

DIVIDING AMERICA?: THE ROLE OF 'DIVISION STREETS' IN
RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

by

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ABSTRACT

Residential segregation is an issue where multiple variables such as race, class, and income converge. Identifying the remaining variables contributing to the continuation of residential segregation is what remains in order to understand the issue completely. A possible variable that has yet to be considered is the effect that the name of a road has on the surrounding area. The objective of this research is to identify the relationship between Division Streets and residential segregation. Although this relationship may not be causal, the existence of any tie between labels as apparent as ‘division’ on a road where residential segregation is prominent has many implications. Although it has proven difficult to explain the origin and intent of the name of a road, this research looks to more deeply investigate the situation. Residential segregation is a multifaceted topic and the effect of road labels on society’s perception of an area is an untapped resource in defining the situation of residential segregation. Working within the framework that was set up by Massey in the early 1990s this research strives to create a complete picture of residential segregation.

Data were collected online from the map application on the website Google. With this technology the largest 100 cities in the United States were searched and as not every city had a Division Street the pool of potential cities to be analyzed diminished. Forty of the 100 largest cities had Division Streets in their city limits. Utilizing the program SimplyMap it was determined that of these 40 Division Streets, only eleven roads served as boundaries for block groups as collected by the United States Census Bureau. These eleven roads were analyzed to determine if there were differences in levels of racial residential segregation on either side.

Findings will reveal the relationship between the names of roads and areas of residential segregation. This research does not offer any suggestions on how to eliminate or remedy residential segregation; rather it identifies areas of concern. Ultimately, this data will contribute another layer of understanding about residential segregation.

DEDICATION

For my loving and supportive family,
without whom I would not have had this opportunity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express sincere thanks and gratitude to my committee members, for the time and guidance given throughout the course of this project. Special thanks to my thesis chair, Dr. Amy Donley, the extra time and direction she has given have not only benefitted this research project but my academic career and life.

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INTRODUCTION

Housing affects many aspects of a person's life including social ties, educational opportunities, and economic prospects (Tigges, Brown, and Greene 1998). When neighborhoods are divided by race and class, minorities and lower class persons suffer the greatest (Charles 2003; Massey & Denton 1993). The already limited resources of a minority or lower class person are stressed by the lack of more prosperous social ties to rely on. Having children go to public schools with little funding, and having limited opportunities to change their economic situation are plights that a minority person may have to deal with (Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor 1999). Living in an area where there is a roadway literally named 'Division' may imply that the negative social conditions of residential segregation are especially prominent.

HISTORY OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

America was not always residentially segregated; in fact before 1900 major northern and southern cities like Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, and Savannah were not racially segregated (Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor 1999; Massey & Denton 1993). There were neighborhoods that were identified as places where Blacks lived, but before the 1900s those neighborhoods were not predominately Black, and the majority of the city's Black population did not reside there (Massey & Denton 1993). In 1870, 80% of the Black population lived in the rural south, but 100 years later, 80% of Black Americans lived in urban areas and nearly half were located outside of the south (Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor 1999; Massey & Denton 1993). This migration of the Black population had lasting effects on urban cities throughout the country.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION

The industrialization of the north effectively jump-started segregation due to the changes in the social, economic, and technological ways of life. Industrialization and World War I raised the need for unskilled labor so rural Blacks were recruited from the south to live in row houses and work as manual laborers in northern factories (Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor 1999; Massey & Denton 1993). While companies recruited impoverished Blacks to do manual labor within the factories the native Whites that already resided in the north created a new segment of the workforce- the manager (Massey & Denton 1993). White northerners were alarmed at the perceived onslaught of Blacks that were migrating into their home towns and thought of the recent migrants as having, "uncouth manners, unclean habits, [and a] slothful appearance" these beliefs gave the established White community fuel for prejudice (Massey & Denton 1993).

During the 1920's there was a resurgence of White supremacist ideology that provided theoretical 'scientific' justification for these feelings of distaste and validated prejudice and racism (Massey & Denton 1993).

As cities grew at unprecedented rates the middle and upper class Whites started moving to the suburbs, while Black laborers remained in the city often within close proximity of the factories where they worked (Massey & Denton 1993). In areas where White residents had not moved to the suburbs there was an increasingly intolerant attitude toward Blacks living in historically White neighborhoods, and the color line began to solidify as racial hostility continued to grow. There was an influx in several racially charged words such as 'nigger' and 'darkey' that were printed in newspapers, and as antagonism increased between White and Black persons residential living continued to be intensely segregated (Massey & Denton 1993).

1960- PRESENT

Throughout the next several decades segregation continued to steadily rise and by the late 1960s the civil unrest in Black communities was brought to the larger public's eye when the Kerner Commission prophesized that America was "moving toward two societies, one Black, one White- separate and unequal" (US National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 1968). The commission was followed by the Fair Housing Act that passed in 1968 which outlawed discrimination in the housing market, and brought the conversation regarding residential segregation to an end (Charles 2003). With the legal barriers in educational, occupational, and residential arenas being perceived as gone, the color-line was out of the general public's minds, even though segregation lingers (Charles 2003; Massey & Denton 1993).

There were slow and steady declines of residential segregation through the 1970s. The decline continued and even accelerated in the 1980s and evidence was found that the most significant drops in residential segregation were in metropolitan areas (Farley 1977; Farley & Frey 1994; Logan, Stultz, and Farley 2004; Van Valey, Roof, and Wilcox 1977). White and Glick (1999) found that during the 1980s increases in the Asian and Hispanic populations came to have greater significance in relation to Black-White segregation because areas that have experienced growth in other minority populations experience a drop in Black-White segregation which may be a sign of “stirring of the melting pot”. Black and White segregation did decline during the 1990s, but at a slower rate than during the 1980s. Blacks continue to be more segregated from Whites in the 1990s as compared to Asian and Hispanic populations (Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004). Social scientists were hoping that reported positive attitudinal shifts toward integrated neighborhoods would manifest as such, but the slightly lessened rate of integration in the 1990s as compared to the 1980s suggests that attitudes have not shifted enough to result in actual change (Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004).

Overall since 1970 there have been slow changes that show a lasting impact for Black and White segregation. In only 15 metropolitan areas were Blacks more residentially segregated from Whites in 2000 than in 1980, meaning there was a decline in segregation in 240 metropolises (Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004). Racial and ethnic steering in the housing market has decreased from past decades, but still persists (Ross and Turner 2005). The increase in Asian and Hispanic populations makes the residential segregation picture more complex than in previous years. Most likely the changes in coming years will not be due to integration of other

minorities, but rather the slow wearing away of Black-White segregation (Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004).

WHY THIS INFORMATION IS IMPORTANT

In America's largest cities Black communities are still spatially isolated; in some instances hypersegregated, meaning that Black populations simultaneously experience high levels of segregation when using evenness, exposure, concentration, clusters, and centralization as measuring increments (Massey & Denton 1988; Wilkes and Iceland 2004). Evenness refers to the distribution of groups across a certain space often measured with the index of dissimilarity, and exposure indicates the probable amount of interaction between two groups which is measured with the index of isolation (Massey & Denton 1989; Wilkes & Iceland 2004). Concentration indicates the amount of physical space that a minority group is occupying, centralization shows the distance between minority groups and the center of urban space, and clustering refers to the degree to which minorities inhabit spaces that are next to other minority groups (Massey & Denton 1989; Wilkes & Iceland 2004). Whites may accept the concept of racially integrated housing, yet segregation persists. Whites still have strong feelings against Blacks moving into neighborhoods, and there is a documented tipping point when Whites will abandon a neighborhood. Widespread discrimination continues, especially in urban housing markets (Alba & Logan 1993; Massey 2005; Massey & Denton 1989). If it is found that certain roads still separate Americans based on race, suggesting that research in this area needs to continue, and that the issue of racial discrimination and segregation has yet to be resolved. As minority populations continue to be born into a culture of deprivation and racial isolation the ideals of mainstream society will cease to be the norm for those people and in mainstream

society's place the "culture of segregation will become autonomous and independent" (Massey & Denton 1993).

To name a public roadway 'Division Street' would be so blatantly racist that it surprises some that racial segregation would be the source of the name. The most notorious example of a Division St. that is known to have racial undertones is located in Chicago, Illinois. Are other streets around the country that serving as dividing lines, similar to being on the 'wrong side of the railroad tracks'? If so, these streets may serve as barriers that isolate their occupants, and create walls that prevent growth. If these dividing lines could be acknowledged, change could be enacted, integration and growth could change the cityscape.

CLUSTER PATTERNS

This research has categorized the eleven cities that have Division Streets as dividing edges in a block group into two categories: Cluster Patterns and Homogeneous Population. Clustering is a pattern of residential segregation where segments of high densities of a particular race are situated within a close proximity to each other (Massey and Denton 1988). Most of the areas that have been categorized into the Cluster Pattern category show different cores of density for different races at various locations within the city. All of the cities grouped into the Cluster Pattern category show that within the larger context of the entire city, Division Streets do not play a significant role in segregation. This is not to say that there are not different levels of integration on either side of the street, just that within the larger context the Division Streets are not a large influence of segregation.

HOMOGENEOUS POPULATIONS

Homogeneous populations are identified as areas where the space occupied on either side of a particular Division Street is equal, so that no racial population difference is discernible.

Examples of homogeneous populations that have Division Streets in their borders include: Jacksonville, Florida [See Figure 25], Washington D.C. [See Figure 26], Portland, Oregon [See Figure 27], and Boise, Idaho [See Figure 28]. Notice that all these Division Streets are located in an area with a dense population of one race, making it apparent that the Division Streets in these areas do not divide.

When a Statistical Metro Area (SMA) is categorized as having a homogeneous population no analysis is done regarding Division Street because there are no significant differences in relevant racial population percentages in the area where the Division Street is located. Just because an area has a homogeneous population does not indicate that no racial segregation is occurring in this area. Within the confines of the online map generator SimplyMap, there is no way to represent a residential segregation on a smaller scale so that small pockets of isolation may be identified.

RESEARCH METHODS

The 100 largest Statistical Metro Areas in the United States were identified [See Appendix A]. The 100 largest SMAs were reduced to SMAs with Division Streets located within the city boundary based on zipcode. In total, 40 out of the 100 original SMAs had Division Streets inside the city boundary [See Appendix B]. The 40 cities were then analyzed in the online spatial data analyzing program SimplyMap, where it was determined whether the Division Street served as a perimeter line for a Census block group. Of the 40 SMAs with Division Streets inside the city boundary only 11 cities had Division Streets used as a dividing line in a Census block group.

Each of the 11 cities were then analyzed using SimplyMap and different maps were constructed for relevant racial populations. Maps of each city were then compared to see where clusters of races are located, and to determine if Division Street was a major factor in residential segregation.

Differences in racial population are represented as different shades in a scale, and can be referred to as degrees of difference, so that a block group that is shaded to represent a racial population of 0-16.7% would be one degree away from 16.71-33.30%, and two degrees away from a block group of 33.3- 50.0%.

RESULTS

Of all the cities that were identified throughout this research no city had a Division Street that was a prominent dividing line with high densities of different races on opposing sides of the roadway. Although there are Division Streets with varying levels of different races on either side, there are no conclusive results that Division Streets separate residences.

The cities that were identified as having a cluster pattern were not divided by Division Street, although often a Division Street may travel through areas with high densities of different races as in Chicago, San Diego, and Arlington. When looking at an entire city's pattern of residences by race, Division Street is not an influence that exerts effects over the entire population of the city. Although there may be instances where there is a one or two degree difference in population percentages on either side of a Division Street, these differences are not enough to claim that an entire city is divided by this street.

