)	265 (0.50%)
Other	10,322 (41.25%)	901 (3.60%)	96 (0.38%)	1,636 (6.54%)	1,639 (6.55%)	2,758 (11.02%)	2,170 (8.67%)	2,076 (8.30%)	1,553 (6.21%)	1,551 (6.20%)	320 (1.28%)

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 14: Stability of Greater New Haven Neighborhoods, 1970-1980

1970 Neighborhood Type	1980 Neighborhood Type														
	PW	PB	PL	PO	WB	WL	WO	BL	BO	LO	BLO	WBL	WBO	WLO	ME
PW	90 (93.75%)	0	0	0	4 (4.17%)	1 (1.04%)	0	1 (1.04%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PB	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WB	0	0	0	0	14 (70.0%)	0	0	2 (10.0%)	0	0	0	4 (20.0%)	0	0	0
WL	1 (20.0%)	0	0	0	0	3 (60.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (20.0%)	0	0	0
WO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WBL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (50.0%)	0	0	0	1 (50.0%)	0	0	0
WBO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ME	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	91	2	0	0	18	4	0	5	0	0	0	6	0	0	0

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 15: Stability of Greater New Haven Neighborhoods, 1980-1990

1980 Neighborhood Type	1990 Neighborhood Type														
	PW	PB	PL	PO	WB	WL	WO	BL	BO	LO	BLO	WBL	WBO	WLO	ME
PW	86 (94.51%)	0	0	0	1 (1.1%)	3 (3.3%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (1.1%)	0	0
PB	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WB	0	1 (5.56%)	0	0	14 (77.78%)	0	0	1 (5.56%)	0	0	0	1 (5.56%)	1 (5.56%)	0	0
WL	0	0	0	0	0	4 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WBL	0	0	0	0	1 (16.67%)	1 (16.67%)	0	2 (33.33%)	0	0	0	2 (33.33%)	0	0	0
WBO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ME	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	86	3	0	0	16	8	0	8	0	0	0	3	2	0	0

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 16: Stability of Greater New Haven Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

1990 Neighborhood Type	2000 Neighborhood Type														
	PW	PB	PL	PO	WB	WL	WO	BL	BO	LO	BLO	WBL	WBO	WLO	ME
PW	68 (79.07%)	0	0	0	5 (5.81%)	8 (9.3%)	3 (3.49%)	0	0	0	0	1 (1.16%)	1 (1.16%)	0	0
PB	0	1 (33.33%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (33.33%)	0	0	1 (33.33%)	0	0	0	0
PL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WB	0	3 (18.75%)	0	0	5 (31.25%)	0	0	2 (12.5%)	0	0	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.75%)	0	0	1 (6.25%)
WL	0	0	0	0	0	5 (62.5%)	0	2 (25.0%)	0	0	0	1 (12.5%)	0	0	0
WO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WBL	0	0	1 (33.3%)	0	0	0	0	2 (66.7%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WBO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ME	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	68	4	1	0	10	13	4	15	0	0	3	5	2	0	1

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 17: Stability of Greater New Haven Neighborhoods, 1980-2000

1980 Neighborhood Type	2000 Neighborhood Type														
	PW	PB	PL	PO	WB	WL	WO	BL	BO	LO	BLO	WBL	WBO	WLO	ME
PW	68 (74.73%)	0	0	0	6 (6.59%)	10 (10.99%)	4 (4.4%)	1 (1.1%)	0	0	0	1 (1.1%)	1 (1.1%)	0	0
PB	0	1 (50.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (50.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WB	0	3 (16.67%)	0	0	4 (22.22%)	0	0	4 (22.22%)	0	0	3 (16.67%)	3 (16.67%)	1 (5.56%)	0	0
WL	0	0	0	0	0	3 (75.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (25.0%)	0	0	0
WO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WBL	0	0	1 (16.7%)	0	0	0	0	4 (66.7%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (16.7%)
WBO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ME	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	68	4	1	0	10	13	4	15	0	0	3	5	2	0	1

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 18: Stability of Greater New Haven Neighborhoods, 1970-2000

