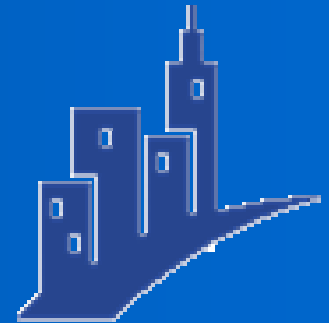


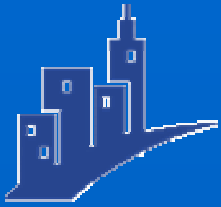
# The Brookings Institution

Metropolitan Policy Program  
Bruce Katz, Director



## One-Fifth of the Nation: America's First Suburbs in Transition

Suburban Evolution...Finding Solutions  
February 7, 2005



## One-Fifth of the Nation: America's First Suburbs in Transition

I

What are First Suburbs?

II

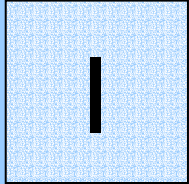
What has happened in First Suburbs nationally and in New York over the last 50 years?

III

What does this mean for Long Island?

IV

What is the role of current federal and state policies and what is a First Suburban policy agenda?



## What are First Suburbs?

Developed first after their central cities

Comprise a significant portion of the country's population

Vary dramatically across regions



## These places generally developed first after their central cities



Post-war development in the suburbs of Long Island  
(Source: Rauch Foundation)

Many, like Long Island, date back to the 1920s and 1930s

Thought of as the “inner-ring” of suburbs that developed before the wave of suburban growth of the past 50 years

Also known as close-in suburbs, older suburbs, first-tier communities, trolley car suburbs, industrial boroughs, mature suburbs, and working class suburbs



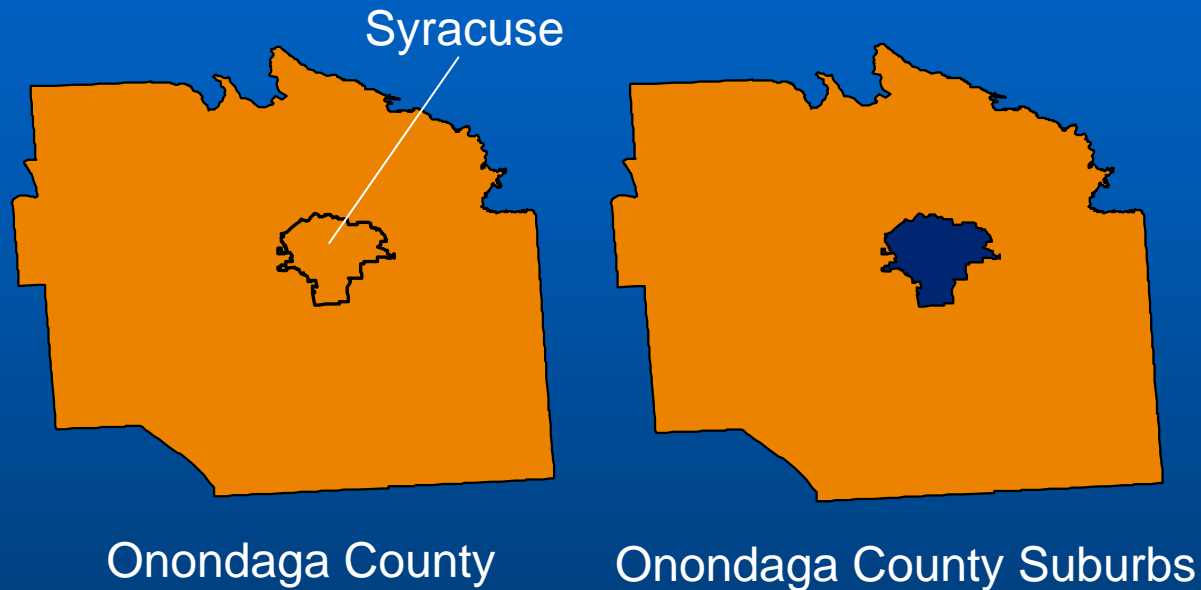
## How were First Suburbs selected for our study?



- They existed in 1950 as counties that were part of 1950 ‘standard metropolitan areas’ (SMAs)
- They were in a metro area with a large central city
- Data for the central city is not included if such existed within the county



In Onondaga County the First Suburbs are defined as those outside (or excluding) Syracuse