Cities that were identified as having a homogeneous population and were subsequently not analyzed is not a suggestion that these cities are free from residential segregation. Rather, these cities have such a small minority population that SimplyMap cannot represent the data geospatially. There may be small pockets of segregation that cannot be analyzed because there is no data collected for interpretation at such a small scale.

CITIES THAT EXEMPLIFY CLUSTER PATTERNS

NEW YORK CITY

New York City is the largest SMA in America and has a diverse population, with a multitude of neighborhoods that identify with a particular ethnicity. Among these ethnic enclaves is Chinatown, an area within Manhattan that has an elevated population of Asian residences, shops, and eateries. New York City's Division Street is less than half of a mile long, on an east-west diagonal, and located in the lower east side of Manhattan in Chinatown [See Figure 1]. This street has restaurants, grocery stores, barber shops, and a public elementary school located on it. Division Street also divides 10 different block groups.

This road is located in the core high density area of Chinatown, and there is an equal amount of Asian residences on either side of Division Street, revealing that Division Street itself does not currently act as a barrier in New York City [See Figure 2].

LOS ANGELES

The Division Street located in Los Angeles, California is located between the suburbs of Pasadena and Glendale, to the northeast of downtown Los Angeles. This Division Street runs at a southwest to northeast curved diagonal, is 1.6 miles long, and is located east of Interstate- 5. Los Angeles is the second largest SMA in America, and the Division Street located there divides approximately six different Census block groups [See Figure 3]. There are several food shops, and small businesses in this area, but mostly it is residential.

In the area that Division Street is located there is a large Hispanic population. On the northern border of the roadway there is a higher Hispanic population than to the south, but within

the larger context of the city Division Street does not play a large role [See Figure 4]. There is a small Black population that resides in this area [See Figure 5]. And although there are instances where the street has different degrees of White residences on either side, within the larger context of the city Division Street does not have a large influence on where Whites are located [See Figure 6].

CHICAGO

Located in the third largest SMA the Division Street that runs through Chicago is not continuous, but the segments add up to be over 12 miles long, stretching from east of Highway 45 and continues to the coast of Lake Michigan [See Figure 7]. This roadway passes by three large open spaces: Thatcher Woods, Humboldt Park, and Seward Park as well as several small community parks. Division Street also passes by 2 universities, the St. Mary of Nazareth Hospital Centre, a subway station, a public high school and library, as well as an assortment of eateries and shops. There are over 40 different Census block groups that are divided by Division Street.

Chicago's Division Street is perhaps the most famous in the nation, and for good reason. Although Division Street itself is not the line of difference between Black and White residents, it is a large factor in the context of the entire city as it runs through the core, inner, and outer rungs of segregation that occur in Chicago. There is a clear central concentration of a dense Black population that has a very small White population located in the downtown urban core area [See Figure 8]. Around this there is an inner rung of mostly White residents with few to no Black people, and then the outer rung where the Black population dramatically increases and White population decreases [See Figure 9]. There are instances where there are different degrees of race

on either side of the road, but within the larger context of the city Division Street does not appear to be a dividing line, rather this roadway runs through concentric circles of segregation.

SAN DIEGO

San Diego is the 7th largest SMA and has a Division Street that is located to the southeast of the downtown area. Division Street is approximately 3.2 miles long, east of Interstate 5 and passes under Interstate- 805 [See Figure 10]. Division Street has establishments that include three schools, Rancho La Nacion Elementary, El Toyon Elementary School, and New Horizons School; along with a few neighborhood grocery markets, beauty salons, and small businesses. There are over 10 Census block groups that are divided by this roadway.

There is a very small Black population that lives near Division Street [See Figure 11]. More notably there is a large Hispanic population with the highest density at the west end of Division Street [See Figure 12]. There is high density of Asian residents at the eastern end of the street while Whites are moderately distributed throughout this area [See Figure 13]. The White population surrounding Division Street is not divided by the roadway, but where there are high densities of Asian residents there is a noticeably low percentage of White residents [See Figure 14]. Although there are instances where the Division Street has different levels of racial populations on either side, within the context of the city, Division Street is not a major influence of residential segregation.

NASHVILLE

Located south of downtown Nashville, the 16th largest Statistical Metro Area, Division Street is approximately 1.2 miles long and passes over Interstate- 65 [See Figure 15]. There are

six Census block groups that are divided by this street. Several bars and eateries, small businesses, a storage facility, and a recording studio are located on this street.

Division Street does divide the Black population, with a 0-16% population to the north, and the slight increase to 33-60% in the south [See Figure 16]. In the city of Nashville there are other instances of higher levels of density, there is a large section with a high density of Black residents to the north. There is a very small Hispanic population surrounding Division Street, with a cluster several miles to the southeast of the Division Street [See Figure 17]. There is a moderate amount of White people residing in this area [See Figure 18].

The most notable difference in Nashville is the inversed population densities of White and Black residents. Within the larger context of the city there is a stark contrast between where White and Black populations are living, and this segregation is occurring without influence from the Division Street located in this area.

ARLINGTON

Arlington, Texas is the 23rd largest SMA and has a Division Street that is located in the center of city, running in an almost straight east west line [See Figure 19]. The roadway is about 8 miles long, and there are approximately 6 Census block groups that this roadway divides (Note: Division Street is not a border in all of the Block Groups that are present in this area). Notable establishments that are located along this roadway include the Six Flags Mall, several used car, rental car, and car dealers, and a multitude of restaurants and bars.

The cluster pattern that is found in Arlington starts to the west of Interstate 820 with a high density area of Black residents, in the middle of Division Street between Interstate 820 and Highway 360 there is an increased density of White residents, and on the east side of Highway

360 along Division Street there is a higher density of Hispanic residents [See Figure 20]. This pattern of segregation may have more to do with the large roadways of Interstate 820 and Texas Highway 360 than Division Street, seeing as there these racial clusters coincide with the location of these highways.

BUFFALO

Buffalo, New York is the 32nd largest SMA in America. Division Street is located east of Buffalo's Central Business District and is just over two miles long and divides six Census block groups [See Figure 21]. There are several establishments located along Division Street, these include: The Erie County Emergency Services Department, the JFK Recreation Center, PS 6 Buffalo Elementary School of Technology, small businesses, and residential areas.

There is a clear White- Black dichotomy in housing throughout the city of Buffalo, where there are high densities of Black residents there are low levels of White residents [See Figure 22]. Division Street is located to the south of a cluster of block groups with a high density of Black Residents, and west of a large cluster of White residents [See Figure 23]. There is a small Hispanic population throughout this region [See Figure 24]. Although to the north of Division Street there is a different density of White and Black residents than there is to the south, when looking at the city as a whole it is apparent there is a different pattern of residential segregation throughout the city that is not influenced by Division Street.

DISCUSSION

Of the cities that were classified as having cluster patterns, none showed Division Street to be a large factor in residential segregation on a macro-scale throughout the city. These cities merely display groupings or pockets of races in high densities, with a ring of lower density surrounding the higher density core area. Some Division Streets passed through areas of high densities of different races, but there were no instances of two high density block groups of two different races that are next to each other with the dividing line between them being Division Street. Although there was no evidence to support the claim that Division Streets segregate residences by races, there are areas where residential segregation still exists in these cities.

Cities that were classified as having a homogenous population were not analyzed because there was no difference in racial population percentages on either side of the Division Street; not necessarily because the entire city has a homogenous population.

There are several reasons why Division Street no longer divides cities; changes in public opinions and attitudes over time as well as changes in public policy have shifted the way that people choose where they live. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed apparent or major forms of discrimination but it was not until The Fair Housing Act of 1968, which prohibited discrimination regarding the rental, purchase, or financing based on race, ethnicity, nation of origin, or religion, that attitudes started to change regarding residential segregation (Ross and Turner 2005). The changes in political climate as well as the acceptance of racially mixed neighborhoods could contribute to Division Street not literally dividing neighborhoods.

As racial segregation has become less socially acceptable over time, Division Streets may have been renamed in an attempt to have public spaces that are more politically correct. The

official renaming of streets, so as to not to have roadways with names that have connotations with intolerance, would skew the results of this data. It may be that roadways located in historically Black neighborhoods are renamed so that previous labels that had connotations to racial insensitivity are no longer offensive.

LIMITATIONS & FUTURE RESEARCH

This research was inspired by the Division Street located in Orlando, Florida; which historically served as a dividing line within the city. When Interstate- 4 was built in the 1960s, parallel to Division Street, Interstate-4 became the major dividing line. Future research could investigate the correlation between highways and segregation as well as delving into how patterns of segregation have changed over time.

This research is limited in that only data from the 2010 Census were analyzed for each of these cities; there is no earlier data available for analysis. Future research may analyze changes in segregation over time to determine if in the past areas surrounding Division Streets were places with higher levels of segregation.

Since the smallest unit of measure that the Census uses is the block group analysis on a smaller level is impossible. This is a limitation of the data set and the reason why homogenous populations could not be analyzed. Independent data would have to be collected on a neighborhood level in order to see if any micro pockets of segregation are occurring in cities.

This research project is also limited because only race is examined as a variable in each city. Other variables such as socioeconomic status or class could be analyzed in conjunction with race to determine if there are higher levels of segregation among classes than were present between races.

Future research could also look at Division Streets that are not located in big cities, but rather small towns. Since big cities have experienced large population changes over time Division Streets that at one time acted as a dividing line in a large city may now be located in an area where there is no segregation. Less populous localities would present an environment where racial residential may not have shifted so much.

Overall, Division Streets do not currently act as dividing lines in the United States' largest metropolitan areas.