1970 Neighborhood Type	2000 Neighborhood Type														
	PW	PB	PL	PO	WB	WL	WO	BL	BO	LO	BLO	WBL	WBO	WLO	ME
PW	68 (70.83%)	1 (1.04%)	0	0	8 (8.33%)	10 (10.42%)	4 (4.17%)	2 (2.08%)	0	0	1 (1.04%)	1 (1.04%)	1 (1.04%)	0	0
PB	0	1 (50.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (50.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WB	0	2 (10.0%)	0	0	2 (10.0%)	0	0	9 (45.0%)	0	0	2 (10.0%)	3 (15.0%)	1 (5.0%)	0	1 (5.0%)
WL	0	0	1 (20.0%)	0	0	3 (60.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (20.0%)	0	0	0
WO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WBL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WBO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ME	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	68	4	1	0	10	13	4	15	0	0	3	5	2	0	1

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 19: Number of Non-Integrated Blocks in Integrated Neighborhoods, 1990

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Neighborhood Type								
		Total Blocks with Population Determined	PW	PB	PL	PO	BL	BO	LO	BLO
1401	Downtown (WB)	14	2 (14.29%)	2 (14.29%)	0	0	1 (7.14%)	0	0	0
1409	Edgewood (WB)	37	8 (21.62%)	7 (18.92%)	0	0	2 (5.41%)	0	0	0
1411	Westville (WB)	25	11 (44.0%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1412	Amity (WB)	50	7 (14.0%)	11 (22.0%)	0	0	3 (6.0%)	1 (2.0%)	0	1 (2.0%)
1413	West Rock (WB)	32	8 (25.0%)	3 (9.38%)	0	0	2 (6.25%)	0	0	0
1414	Beaver Hills (WB)	46	2 (4.35%)	12 (26.09%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1417	Yale (WBO)	22	5 (22.73%)	6 (27.27%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1418	Prospect Hill (WBO)	29	9 (31.03%)	6 (20.69%)	0	1 (3.45%)	1 (3.45%)	0	0	1 (3.45%)
1422	Wooster Square (WB)	13	10 (76.92%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1423	Fair Haven (WBL)	42	5 (11.90%)	1 (2.38%)	1 (2.38%)	0	12 (28.57%)	0	0	0
1425	Fair Haven (WBL)	56	7 (12.5%)	5 (8.93%)	0	0	8 (14.29%)	0	0	0
1426.01	Quinnipiac (Foxon) (WB)	35	19 (54.29%)	1 (2.86%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1426.02	Fair Haven Heights (WB)	38	18 (47.37%)	1 (2.63%)	0	0	2 (5.26%)	0	0	0

Table 19: Number of Non-Integrated Blocks in Integrated Neighborhoods, 1990 (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Neighborhood Type								
		Blocks with Population Determined	PW	PB	PL	PO	BL	BO	LO	BLO
1541	West Haven (WB)	112	37 (33.04%)	20 (17.86%)	0	0	6 (5.36%)	1 (0.89%)	0	1 (0.89%)
1542	West Haven (WB)	55	15 (27.27%)	2 (3.64%)	0	0	0	0	1 (1.82%)	0
1543	West Haven (WB)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1544	West Haven (WB)	43	15 (34.88%)	10 (23.26%)	0	0	0	2 (4.65%)	0	0
1654	Hamden (WB)	64	37 (57.81%)	5 (7.81%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1655	Hamden (WB)	62	14 (22.58%)	21 (33.87%)	1 (1.61%)	0	2 (3.23%)	0	0	1 (1.61%)
1657	Hamden (WB)	51	30 (58.82%)	1 (1.96%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1701	Meriden (WL)	16	1 (6.25%)	0	3 (18.75%)	0	4 (25.0%)	0	0	0
1702	Meriden (WL)	27	2 (7.41%)	1 (3.70%)	7 (25.93%)	0	1 (3.70%)	0	0	0
1703	Meriden (WBL)	18	1 (5.56%)	0	0	0	2 (11.11%)	0	0	0
1704	Meriden (WL)	41	22 (53.66%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1709	Meriden (WL)	25	7 (28.0%)	0	1 (4.0%)	0	0	0	0	0
1710	Meriden (WL)	13	3 (23.08%)	0	1 (7.69%)	0	0	0	0	0
1713	Meriden (WL)	29	19 (65.52%)	0	0	0	2 (6.90%)	0	0	0
1714	Meriden (WL)	20	4 (20.0%)	0	3 (15.0%)	0	3 (15.0%)	0	0	0
1715	Meriden (WL)	22	2 (9.09%)	0	1 (4.55%)	0	1 (4.55%)	0	0	0
TOTAL		1038	320 (30.83%)	115 (11.08%)	18 (1.73%)	1 (0.10%)	52 (5.01%)	4 (0.38%)	1 (0.10%)	4 (0.38%)