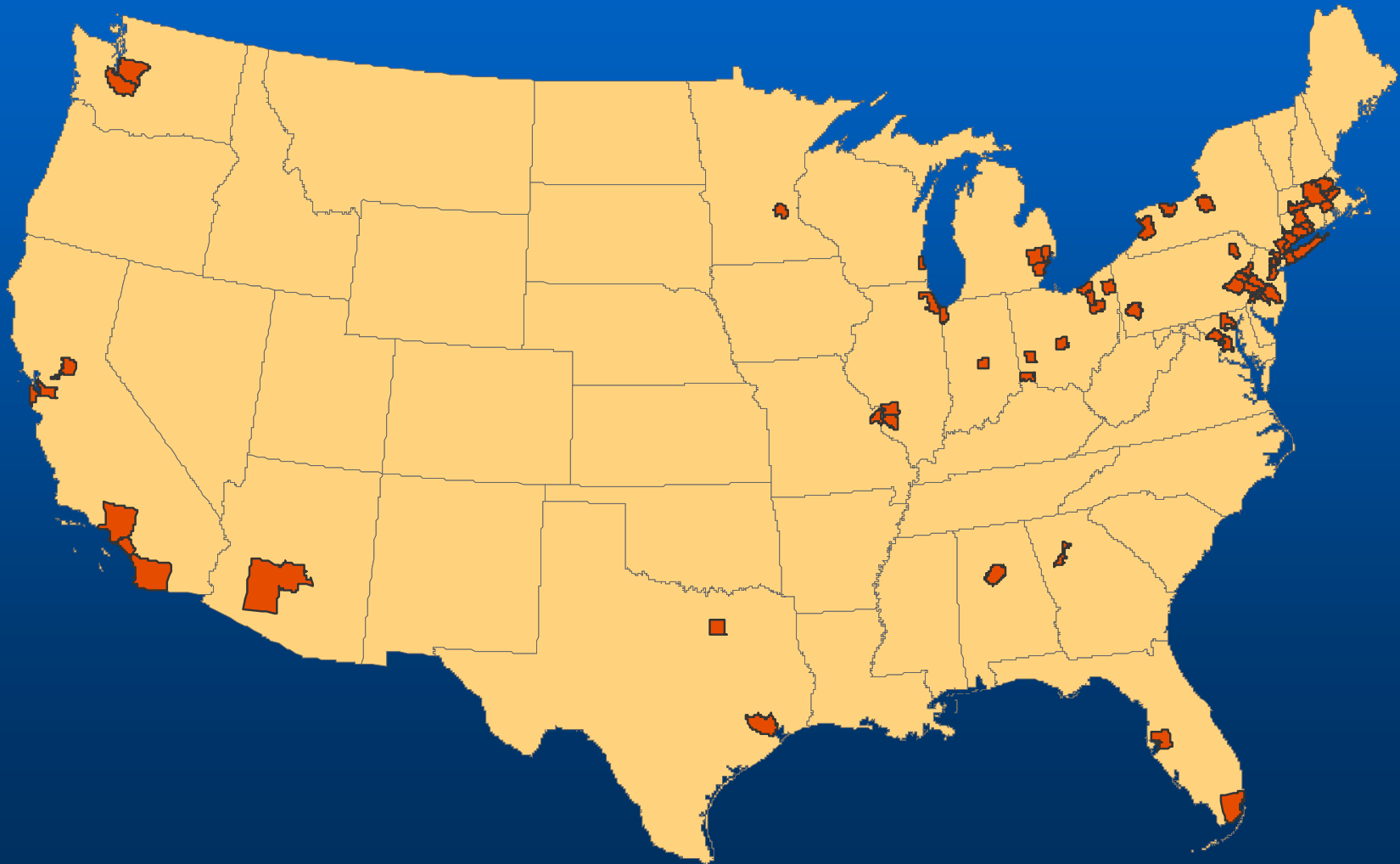


Example:

	2000 Population
Onondaga County	458,336
Syracuse	147,306
<b>Onondaga County Suburbs</b>	<b>311,030</b>



There are 64 First Suburban counties found throughout the nation.