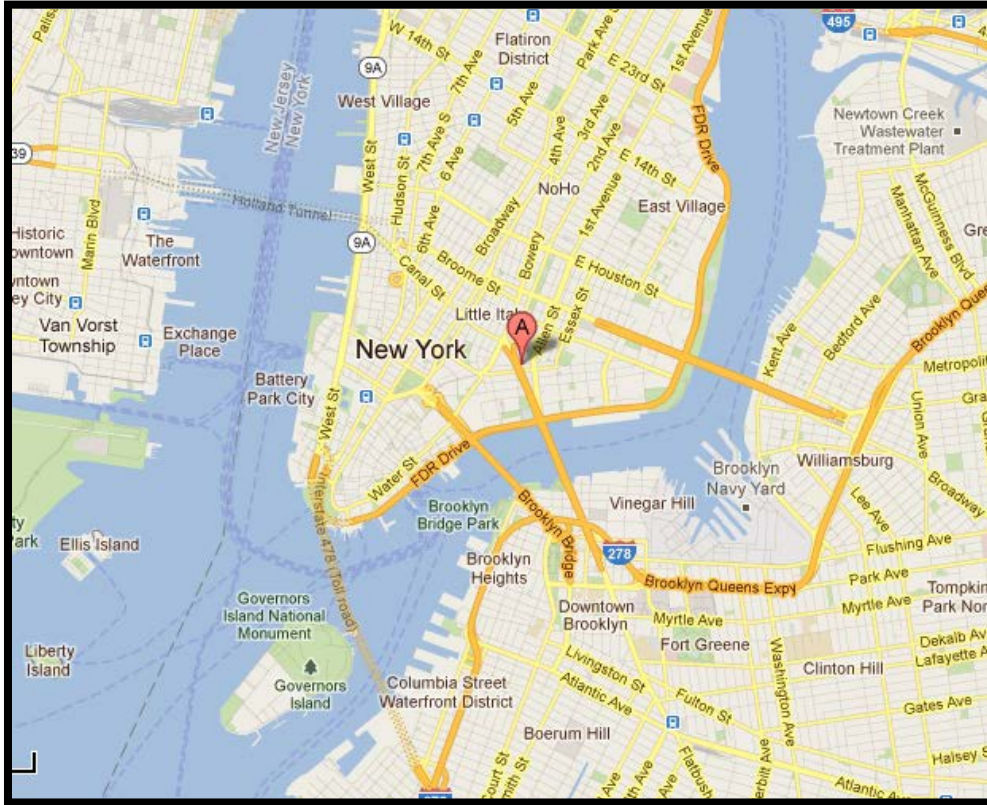


Figure 1 Division Street, New York City, New York

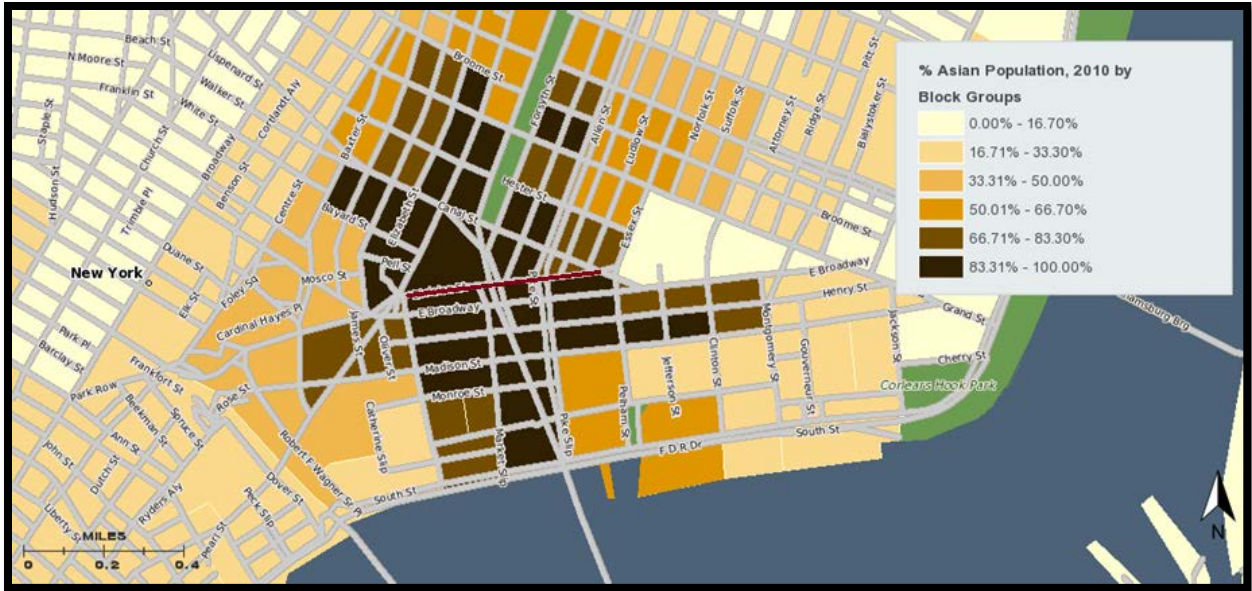


Figure 2 Percentage of Asian Population surrounding Division Street, New York City



Figure 3 Division Street, Lost Angeles, California



Figure 4 Percentage of Hispanic Population Surrounding Division Street, Los Angeles