Table 20: Number of Non-Integrated Blocks in Integrated Neighborhoods, 2000

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Neighborhood Type								
		Total	PW	PB	PL	PO	BL	BO	LO	BLO
1401	Downtown (ME)	16	1 (6.25%)	1 (6.25%)	0	0	4 (25.0%)	1 (6.25%)	0	1 (6.25%)
1410	Westville (WB)	39	16 (41.03%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1411	Westville (WB)	25	2 (8.0%)	2 (8.0%)	0	0	0	1 (4.0%)	0	0
1417	Yale (WO)	22	4 (18.18%)	0	0	2 (9.09%)	0	0	0	1 (4.55%)
1418	Prospect Hill (WBO)	30	6 (20.0%)	5 (16.67%)	0	2 (6.67%)	1 (3.33%)	2 (6.67%)	0	0
1419	East Rock (WO)	39	7 (17.95%)	0	0	0	1 (2.56%)	0	0	0
1420	East Rock (WO)	23	1 (4.35%)	0	0	0	1 (4.35%)	0	0	0
1422	Wooster Square (WB)	14	4 (28.57%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1426.02	Fair Haven Heights (WBL)	38	2 (5.26%)	0	0	0	7 (18.42%)	0	1 (2.63%)	0
1427	Annex (WBL)	51	11 (21.57%)	2 (3.92%)	0	0	12 (23.53%)	0	0	3 (5.88%)
1541	West Haven (WBL)	110	14 (12.73%)	11 (10.0%)	2 (1.82%)	0	18 (16.27%)	3 (2.73%)	1 (0.91%)	4 (3.64%)
1543	West Haven (WB)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1544	West Haven (WBL)	34	9 (26.47%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1546	West Haven (WB)	52	23 (44.23%)	1 (1.92%)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (1.92%)
1651	Hamden (WB)	54	21 (38.89%)	0	0	0	2 (3.70%)	0	0	1 (1.85%)
1654	Hamden (WB)	61	21 (34.43%)	5 (8.20%)	0	0	2 (3.28%)	3 (4.92%)	0	0

Table 20: Number of Non-Integrated Blocks in Integrated Neighborhoods, 2000 (cont.)

Census Tract	Neighborhood/ Town Name	Neighborhood Type								
		Total	PW	PB	PL	PO	BL	BO	LO	BLO
1656	Hamden (WB)	77	20 (25.97%)	0	0	1 (1.30%)	0	0	0	1 (1.30%)
1657	Hamden (WB)	48	4 (8.33%)	3 (6.25%)	0	0	2 (4.17%)	2 (4.17%)	0	0
1658.01	Hamden (WBO)	23	10 (43.48%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (4.35%)
1658.02	Hamden (WB)	61	26 (42.62%)	2 (3.28%)	0	1 (1.64%)	1 (1.64%)	0	0	0
1702	Meriden (WBL)	23	1 (4.35%)	1 (4.35%)	4 (17.39%)	0	8 (34.78%)	0	1 (4.35%)	1 (4.35%)
1704	Meriden (WL)	15	8 (53.33%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1707	Meriden (WL)	40	13 (32.5%)	0	0	0	1 (2.5%)	0	0	0
1708	Meriden (WL)	48	16 (33.33%)	0	0	0	1 (2.08%)	0	0	0
1709	Meriden (WL)	24	5 (20.83%)	0	2 (8.33%)	0	3 (12.5%)	0	0	0
1710	Meriden (WL)	13	0	0	6 (46.15%)	0	1 (7.69%)	0	0	0
1711	Meriden (WL)	42	25 (59.52%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1713	Meriden (WL)	29	10 (34.48%)	0	1 (3.45%)	0	2 (6.90%)	0	0	0
1714	Meriden (WL)	19	1 (5.26%)	0	3 (15.80%)	0	6 (31.58%)	0	0	0
1716	Meriden (WL)	39	10 (25.64%)	0	1 (2.56%)	0	2 (5.13%)	0	1 (2.56%)	1 (2.56%)
TOTAL		1,110	291 (26.22%)	33 (2.97%)	19 (1.71%)	6 (0.54%)	75 (6.76%)	12 (1.08%)	4 (0.36%)	15 (1.35%)

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 21: City of New Haven Racial Demographics, 1791-1960