## Nine First Suburbs are located in the West and Southwest



Maricopa County, AZ

San Diego County, CA

Orange County, CA

Los Angeles County, CA

Alameda County, CA

Sacramento County, CA

San Mateo County, CA

King County, WA

Pierce County, WA





## Six are found in the South and Southeast

Dallas County, TX

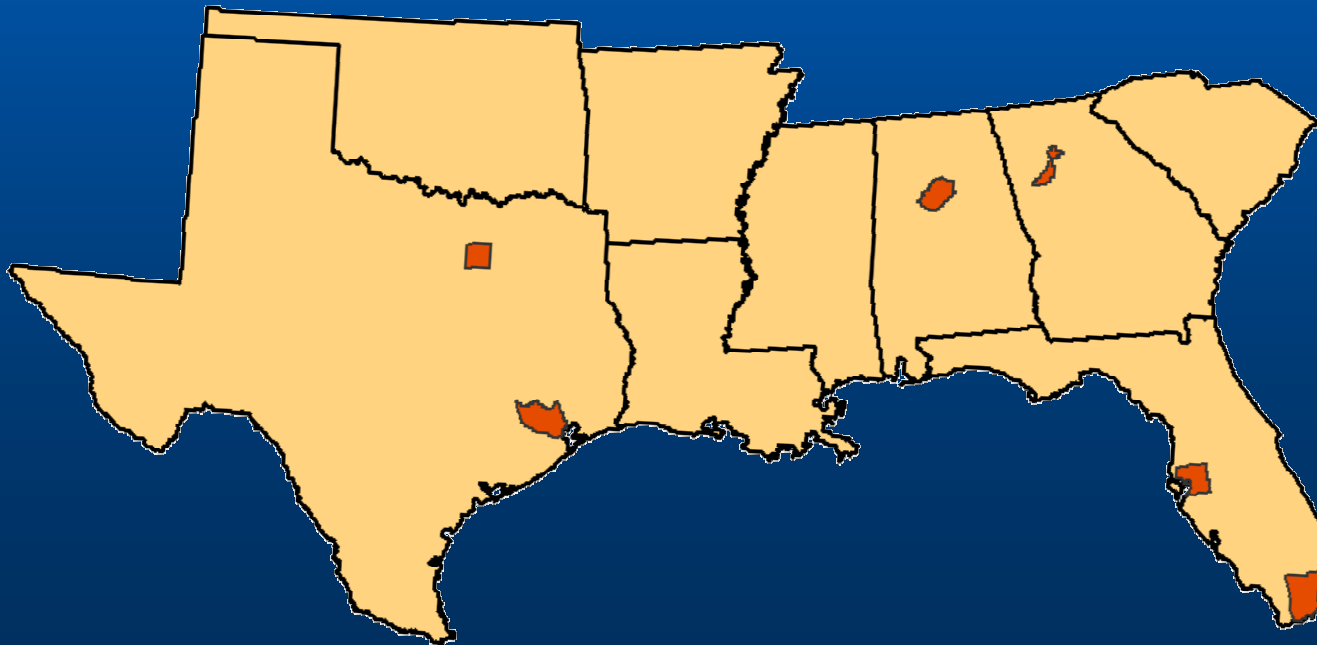
Fulton County, GA

Harris County, TX

Hillsborough County, FL

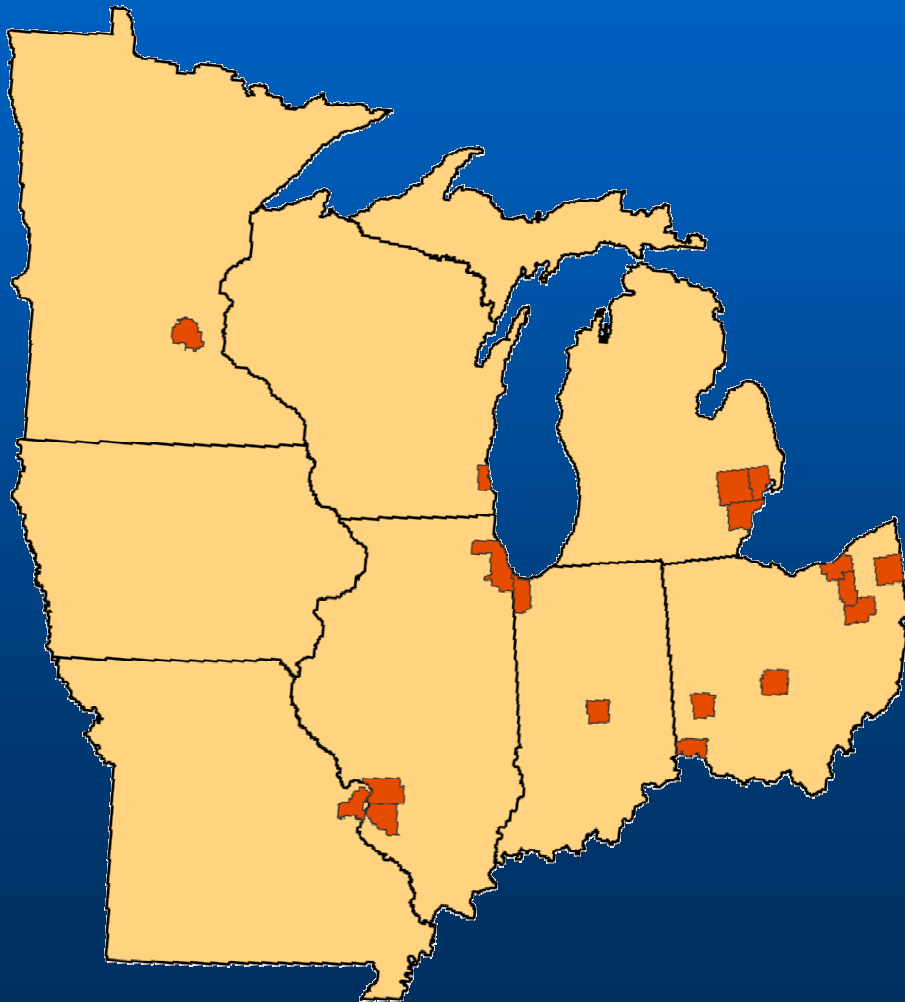
Jefferson County, AL

Dade County, FL





Many are found in the Midwest...