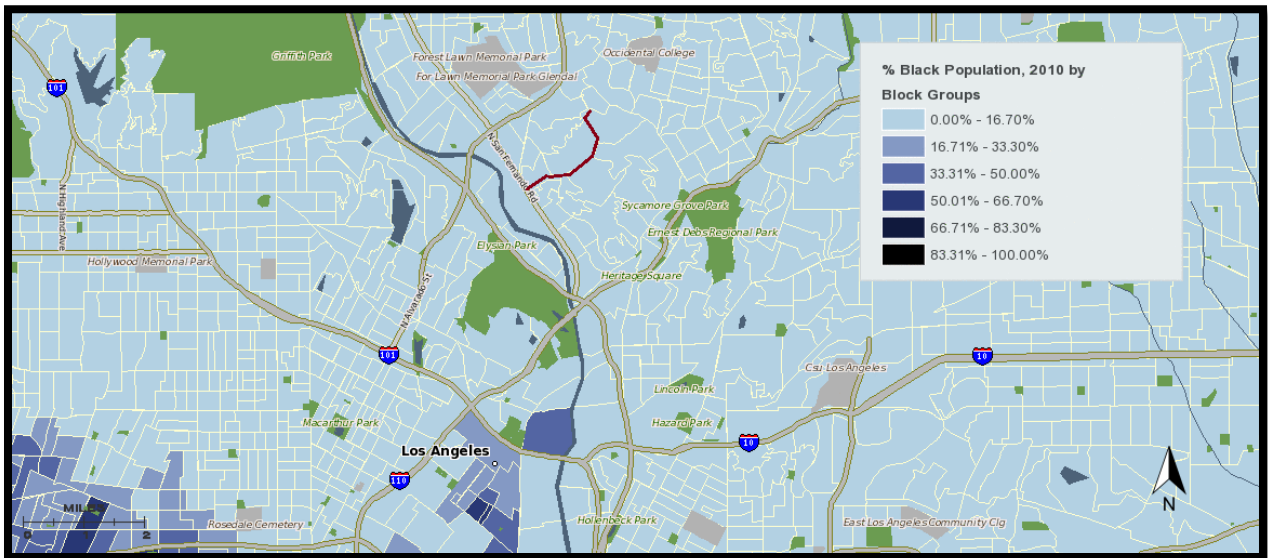


Figure 5 Percentage of Black Population surrounding Division Street, Los Angeles

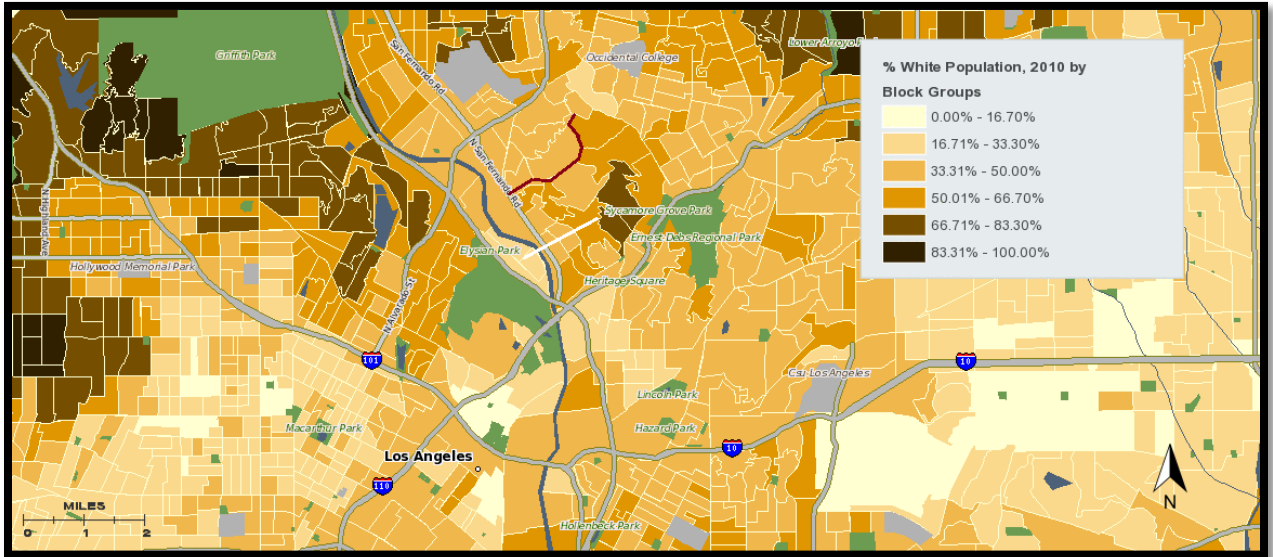


Figure 6 Percentage of White Population surrounding Division Street, Los Angeles

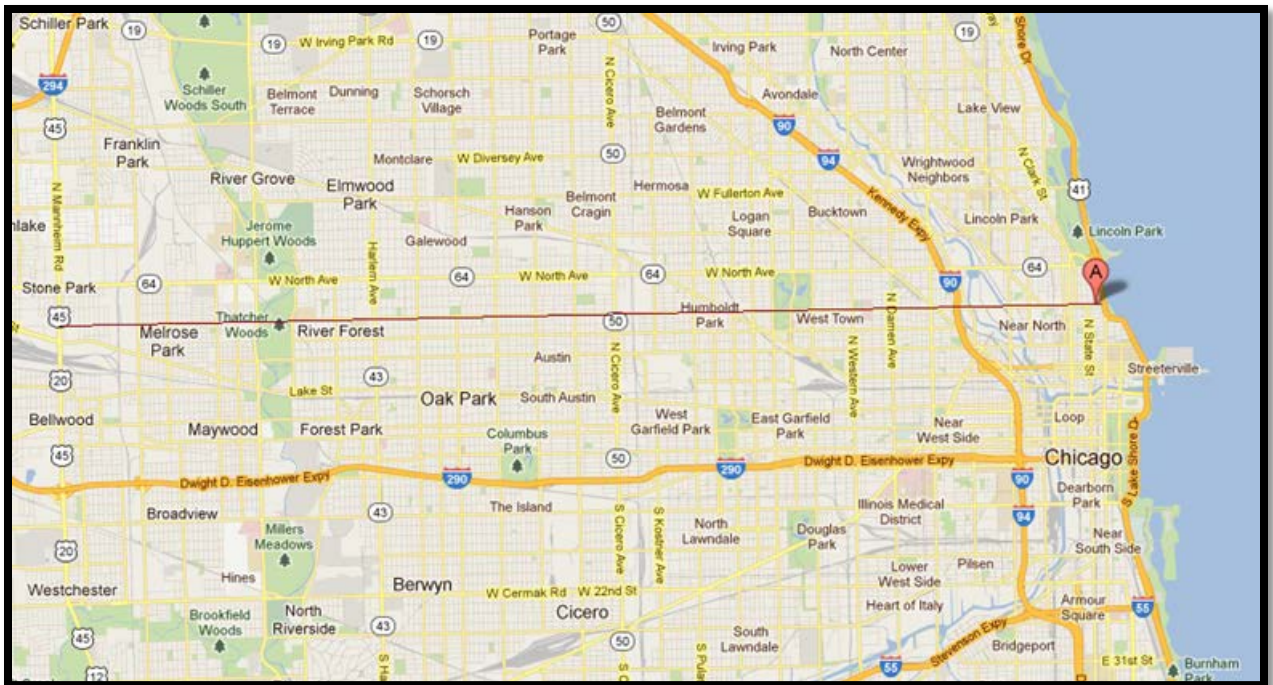


Figure 7 Chicago, Illinois

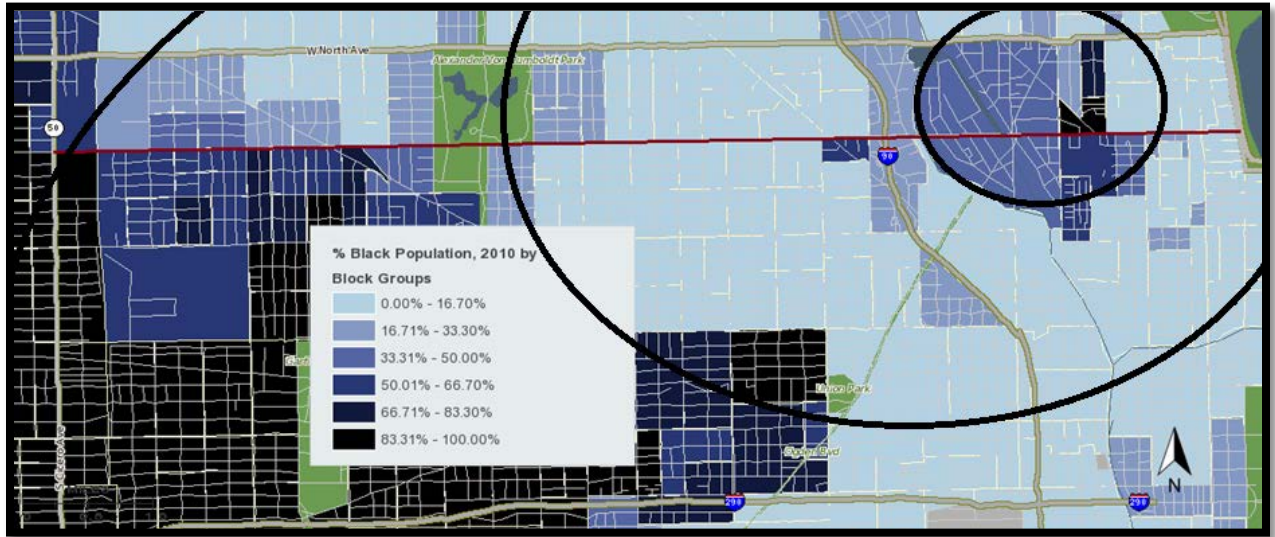


Figure 8 Percentage of Black Population surrounding Division Street, Chicago

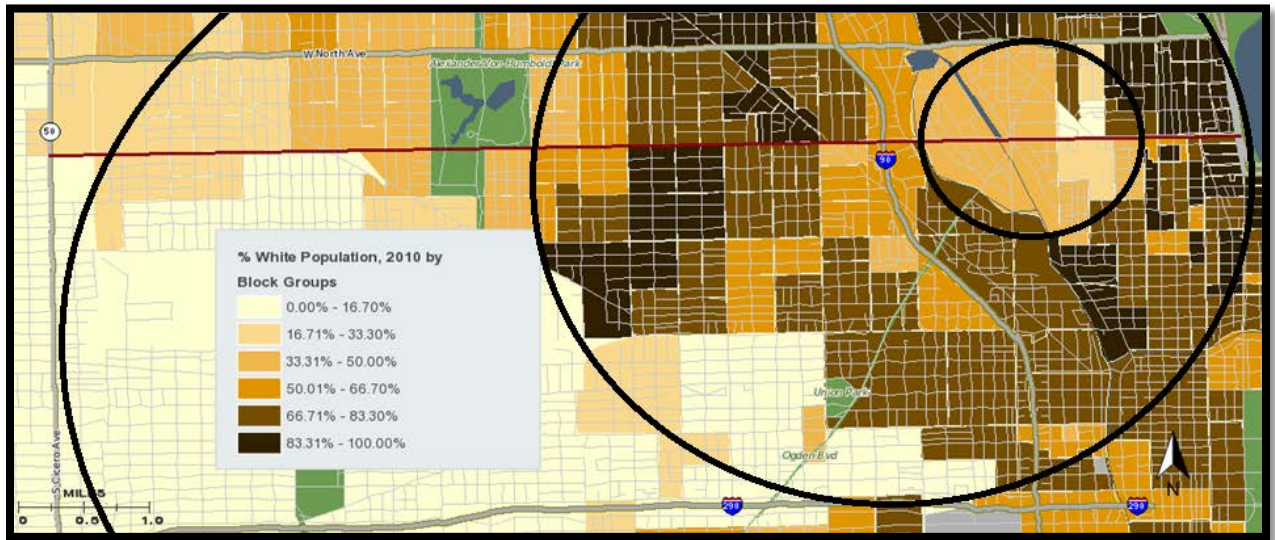


Figure 9 Percentage of White Population surrounding Division Street, Chicago

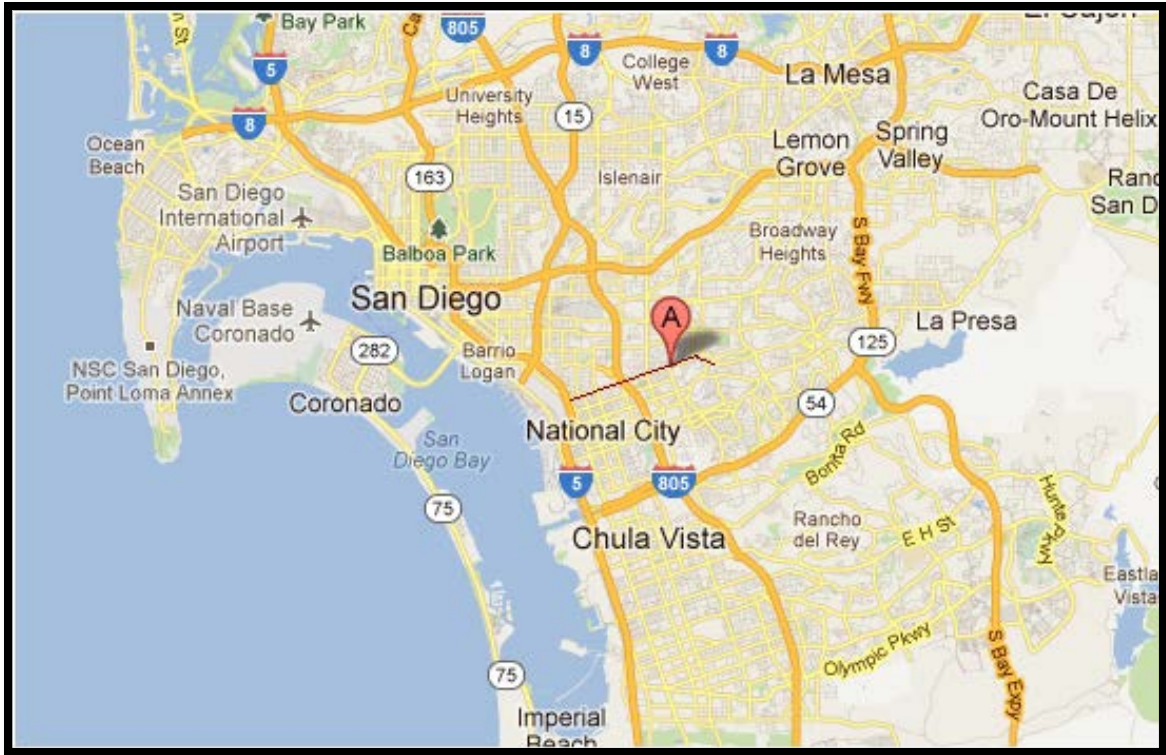


Figure 10 Division Street, San Diego, California

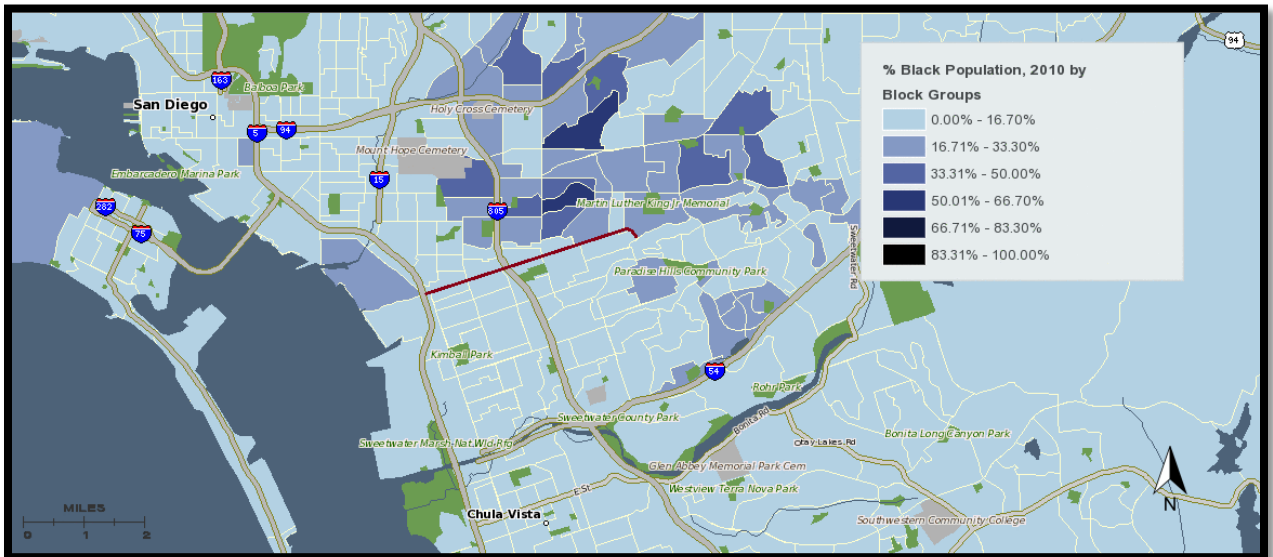


Figure 11 Percentage of Black Population surrounding Division Street, San Diego

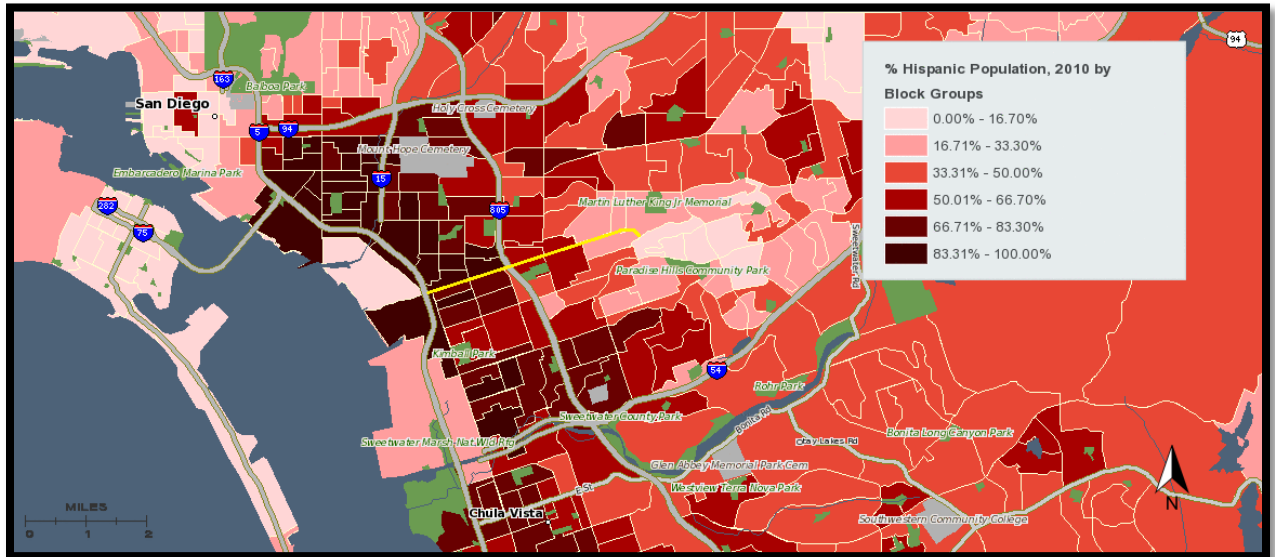


Figure 12 Percentage of Hispanic Population surrounding Division Street, San Diego