Date	Total Population	White	Black	Other	Percent White	Percent Black	Percent Other
1791	4,510	4,303	Total: 207 Free: 129 Slaves: 78	0	95.41%	4.59%	0%
1800	5,157	4,909	Total: 248 Free: 166 Slaves: 82	0	95.19%	4.81%	0%
1810	6,967	6,578	Total: 389 Free: 371 Slaves: 18	0	94.42%	5.58%	0%
1820	8,327	7,703	Total: 624 Free: 622 Slaves: 2	0	92.51%	7.49%	0%
1830	10,678	10,108	Total: 570 Free: 566 Slaves: 4	0	94.66%	5.34%	0%
1840	14,380	13,393	Total: 987 Free: 944 Slaves: 43	0	93.14%	6.86%	0%
1850	20,345	19,356	989	0	95.14%	4.86%	0%
1860	39,267	37,779	1,488	0	96.21%	3.79%	0%
1870	50,840	49,090	1,749	1	96.56%	3.44%	0.002%
1880	62,882	60,648	2,192	42	96.45%	3.49%	0.07%
1890	81,298	78,795	2,433	70	96.92%	2.99%	0.09%
1900	108,027	105,038	2,887	102	97.23%	2.67%	0.09%
1910	133,605	129,944	3,561	100	97.26%	2.67%	0.07%
1920	162,537	157,816	4,573	148	97.10%	2.81%	0.09%
1930	162,655	157,254	5,302	97	96.68%	3.26%	0.06%
1940	160,605	154,262	6,235	108	96.05%	3.88%	0.07%
1950 ²¹⁵	164,443	154,618	9,605	220	94.03%	5.84%	0.13%
1960 ²¹⁶	152,048	129,383	22,113	552	85.09%	14.54%	0.36%

Source: Author's analysis of 1790-1960 census data; Robert Austin Warner, *New Haven Negroes*, Appendix, Table 1 (1940).

²¹⁵ In 1950, the Census Bureau began counting Yale University students as part of the New Haven population. Therefore, the figures underestimate the decline in the non-Yale population. Excluding Yale students, the New Haven population in 1950 was 155,924. *NEW HAVEN: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY* 55 (Floyd Shumway and Richard Hegel eds., 1981).

²¹⁶ Excluding Yale students, New Haven had 144,255 residents in 1960. *Id.*

Table 22: City of New Haven Racial Demographics, 1970

Neighborhood	Total population	Total Non-Hisp. White ²¹⁷	Total Black	Total Latino	Total Non-Hisp. Other	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Other
Amity	5,765	4,087	1,638	40	0	70.89%	28.41%	0.69%	0.00%
Annex	5,402	5,292	77	33	0	97.96%	1.43%	0.61%	0.00%
Beaver Hills	5,024	3,935	902	187	0	78.32%	17.95%	3.72%	0.00%
City Point	3,478	2,711	534	233	0	77.95%	15.35%	6.70%	0.00%
Dixwell	7,283	1,082	6,085	116	0	14.86%	83.55%	1.59%	0.00%
Downtown (CBD)	1,148	969	154	10	15	84.41%	13.41%	0.87%	1.31%
Dwight	6,593	4,230	2,208	155	0	64.16%	33.49%	2.35%	0.00%
East Rock	9,353	8,848	350	155	0	94.60%	3.74%	1.66%	0.00%
East Shore (Morris Cover)	6,051	5,950	9	92	0	98.33%	0.15%	1.52%	0.00%
Edgewood	4,421	4,220	116	85	0	95.45%	2.62%	1.92%	0.00%
Fair Haven	15,790	12,877	2,041	872	0	81.55%	12.93%	5.52%	0.00%
Fair Haven Heights	4,970	4,335	584	51	0	87.22%	11.75%	1.03%	0.00%
Hill	17,832	7,806	8,055	1,971	0	43.78%	45.17%	11.05%	0.00%
Long Wharf	317	300	17	0	0	94.64%	5.36%	0.00%	0.00%
Newhallville	9,121	1,660	7,410	51	0	18.20%	81.24%	0.56%	0.00%
Prospect Hill	4,715	3,321	1,240	67	87	70.43%	26.30%	1.42%	1.85%
Quinnipiac (Foxon)	3,575	3,118	420	37	0	87.22%	11.75%	1.03%	0.00%
West River	4,316	3,489	735	92	0	80.84%	17.03%	2.13%	0.00%
West Rock	5,477	3,467	1,928	82	0	63.30%	35.20%	1.50%	0.00%
Westville	7,365	7,126	82	107	50	96.75%	1.11%	1.45%	0.68%
Wooster Square	4,372	2,768	1,272	332	0	63.31%	29.09%	7.59%	0.00%
Yale	5,218	4,777	300	141	0	91.55%	5.75%	2.70%	0.00%
TOTAL	137,586	96,368	36,157	4,909	152	70.04%	26.28%	3.57%	0.11%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