*Examples:*

Cuyahoga County, OH

Franklin County, OH

Wayne County, MI

Oakland County, MI

Marion County, IN

Milwaukee County, WI

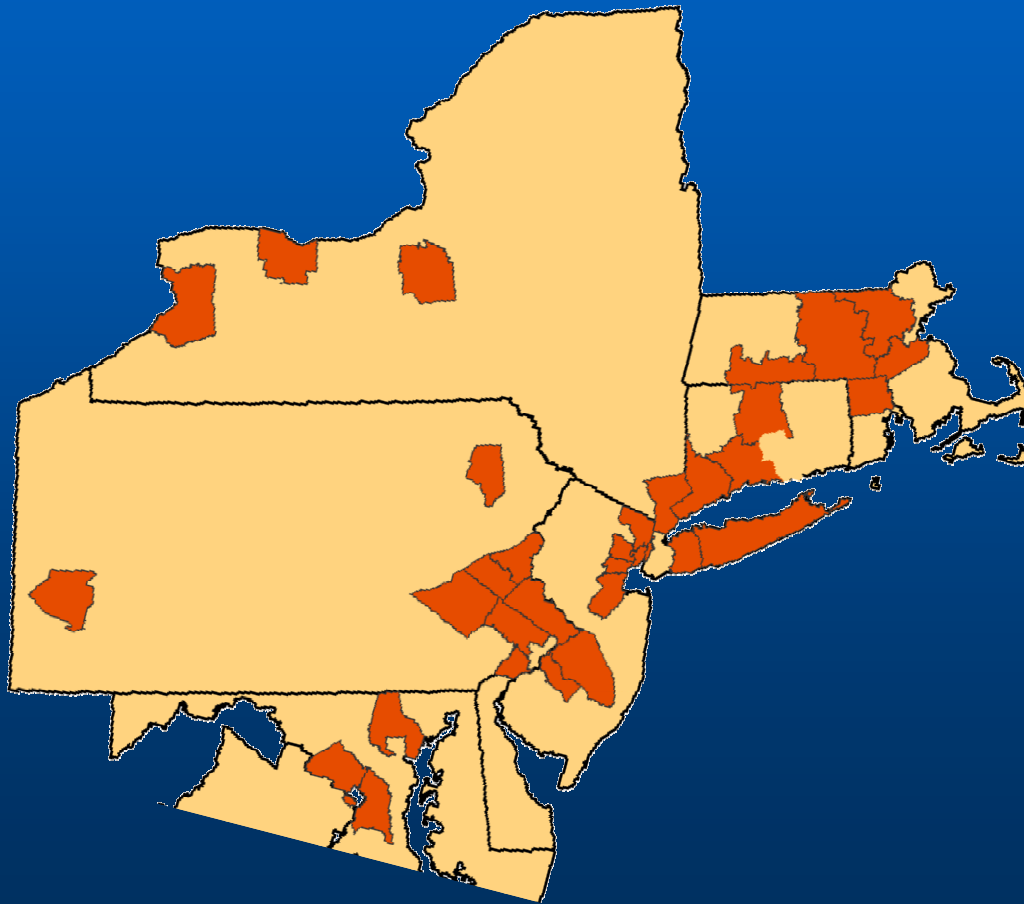
Hennepin County, MN

Cook County, IL

St. Louis County, MO



...and even more exist in the Northeast



*Examples:*

Allegheny County, PA

Lackawanna County, PA

Baltimore County, MD

Arlington County, VA

Fairfield County, CT

Middlesex County, MA

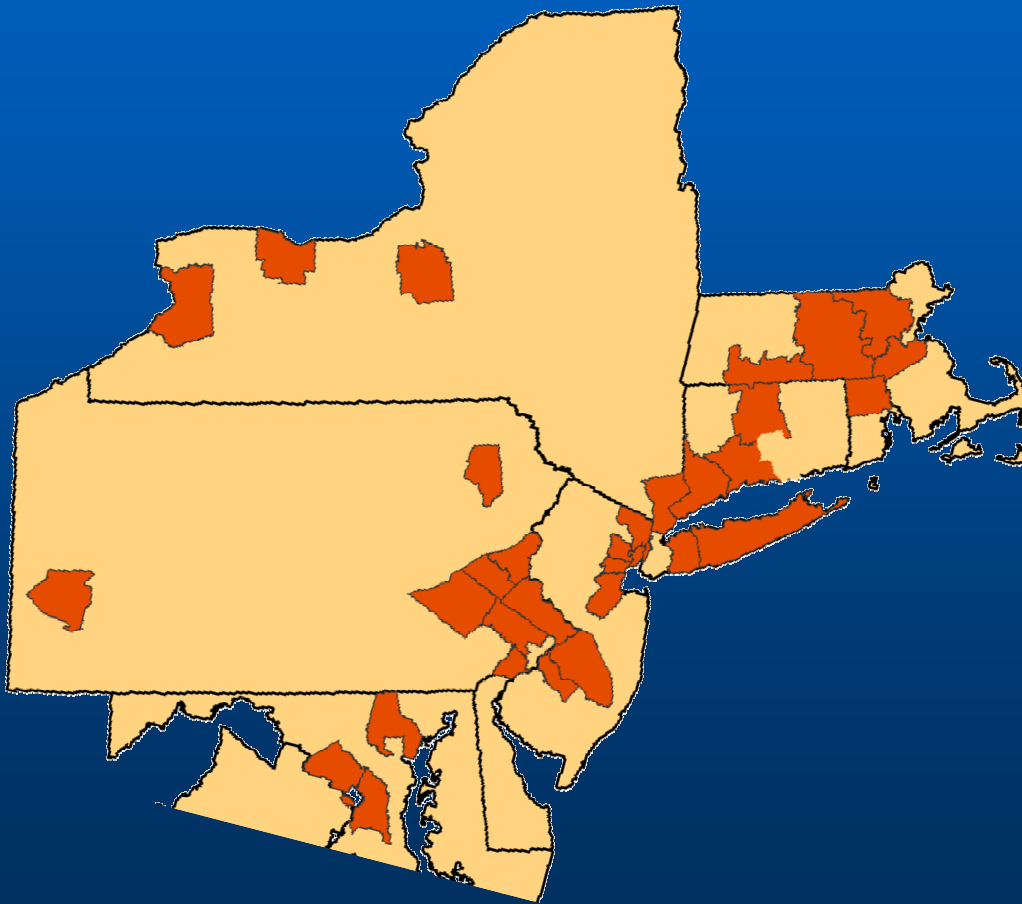
Providence County, RI

Bergen County, NJ

Hudson County, NJ



... including five here in New York.



Monroe County, NY

Onondaga County, NY

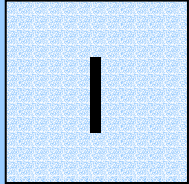
Westchester County, NY

Erie County, NY

Suffolk County, NY

Nassau County, NY

Note: Suffolk is included in this presentation but is not part of the larger analysis.



## What are First Suburbs?

Developed first after their central cities

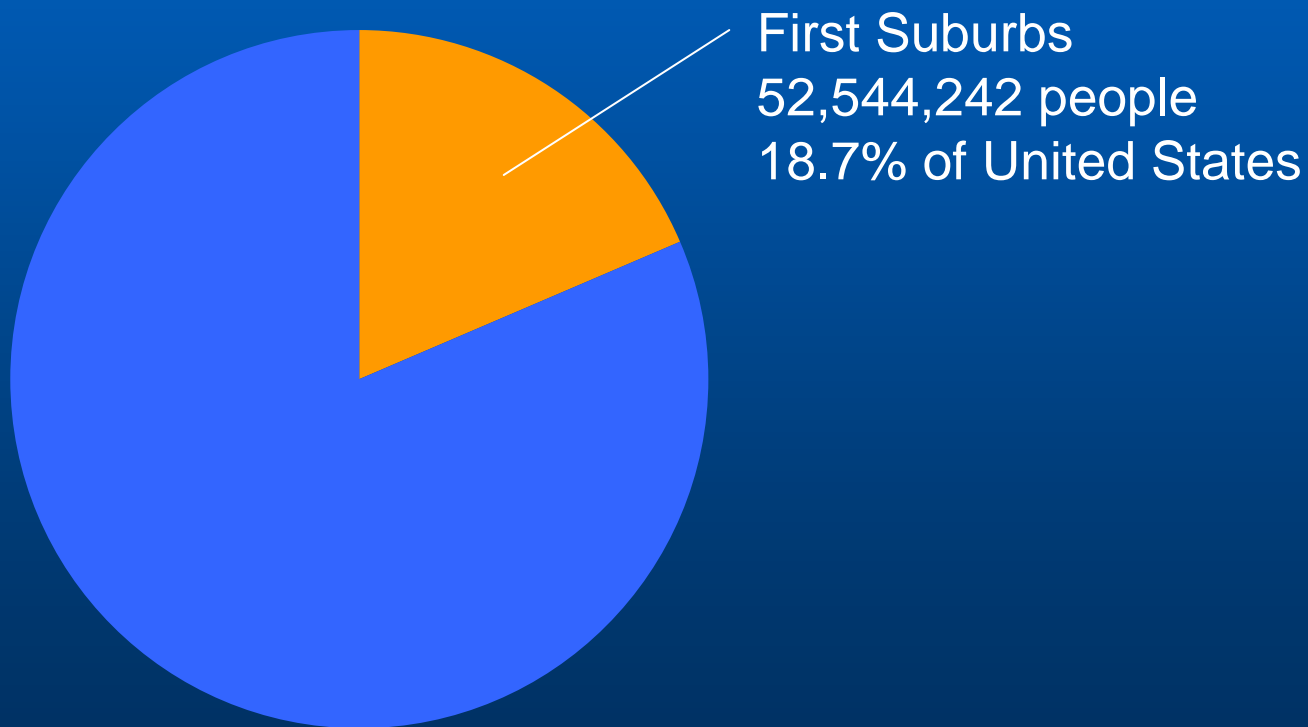
Comprise a significant portion of the country's population