Figure 13 Percentage of Asian Population Surrounding Division Street, San Diego

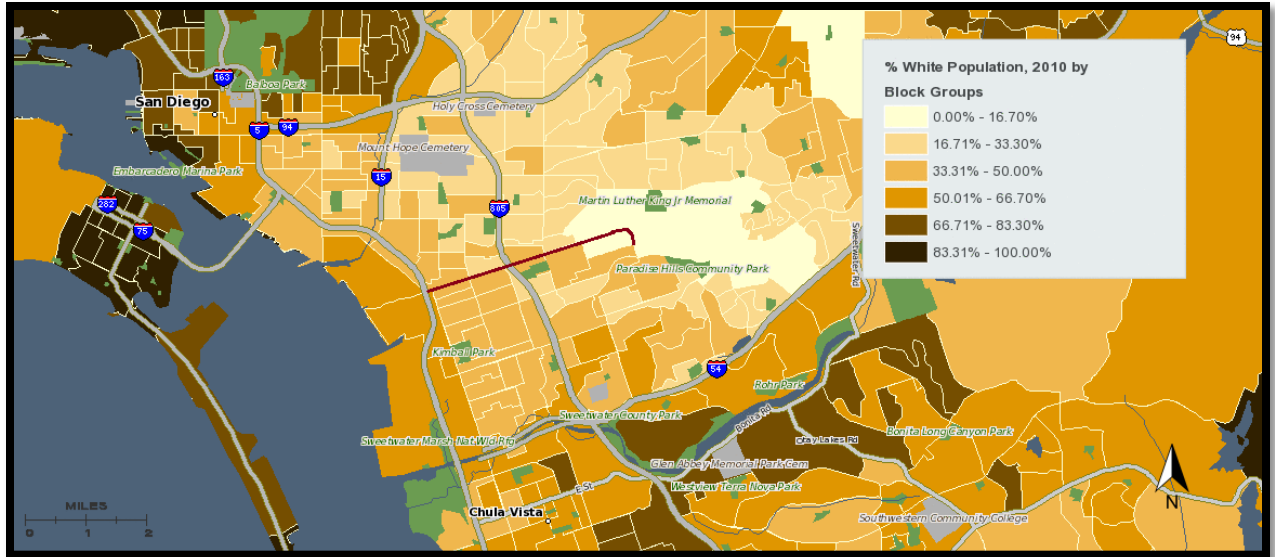


Figure 14 Percentage of White Population surrounding Division Street, San Diego

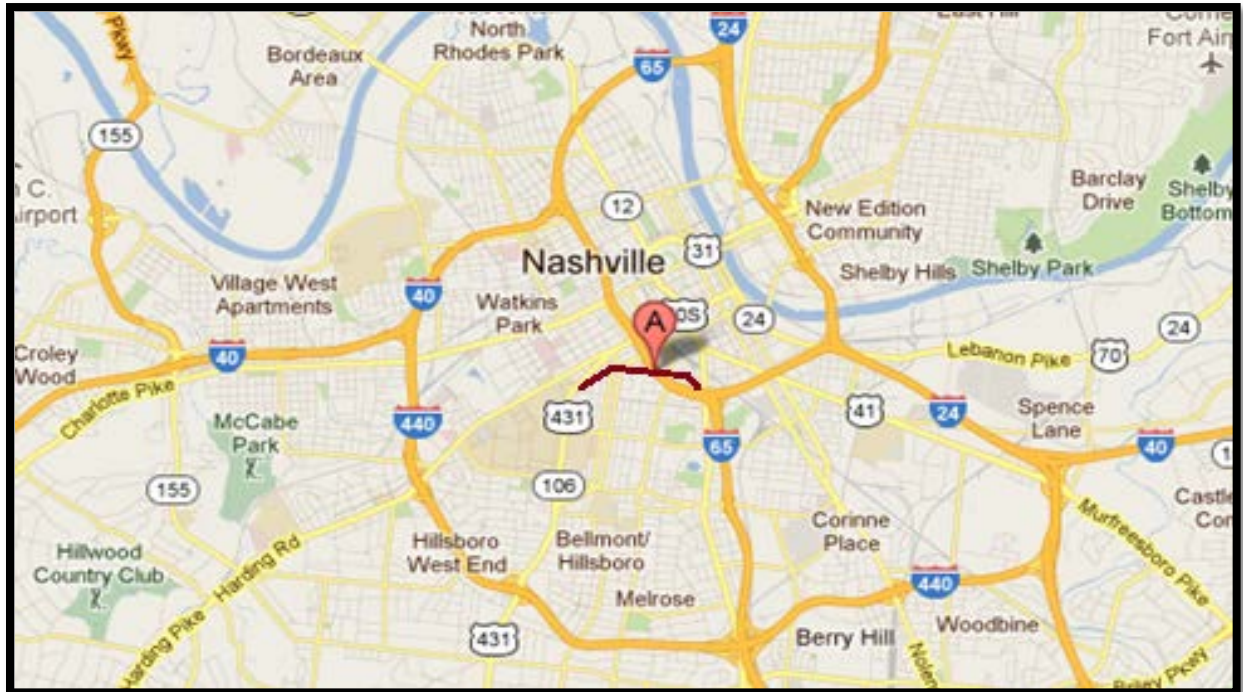


Figure 15 Division Street, Nashville, Tennessee

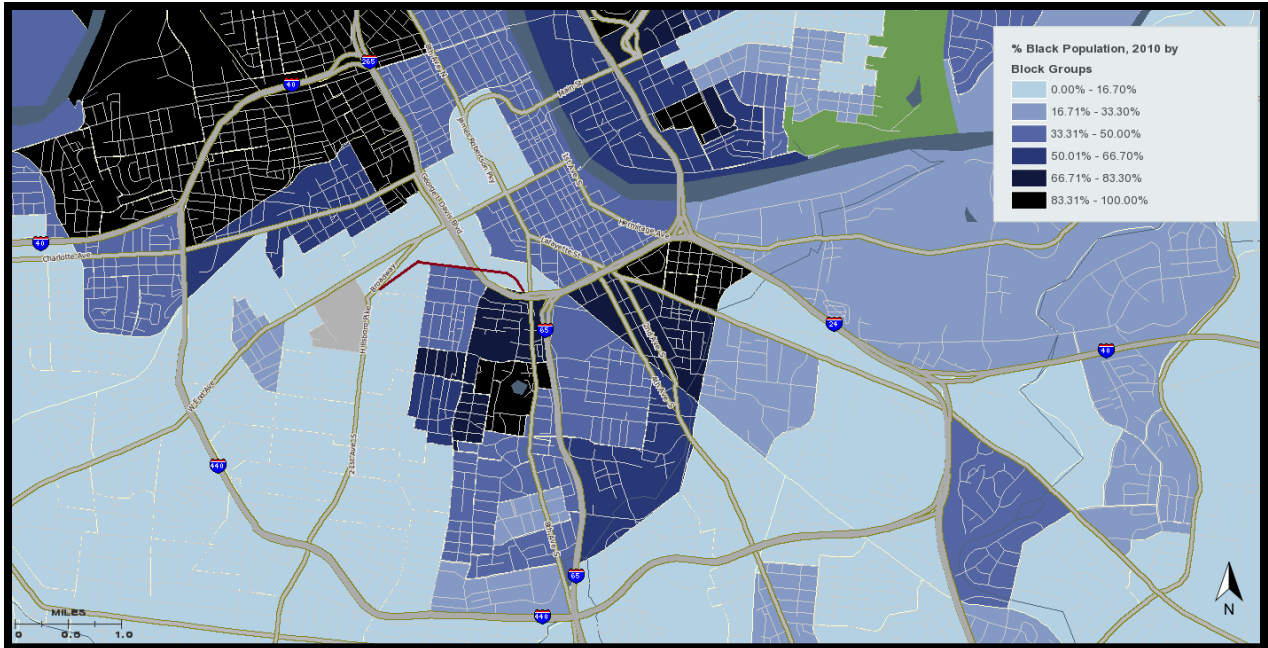


Figure 16 Percentage of Black Population surrounding Division Street, Nashville

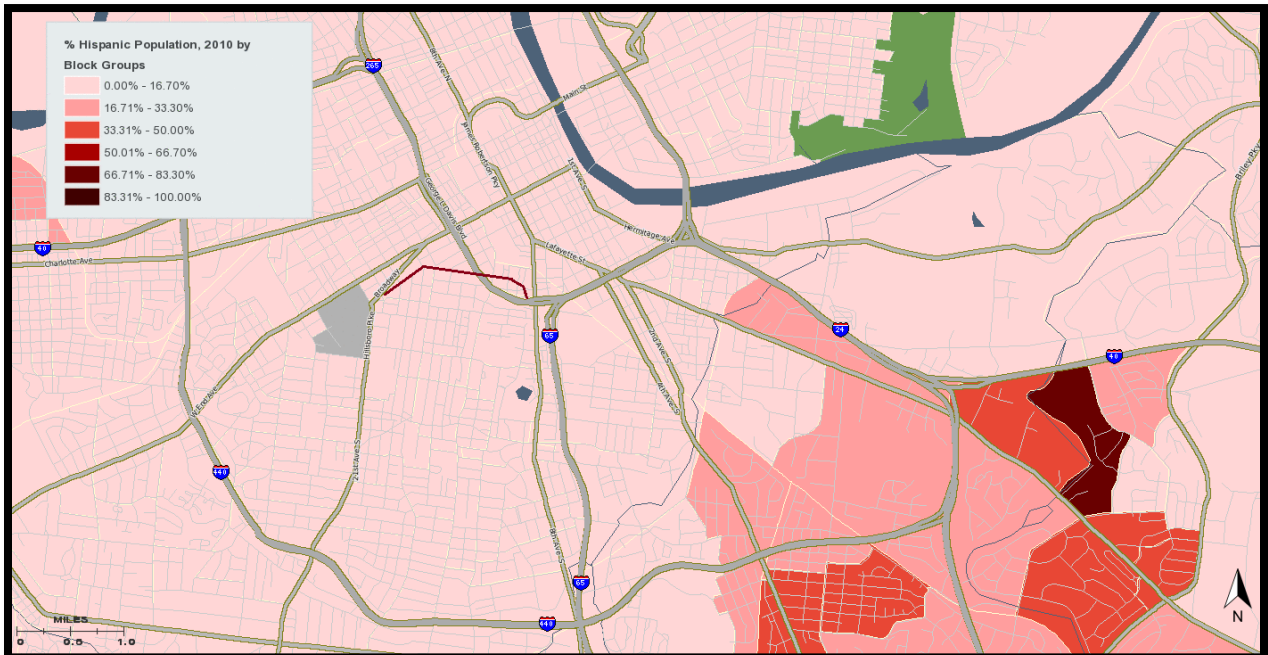


Figure 17 Percentage of Hispanic Population surrounding Division Street, Nashville