²¹⁷ The 1970 census classified Latinos as White. The total non-Hispanic population was used to estimate the total non-Hispanic white and non-Hispanic other population. This calculation assumed that all blacks were non-Hispanic. The total black population was subtracted from the total non-Hispanic population. Then, the total white population was subtracted from this result to yield the total non-Hispanic other population. If the number was positive, this was noted as the total non-Hispanic other population. If the figure was negative, the total non-Hispanic other population was calculated as zero. The non-Hispanic white population was calculated by subtracting the black population and non-Hispanic other population from the total non-Hispanic population (Non-Hispanic White = Total Non-Hispanic - Black - Non-Hispanic Other).

Table 23: City of New Haven Racial Demographics, 1980

Neighborhood	Total Population	Total Non-Hisp. White	Total Non-Hisp. Black	Total Latino	Total Non-Hisp. Other	Percent Non-Hispanic White	Percent Non-Hispanic Black	Percent Latino	Percent Non-Hispanic Other
Amity	4,695	2,831	1,813	33	18	60.30%	38.62%	0.70%	0.38%
Annex	5,035	4,702	154	150	29	93.39%	3.06%	2.98%	0.58%
Beaver Hills	5,771	4,180	1,475	108	8	72.43%	25.56%	1.87%	0.14%
City Point	3,301	1,647	1,044	598	12	49.89%	31.63%	18.12%	0.36%
Dixwell	6,944	839	5,911	138	56	12.08%	85.12%	1.99%	0.81%
Downtown (CBD)	570	361	64	106	39	63.33%	11.23%	18.60%	6.84%
Dwight	6,132	2,872	2,693	332	235	46.84%	43.92%	5.41%	3.83%
East Rock	8,302	7,310	553	312	127	88.05%	6.66%	3.76%	1.53%
East Shore (Morris Cover)	5,541	5,445	0	90	6	98.27%	0.00%	1.62%	0.11%
Edgewood	4,301	3,298	787	187	29	76.68%	18.30%	4.35%	0.67%
Fair Haven	13,895	9,063	2,182	2,549	101	65.22%	15.70%	18.34%	0.73%
Fair Haven Heights	5,976	5,066	668	162	81	84.77%	11.18%	2.71%	1.36%
Hill	12,365	2,479	6,159	3,611	117	20.05%	49.81%	29.20%	0.95%
Long Wharf	1,679	351	1,099	212	17	20.91%	65.46%	12.63%	1.01%
Newhallville	7,796	443	7,141	188	24	5.68%	91.60%	2.41%	0.31%
Prospect Hill	4,645	2,428	1,692	210	315	52.27%	36.43%	4.52%	6.78%
Quinnipiac (Foxon)	4,298	3,644	481	116	56	84.78%	11.19%	2.70%	1.30%
West River	4,259	2,184	1,770	252	52	51.28%	41.56%	5.92%	1.22%
West Rock	4,491	2,325	1,957	170	39	51.77%	43.58%	3.79%	0.87%
Westville	6,719	6,226	383	40	70	92.66%	5.70%	0.60%	1.04%
Wooster Square	3,612	2,107	1,195	303	7	58.33%	33.08%	8.39%	0.19%
Yale	5,771	4,745	369	271	386	82.22%	6.39%	4.70%	6.69%
TOTAL	126,098	74,546	39,590	10,138	1,824	59.12%	31.40%	8.04%	1.45%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 24: City of New Haven City Racial Demographics, 1990