Vary dramatically across regions



## First Suburbs account for almost 20 percent of the entire U.S. population

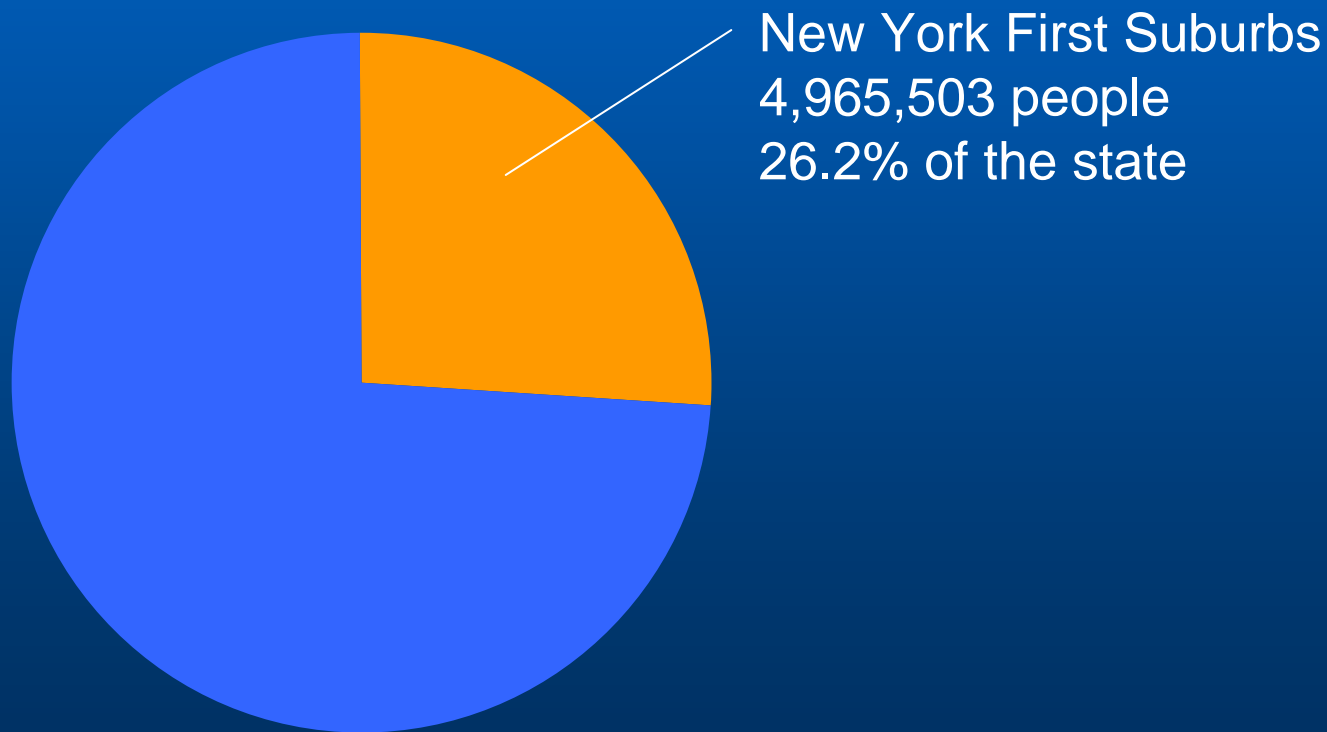
Over 50 million people live in First Suburbs





First Suburbs are especially important in New York, where they account for over a quarter of the state's population

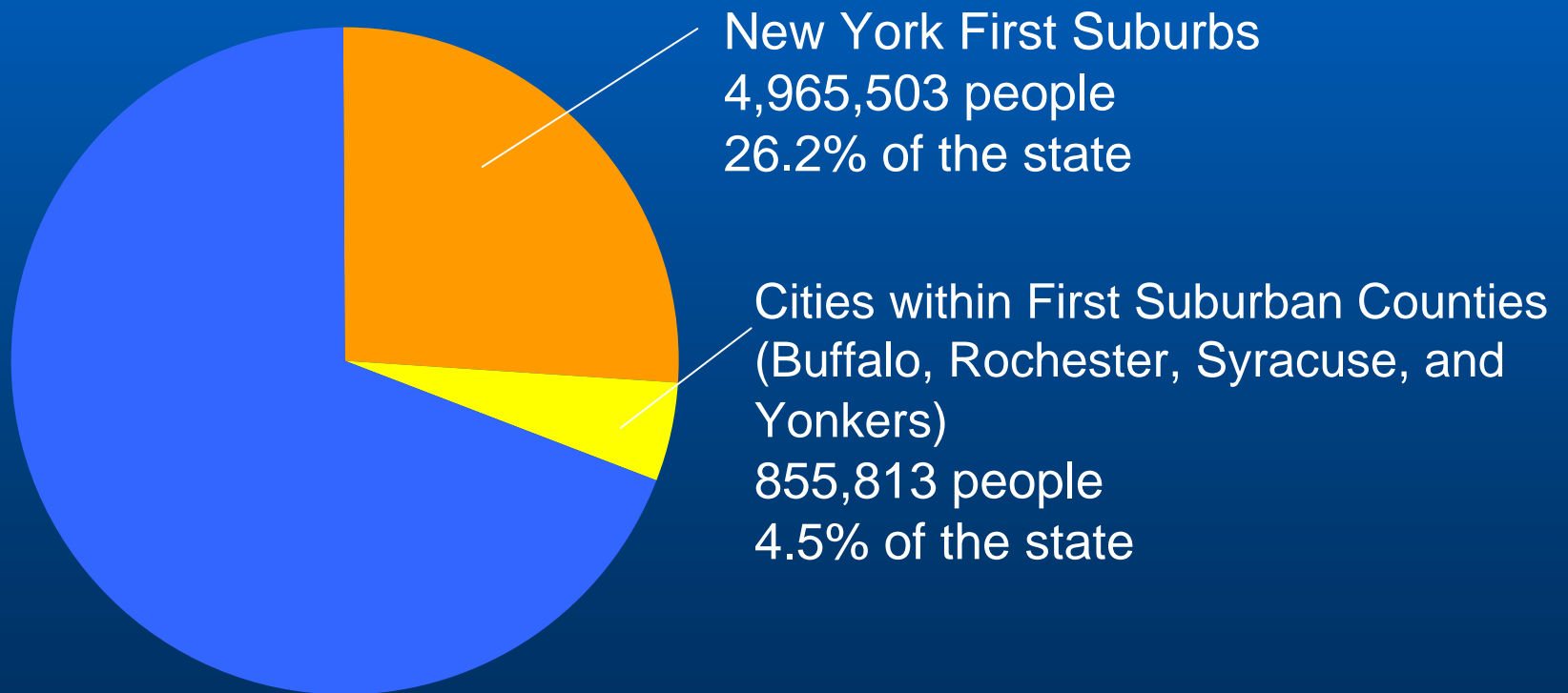
Almost *5 million* New Yorkers live in First Suburbs





First Suburbs are especially important in New York, where they account for over a quarter of the state's population