Figure 18 Percentage of White Population surrounding Division Street, Nashville

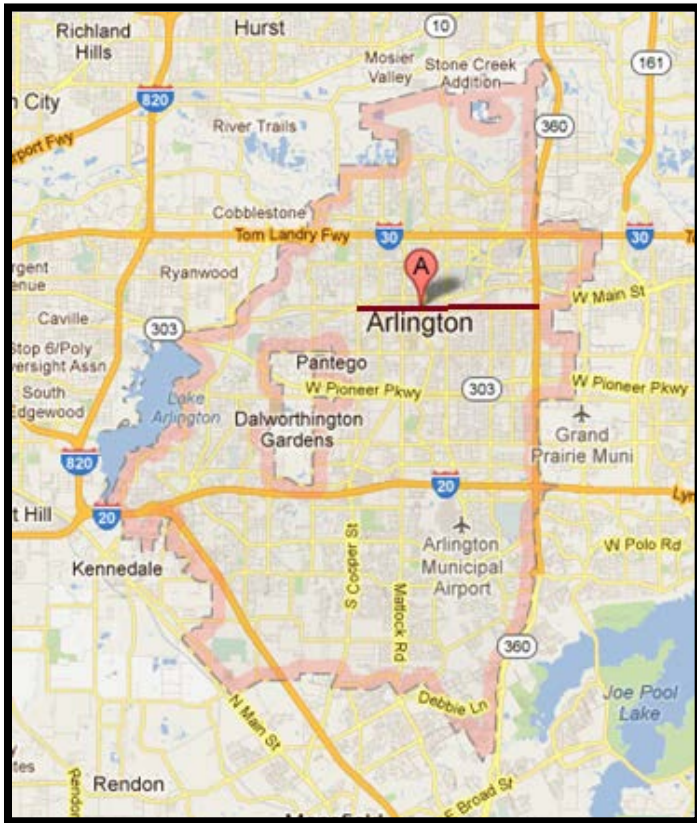


Figure 19 Division Street, Arlington, Texas

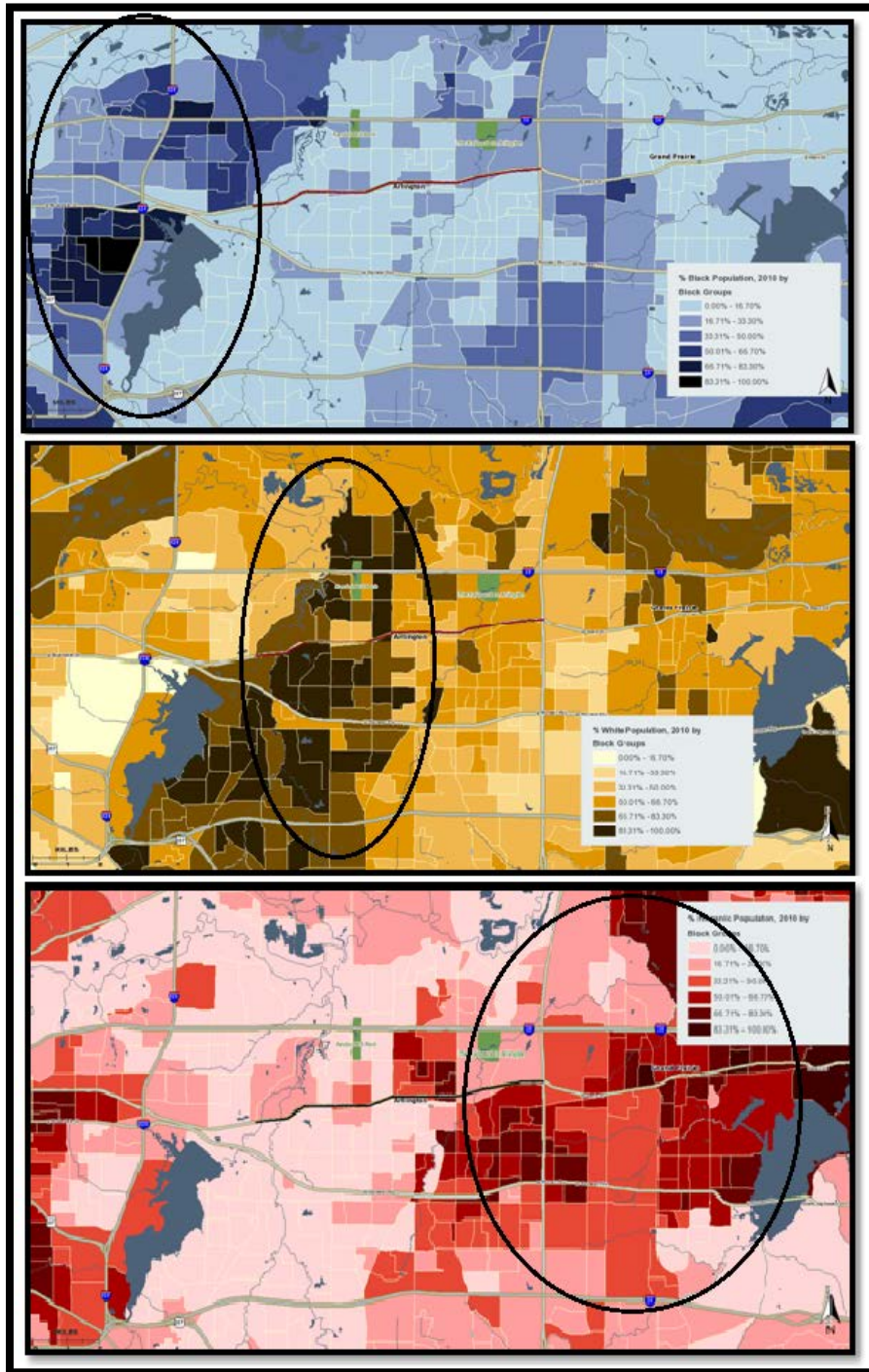


Figure 20 Cluster Patterns of Black, White, and Hispanic Populations surrounding Division Street, Arlington