Neighborhood	Total population	Total Non-Hisp. White	Total Non-Hisp. Black	Total Latino	Non-Hisp. Other Race	Percent Non-Hisp. White	Percent Non-Hisp. Black	Percent Latino	Percent Other
Amity	4,548	2,113	2,139	204	92	46.46%	47.03%	4.49%	2.02%
Annex	5,362	4,479	431	342	110	83.53%	8.04%	6.38%	2.05%
Beaver Hills	4,953	2,560	2,158	230	5	51.69%	43.57%	4.64%	0.10%
City Point	3,370	1,180	1,217	940	33	35.01%	36.11%	27.89%	0.98%
Dixwell	6,298	578	5,270	373	77	9.18%	83.68%	5.92%	1.22%
Downtown (CBD)	997	571	273	87	66	57.27%	27.38%	8.73%	6.62%
Dwight	6,799	2,411	3,397	596	395	35.46%	49.96%	8.77%	5.81%
East Rock	9,290	7,546	602	380	762	81.23%	6.48%	4.09%	8.20%
East Shore (Morris Cover)	5,121	4,925	25	116	55	96.17%	0.49%	2.27%	1.07%
Edgewood	4,371	2,396	1,552	249	174	54.82%	35.51%	5.70%	3.98%
Fair Haven	14,556	6,938	3,202	4,245	171	47.66%	22.00%	29.16%	1.17%
Fair Haven Heights	6,119	4,600	980	450	89	75.18%	16.02%	7.35%	1.45%
Hill	13,886	1,280	7,053	5,475	79	9.22%	50.79%	39.43%	0.57%
Long Wharf	1,655	458	943	220	34	27.67%	56.98%	13.29%	2.05%
Newhallville	7,714	277	7,184	192	62	3.59%	93.13%	2.49%	0.80%
Prospect Hill	4,402	1,934	1,650	279	539	43.93%	37.48%	6.34%	12.24%
Quinnipiac (Foxon)	4,227	3,223	727	226	51	76.25%	17.20%	5.35%	1.21%
West River	4,689	1,450	2,563	530	145	30.92%	54.66%	11.30%	3.09%
West Rock	6,772	3,661	2,636	372	103	54.06%	38.92%	5.49%	1.52%
Westville	6,904	5,876	636	182	210	85.11%	9.21%	2.64%	3.04%
Wooster Square	3,050	1,843	881	278	48	60.43%	28.89%	9.11%	1.57%
Yale	5,383	3,630	694	382	677	67.43%	12.89%	7.10%	12.58%
TOTAL	130,466	63,929	46,213	16,348	3,977	49.00%	35.42%	12.53%	3.05%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database

Table 25: City of New Haven Racial Demographics, 2000

Neighborhood	Total population	Non-Hisp. White alone	Non-Hisp. Black alone	Latino	Non-Hisp. Other alone	Percent Non-Hisp. White	Percent Non-Hisp. Black	Percent Latino	Percent Other
Amity	4,545	1,237	2,537	524	247	27.22%	55.82%	11.53%	5.43%
Annex	5,529	2,879	966	1,442	242	52.07%	17.47%	26.08%	4.38%
Beaver Hills	4,965	1,199	3,147	397	222	24.15%	63.38%	8.00%	4.47%
City Point	3,349	644	987	1,578	140	19.23%	29.47%	47.12%	4.18%
Dixwell	5,011	605	3,600	616	190	12.07%	71.84%	12.29%	3.79%
Downtown (CBD)	1,919	860	474	265	320	44.82%	24.70%	13.81%	16.68%
Dwight	6,619	1,974	2,417	1,388	840	29.82%	36.52%	20.97%	12.69%
East Rock	7,998	5,724	675	574	1,025	71.57%	8.44%	7.18%	12.82%
East Shore (Morris Cover)	4,637	4,150	53	329	105	89.50%	1.14%	7.10%	2.26%
Edgewood	4,684	1,142	2,788	437	317	24.38%	59.52%	9.33%	6.77%
Fair Haven	14,869	3,178	3,596	7,603	492	21.37%	24.18%	51.13%	3.31%
Fair Haven Heights	6,442	3,157	1,634	1,410	241	49.01%	25.36%	21.89%	3.74%
Hill	10,741	867	4,620	4,849	405	8.07%	43.01%	45.14%	3.77%
Long Wharf	1,652	323	460	822	47	19.55%	27.85%	49.76%	2.85%
Newhallville	6,478	127	5,873	304	174	1.96%	90.66%	4.69%	2.69%
Prospect Hill	4,052	1,656	1,298	200	898	40.87%	32.03%	4.94%	22.16%
Quinnipiac (Foxon)	5,277	2,061	1,568	1,111	537	39.06%	29.71%	21.05%	10.18%
West River	4,149	674	2,584	707	184	16.24%	62.28%	17.04%	4.43%
West Rock	5,313	1,834	2,721	570	188	34.52%	51.21%	10.73%	3.54%
Westville	6,444	4,483	1,346	318	297	69.57%	20.89%	4.93%	4.61%
Wooster Square	2,911	1,440	772	561	138	49.47%	26.52%	19.27%	4.74%
Yale	6,042	3,765	482	438	1,357	62.31%	7.98%	7.25%	22.46%
TOTAL	123,626	43,979	44,598	26,443	8,606	35.57%	36.07%	21.39%	6.96%

Source: Author's tabulations of Neighborhood Change Database