Almost *5 million* New Yorkers live in First Suburbs

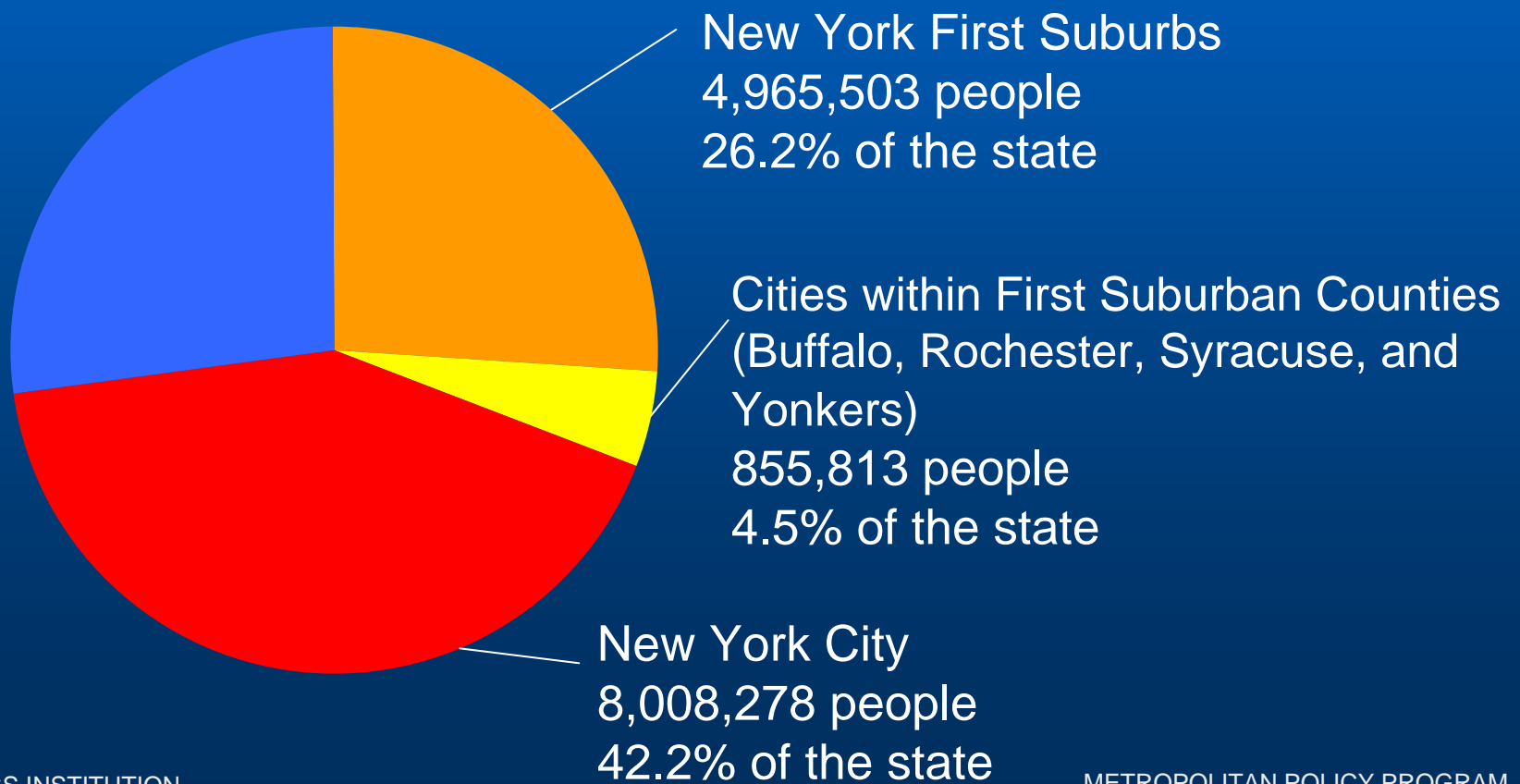


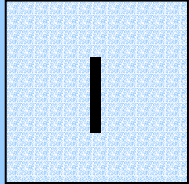




## First Suburbs are especially important in New York, where they account for over a quarter of the state's population

Almost *5 million* New Yorkers live in First Suburbs





## What are First Suburbs?

Developed first after their central cities

Comprise a significant portion of the county's population

Vary dramatically across regions



Since 1950, the majority of population growth in First Suburbs has occurred in Sunbelt states

Population growth,  
1950-2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data

Growth Rank	First Suburb	Percent Growth, 1950-2000
1	Orange County, CA	1216%
2	Maricopa County, AZ	678%
3	Dade County, FL	669%
4	San Diego County, CA	615%
5	Harris County, TX	587%
6	Sacramento County, CA	485%
7	Dallas County, TX	471%
8	Hillsborough County, FL	455%
9	Montgomery County, MD	431%
10	Hennepin County, MN	374%



## While the slowest population growth has occurred in the Northeast and Midwest

Slow-Growth Rank	First Suburb	Percent Growth, 1950-2000
1	Lackawanna County, PA	3.8%
2	Hudson County, NJ	5.9%
3	Essex County, NJ	11.3%
4	Allegheny County, PA	13.0%
5	St. Clair County, IL	24.3%
6	Delaware County, PA	33.0%
7	Providence County, RI	37.3%
8	Arlington County, VA	39.9%
9	Union County, NJ	40.9%
10	Trumbull County, OH	41.7%

Population growth,  
1950-2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data



More recent figures reinforce the stark regional differences, with the Sunbelt dominating growth in the last two decades

Population growth,  
1980-2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data

Growth Rank	First Suburb	Percent Growth, 1980-2000
1	Maricopa County, AZ	143.4%
2	Fulton County, GA	142.3%
3	Hillsborough County, FL	85.3%
4	Harris County, TX	77.7%
5	San Diego County, CA	61.3%
6	Sacramento County, CA	60.8%
7	Dallas County, TX	57.9%
8	Pierce County, WA	55.1%
9	King County, WA	51.3%
10	Montgomery County, MD	50.8%



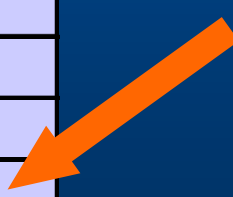
## ... and population *loss* occurring in the Rust Belt

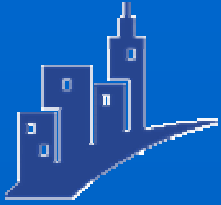
Slow-Growth Rank	First Suburb	Percent Growth, 1980-2000
1	Allegheny County, PA	-7.70%
2	Trumbull County, OH	-6.92%
3	St. Clair County, IL	-4.28%
4	Wayne County, MI	-2.17%
5	Lackawanna County, PA	-2.08%
6	Cuyahoga County, OH	-0.97%
7	Delaware County, PA	-0.75%
8	Essex County, NJ	-0.34%
9	Erie County, NY	0.00%
10	Nassau County, NY	0.98%

Population growth,  
1980-2000

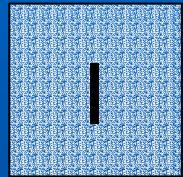
Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data

Only 1 of the 10  
slowest growing  
First Suburbs has  
experienced  
**positive**  
population growth  
since 1980

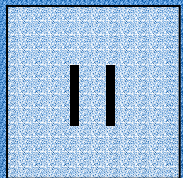




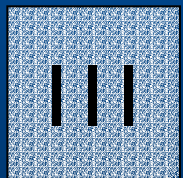
# One-Fifth of the Nation: America's First Suburbs in Transition



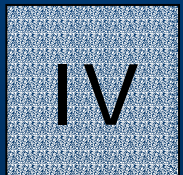
What are First Suburbs?