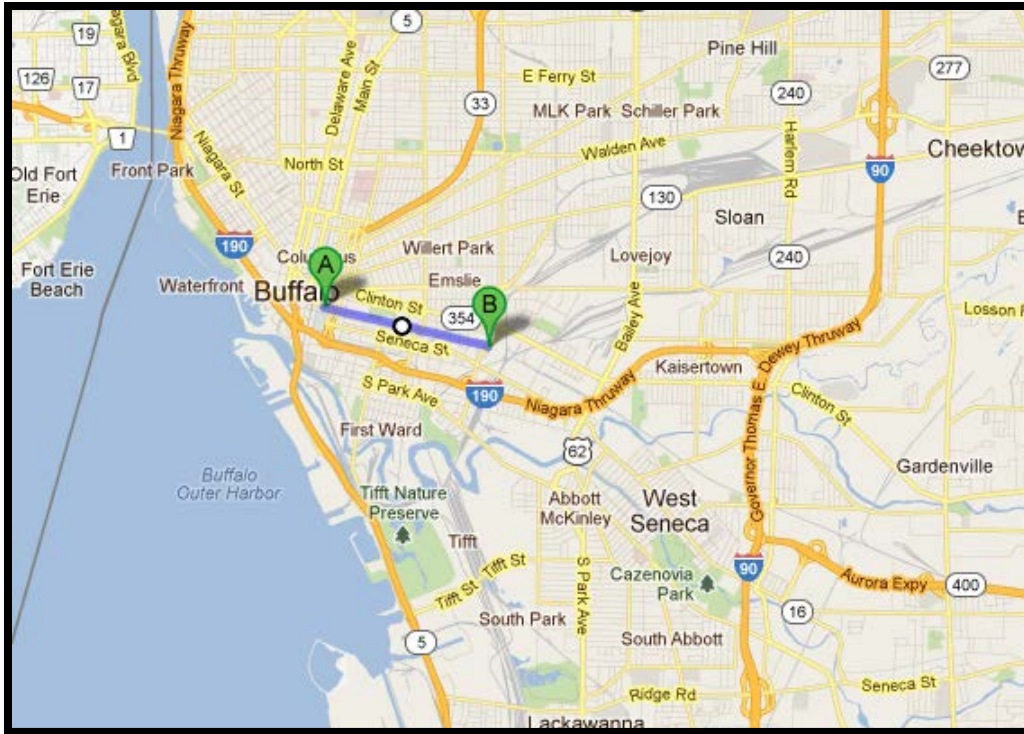


Figure 21 Division Street, Buffalo, New York

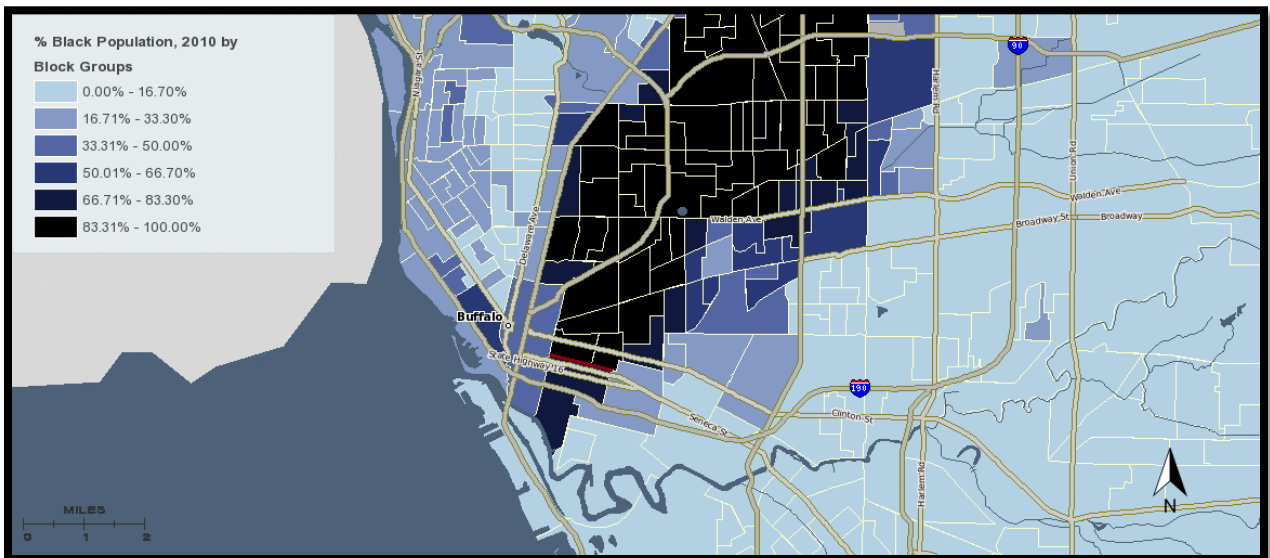


Figure 22 Black Population surrounding Division Street, Buffalo

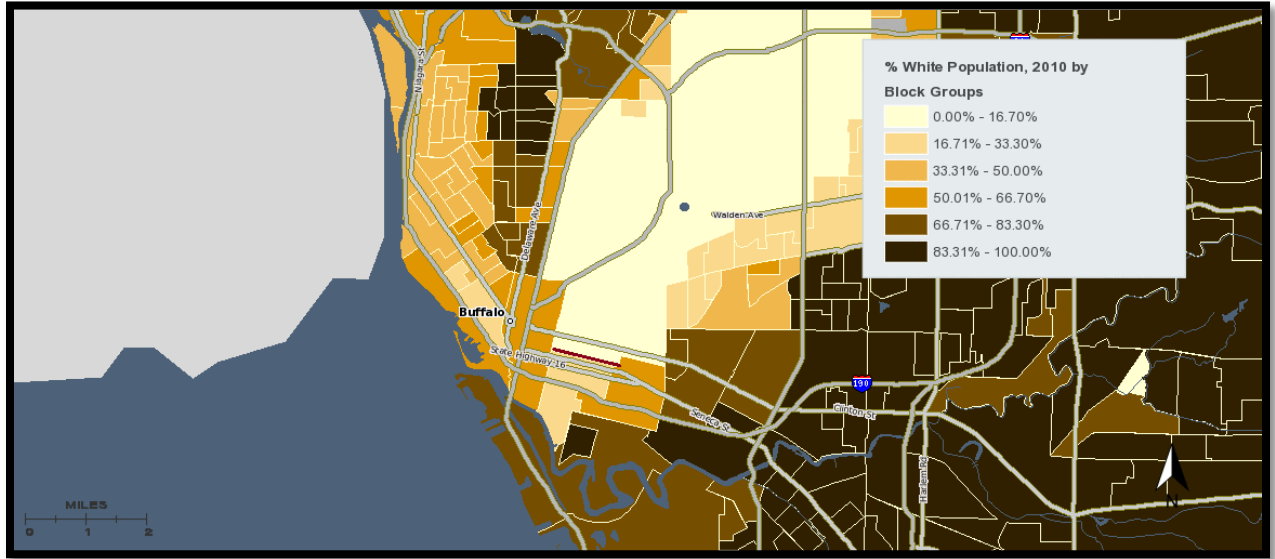


Figure 23 White Population surrounding Division Street, Buffalo

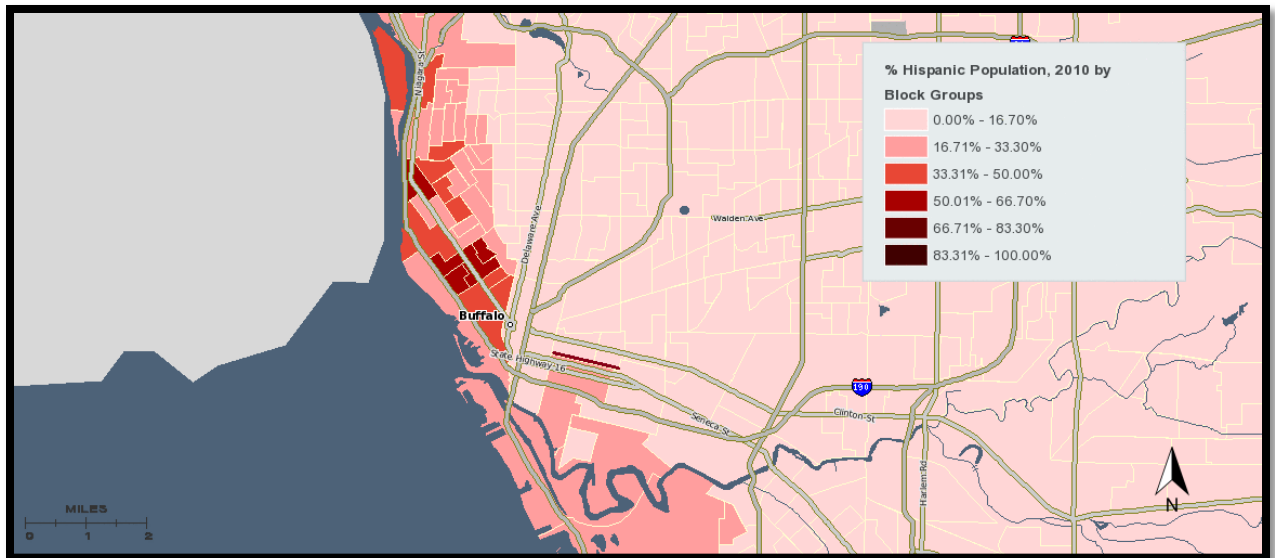


Figure 24 Hispanic Population surrounding Division Street, Buffalo

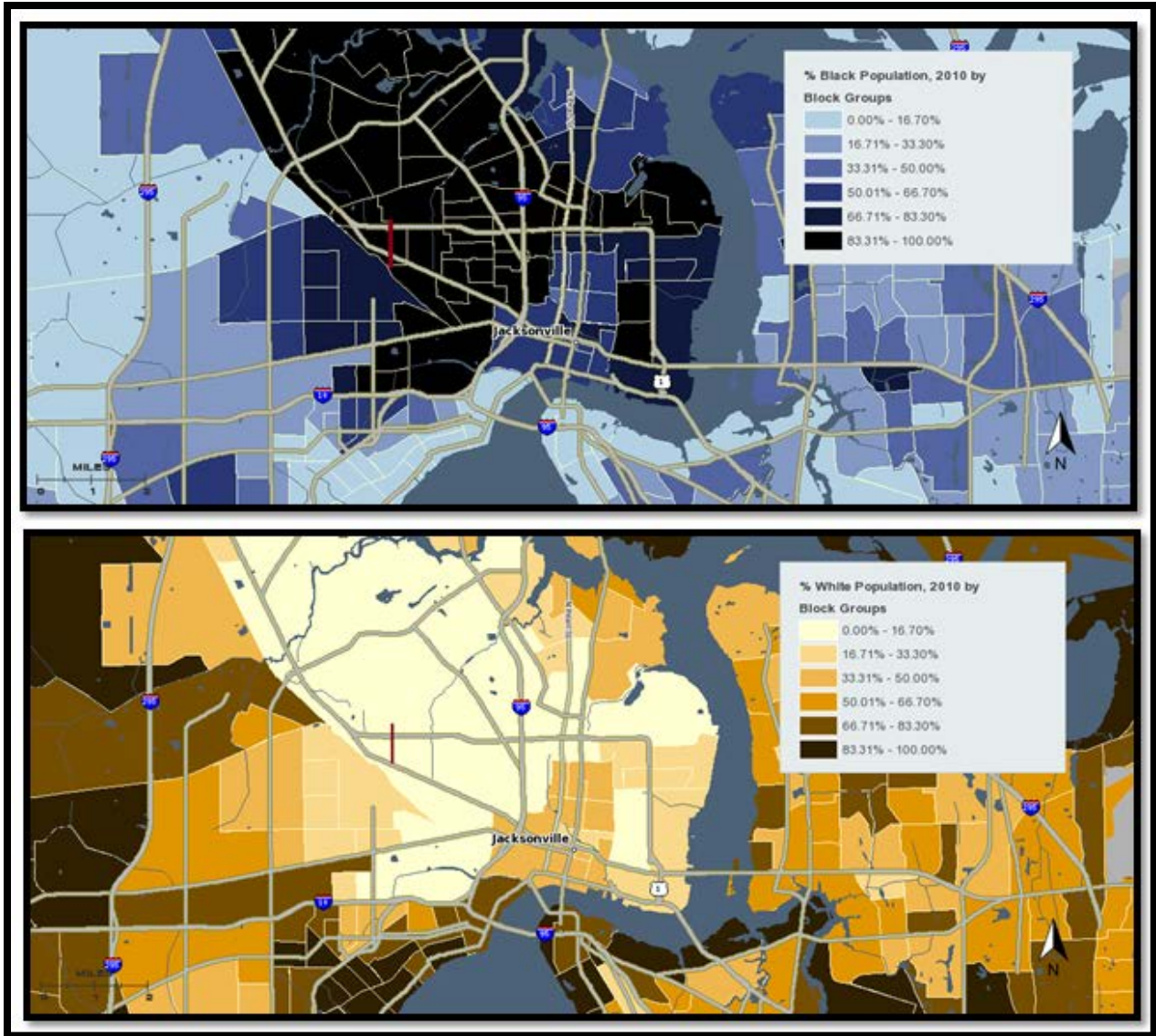


Figure 25 Division Street, Jacksonville, Florida

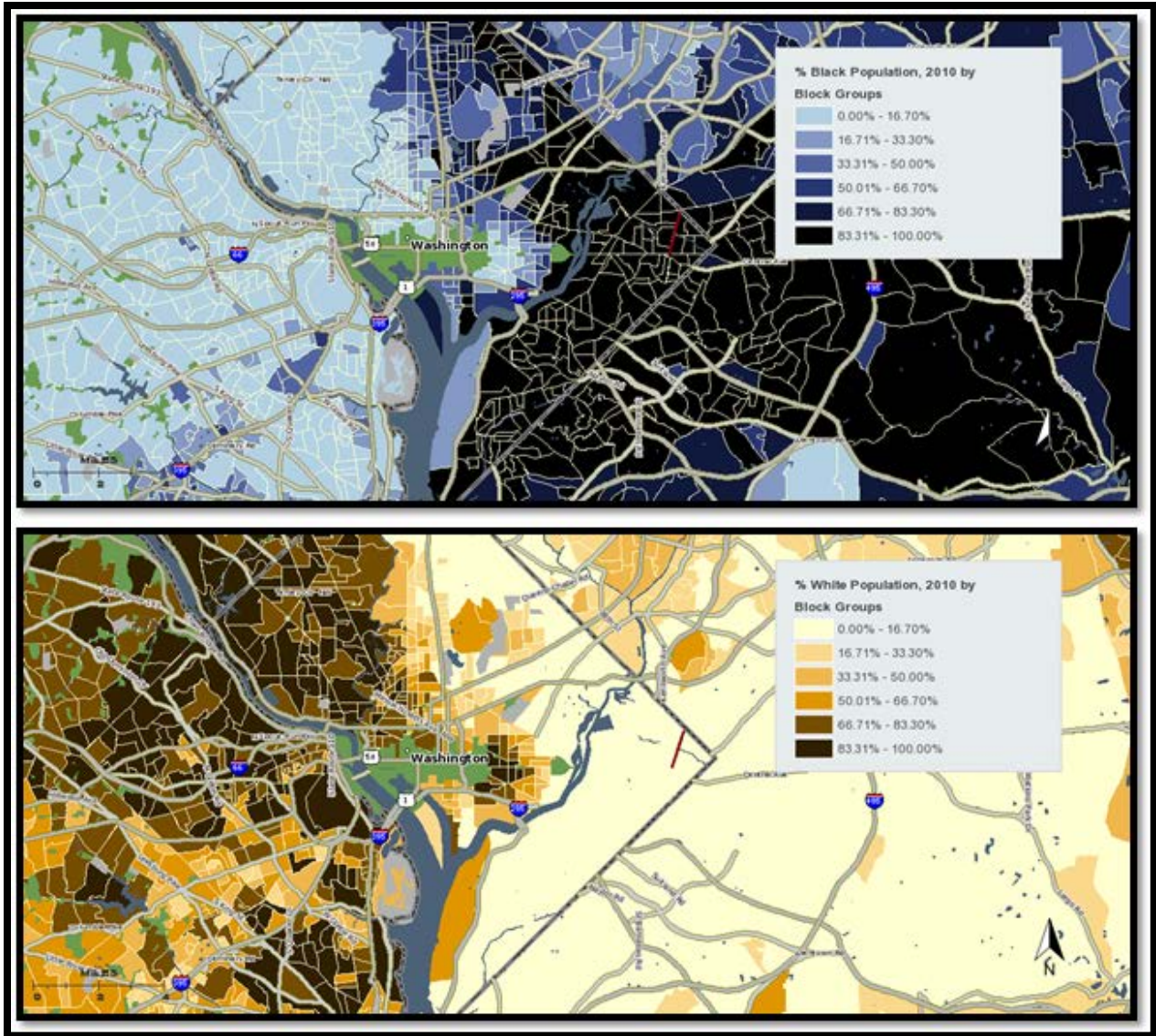


Figure 26 Division Street, Washington D.C.