What has happened in First Suburbs nationally and in New York over the last 50 years?



What does this mean for Long Island?

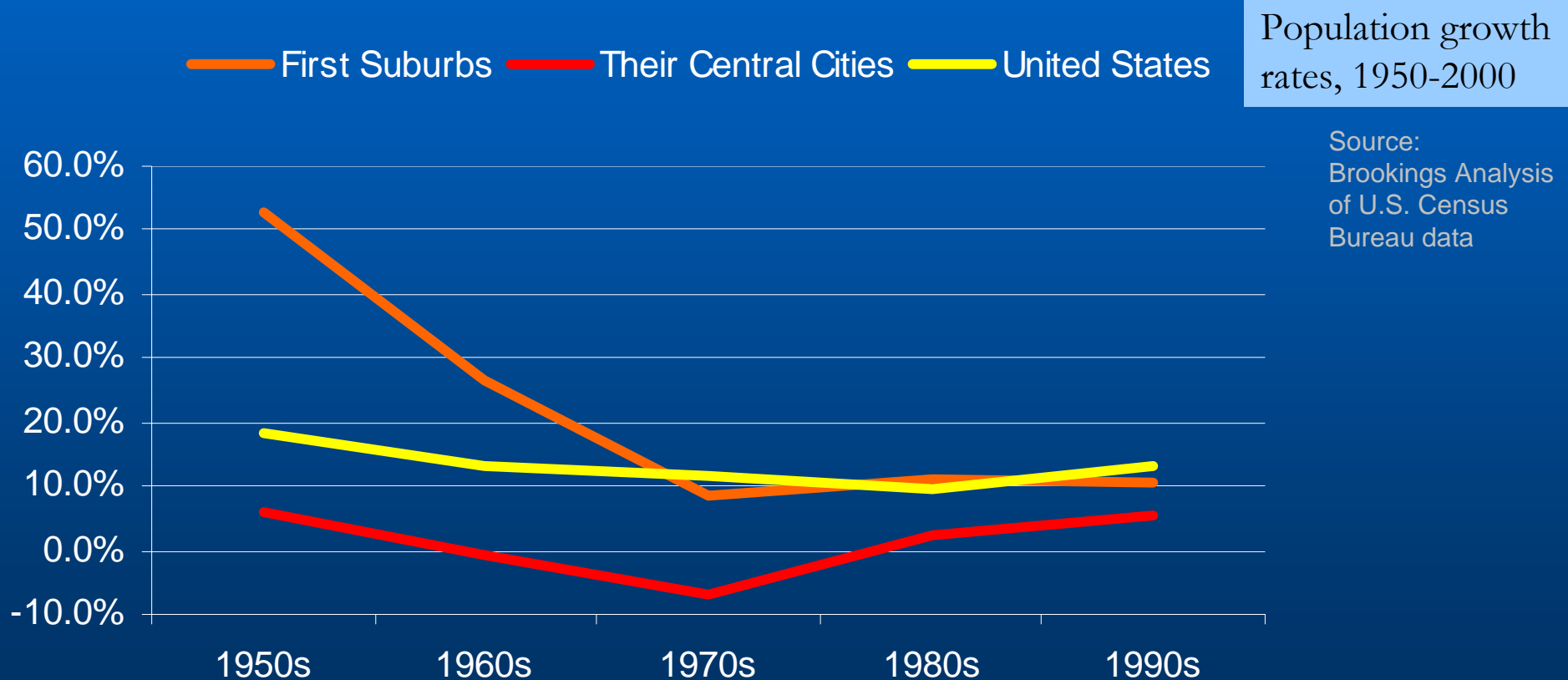


What is the role of current federal and state policies and what is a First Suburban policy agenda?



## Population

In the 1950s and 1960s First Suburbs grew more rapidly than their large central cities and the nation. Today, their population growth lags the nation.







## Population

New York's First Suburbs, including the two counties in Long Island, have experienced little growth over the past 20 years, ranking near the bottom among all First Suburbs.