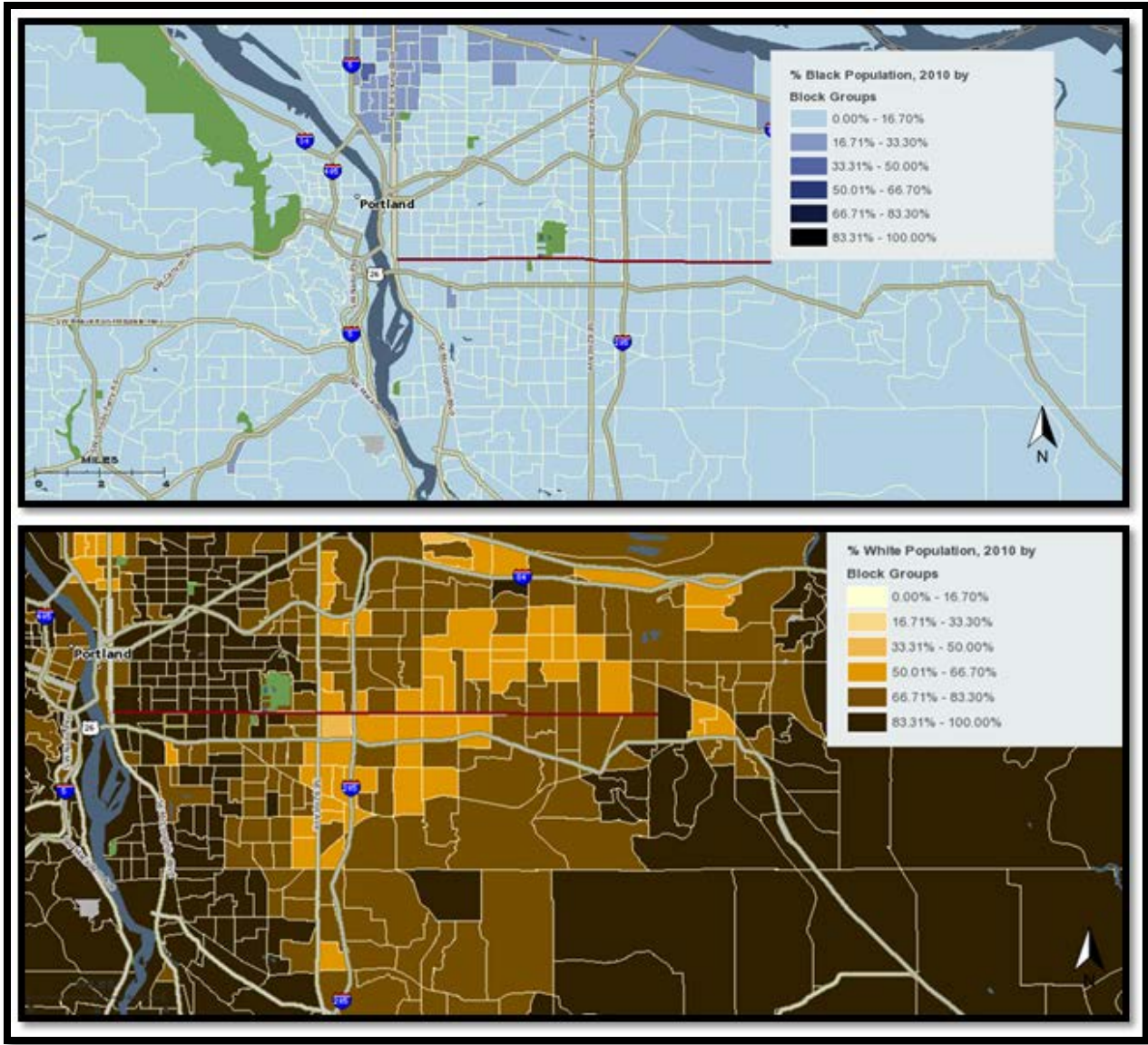


Figure 27 Division Street, Portland, Oregon

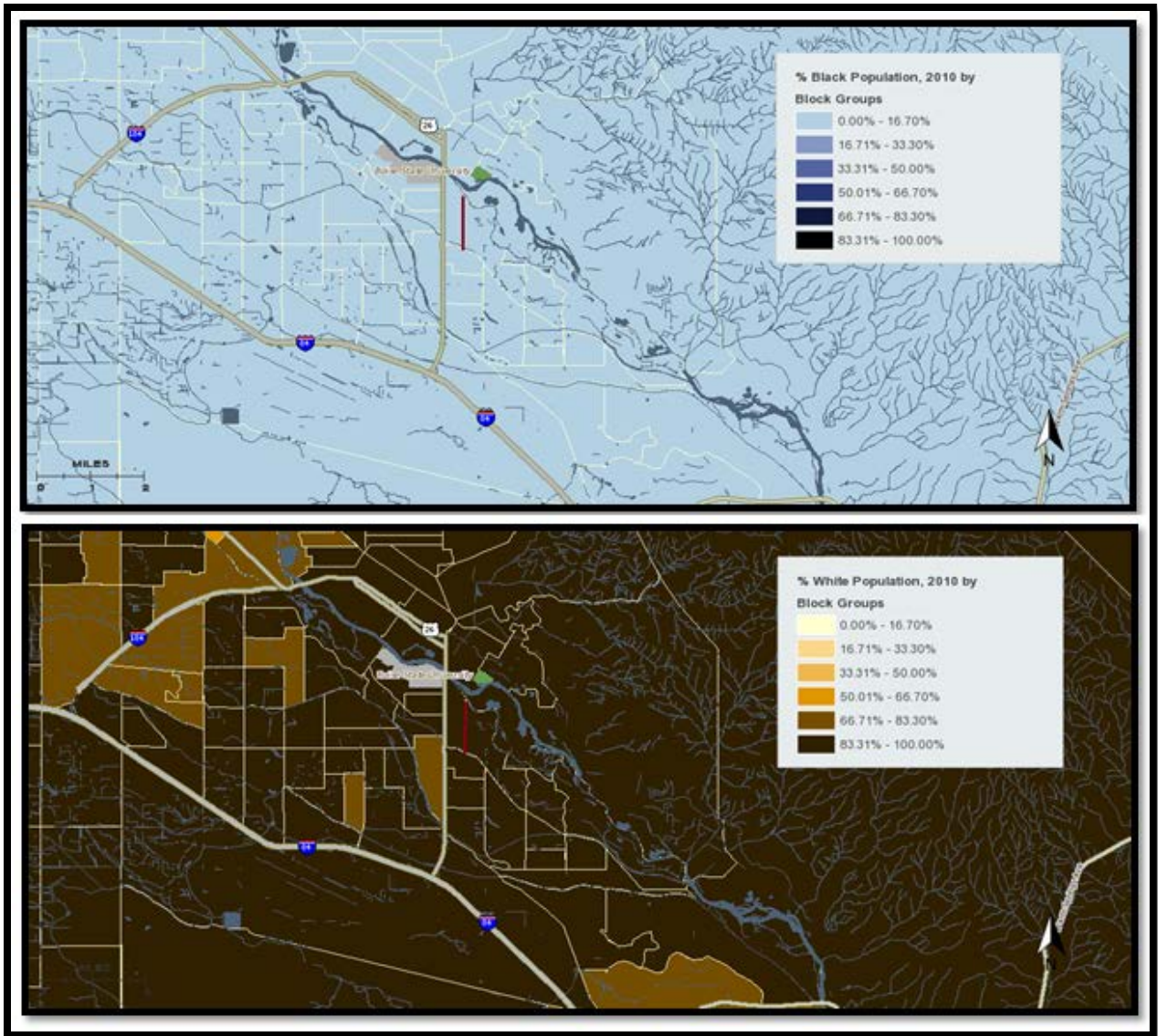


Figure 28 Division Street, Boise, Idaho

APPENDIX A 100 Largest SMAs in the United State of America

Population Rank:	Name of City:
1	New York, New York
2	Los Angeles, California
3	Chicago, Illinois
4	Houston, Texas
5	Phoenix, Arizona
6	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
7	San Antonio, Texas
8	San Diego, California
9	Dallas, Texas
10	San Jose, California
11	Detroit, Michigan
12	San Francisco, California
13	Jacksonville, Florida
14	Indianapolis, Indiana
15	Austin, Texas
16	Columbus, Ohio
17	Fort Worth, Texas
18	Charlotte, North Carolina
19	Memphis, Tennessee

20	Boston, Massachusetts
21	Baltimore, Maryland
22	El Paso, Texas
23	Seattle, Washington
24	Denver, Colorado
25	Nashville-Davidson, Tennessee
26	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
27	Washington, District of Columbia
28	Las Vegas, Nevada
29	Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky
30	Portland, Oregon
31	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
32	Tucson, Arizona
33	Atlanta, Georgia
34	Albuquerque, New Mexico
35	Kansas City, Missouri
36	Fresno, California
37	Sacramento, California
38	Long Beach, California
39	Mesa, Arizona
40	Omaha, Nebraska

41	Virginia Beach, Virginia
42	Miami, Florida
43	Cleveland, Ohio
44	Oakland, California
45	Raleigh, North Carolina
46	Colorado Springs, Colorado
47	Tulsa, Oklahoma
48	Minneapolis, Minnesota
49	Arlington, Texas
50	Honolulu, Hawaii
51	Wichita, Kansas
52	St. Louis, Missouri
53	New Orleans, Louisiana
54	Tampa, Florida
55	Santa Ana, California
56	Anaheim, California
57	Cincinnati, Ohio
58	Aurora, Colorado
59	Bakersfield, California
60	Toledo, Ohio
61	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

62	Riverside, California
63	Lexington-Fayette, Kentucky
64	Stockton, California
65	Corpus Christi, Texas
66	Anchorage, Alaska
67	St. Paul, Minnesota
68	Newark, New Jersey
69	Plano, Texas
70	Buffalo, New York
71	Henderson, Nevada
72	Fort Wayne, Indiana
73	Chandler, Arizona
74	Greensboro, North Carolina
75	Lincoln, Nebraska
76	Glendale, Arizona
77	St. Petersburg, Florida
78	Jersey City, New Jersey
79	Scottsdale, Arizona
80	Orlando, Florida
81	Madison, Wisconsin
82	Norfolk, Virginia

83	Birmingham, Alabama
84	Winston-Salem, North Carolina
85	Durham, North Carolina
86	Laredo, Texas
87	Lubbock, Texas
88	Baton Rouge, Louisiana
89	North Las Vegas, Nevada
90	Chula Vista, California
91	Chesapeake, Virginia
92	Garland, Texas
93	Reno, Nevada
94	Hialeah, Florida
95	Arlington, Virginia
96	Gilbert, Arizona
97	Irvine, California
98	Rochester, New York
99	Akron, Ohio
100	Boise, Idaho

This data was collected from the US Census Bureau from, ‘Incorporated Places With 100,000 or More Inhabitants in 2009—Population’. This information is available online at: <http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/population.html>

APPENDIX B Cities that have Division Streets in City Limits

Population Rank:	Name of City:	#.
1	New York, New York	1.
2	Los Angeles, California	2.
3	Chicago, Illinois	3.
4	Houston, Texas	4.
6	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	5.
7	San Antonio, Texas	6.
8	San Diego, California	7.
9	Dallas, Texas	8.
11	Detroit, Michigan	9.
12	San Francisco, California	10.
13	Jacksonville, Florida	11.
14	Indianapolis, Indiana	12.
21	Baltimore, Maryland	13.
23	Seattle, Washington	14.
24	Denver, Colorado	15.
25	Nashville-Davidson, Tennessee	16.
27	Washington, District of Columbia	17.
30	Portland, Oregon	18.
33	Atlanta, Georgia	19.
38	Long Beach, California	20.
43	Cleveland, Ohio	21.
45	Raleigh, North Carolina	22.
49	Arlington, Texas	23.
52	St. Louis, Missouri	24.
53	New Orleans, Louisiana	25.
54	Tampa, Florida	26.
60	Toledo, Ohio	27.
62	Riverside, California	28.
65	Corpus Christi, Texas	29.
66	Anchorage, Alaska	30.
68	Newark, New Jersey	31.
70	Buffalo, New York	32.
72	Fort Wayne, Indiana	33.
78	Jersey City, New Jersey	34.
80	Orlando, Florida	35.
81	Madison, Wisconsin	36.

83	Birmingham, Alabama	37.
98	Rochester, New York	38.
99	Akron, Ohio	39.
100	Boise, Idaho	40.

APPENDIX C Cities with Division Streets as Census Block Group Boundaries

Population Rank:	Name of City:	#.
1.	New York, NY	1.
2.	Los Angeles, CA	2.
3.	Chicago, IL	3.
7.	San Diego, CA	4.
11.	Jacksonville, FL	5.
16.	Nashville- Davidson, TN	6.
17.	Washington DC	7.
18.	Portland, OR	8.
23.	Arlington, TX	9.
32.	Buffalo, NY	10.
40.	Boise, Idaho	11.

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