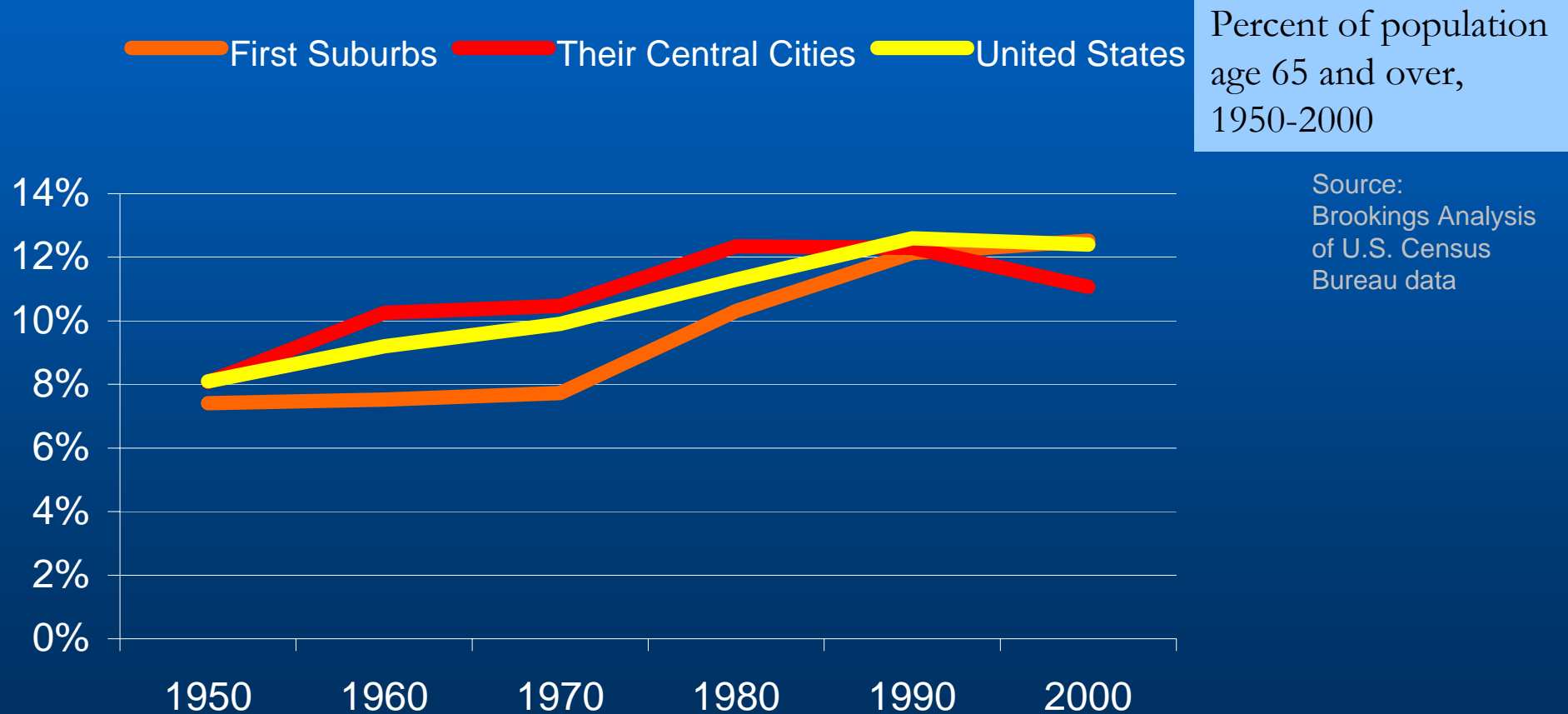
Growth Rank	First Suburb	Percent Growth, 1980-2000
1	Maricopa County, AZ	143.4%
2	Fulton County, GA	142.3%
3	Hillsborough County, FL	85.3%
4	Harris County, TX	77.7%
5	San Diego County, CA	61.3%
<b>32</b>	<b>Monroe County, NY</b>	<b>12.0%</b>
<b>36</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>10.5%</b>
40	Westchester County, NY	8.36%
47	Onondaga County, NY	5.9%
<b>57</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>1.0%</b>
<b>58</b>	<b>Erie County, NY</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
61	Lackawanna County, PA	-2.1%
62	Wayne County, MI	-2.2%
63	St. Clair County, IL	-4.3%
64	Trumbull County, OH	-6.9%
65	Allegheny County, PA	-7.7%
	All First Suburbs	158.6%
	United States	85.9%

Population growth rates, 1980-2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data



In general the share of First Suburban residents who are older than 65 has been increasing, surpassing that of central cities in 2000





## All of New York's First Suburbs have higher concentrations of elderly than the U.S. (except Suffolk County)

Rank	First Suburb	Percent of Population 65 and Over
1	Lackawanna County, PA	19.1%
2	Allegheny County, PA	18.3%
3	Cuyahoga County, OH	17.2%
<b>4</b>	<b>Erie County, NY</b>	<b>17.0%</b>
5	Milwaukee County, WI	16.5%
<b>16</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>15.0%</b>
<b>24</b>	<b>Monroe County, NY</b>	<b>14.3%</b>
<b>26</b>	<b>Onondaga County, NY</b>	<b>14.3%</b>
<b>30</b>	<b>Westchester County, NY</b>	<b>13.7%</b>
<b>49</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>11.8%</b>
61	Arlington, County, VA	9.4%
62	Prince George's County, MD	7.7%
63	Dallas County, TX	7.4%
64	Fulton County, GA	7.1%
65	Harris County, TX	6.1%
	All First Suburbs	12.5%
	United States	12.4%

Percent of population age 65 and over, 2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data

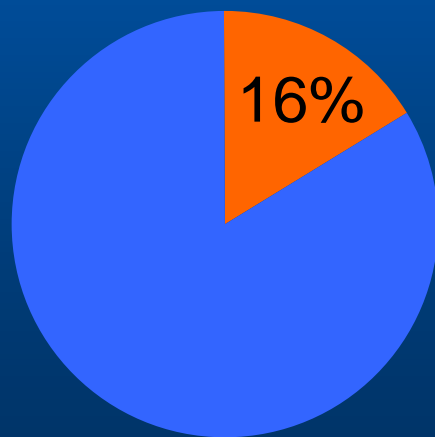


First Suburbs have become much more diverse; racial and ethnic minorities now comprise one-third of the population of First Suburbs

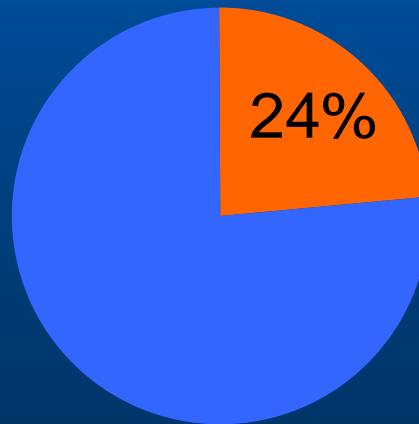
■ Racial/Ethnic Minorities ■ Non-Hispanic White

Percent of First Suburban population other than Non-Hispanic White, 1980-2000

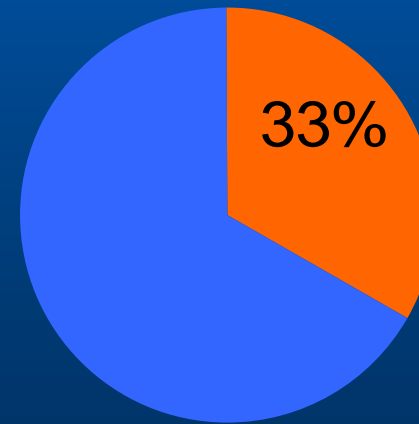
Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data



1980



1990



2000



## Diversity

More than 20 percent of residents in the First Suburbs of Long Island are people of color, slightly less diverse than the U.S. and First Suburbs' average

Rank	First Suburb	Population Other Than Non-Hispanic White
1	Dade County, FL	77.6%
2	Prince George's County, MD	75.7%
3	Los Angeles County, CA	68.2%
4	Hudson County, NJ	57.0%
5	Alameda County, CA	53.2%
<b>20</b>	<b>Westchester County, NY</b>	<b>32.3%</b>
<b>24</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>26.0%</b>
<b>31</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>21.2%</b>
54	Monroe County, NY	9.0%
60	Erie County, NY	6.3%
61	Onondaga County, NY	6.2%
62	Summit County, OH	6.1%
63	Stark County, OH	6.0%
64	Lackawanna County, PA	5.1%
65	Berks County, PA	4.9%
	All First Suburbs	33.4%
	United States	31.9%

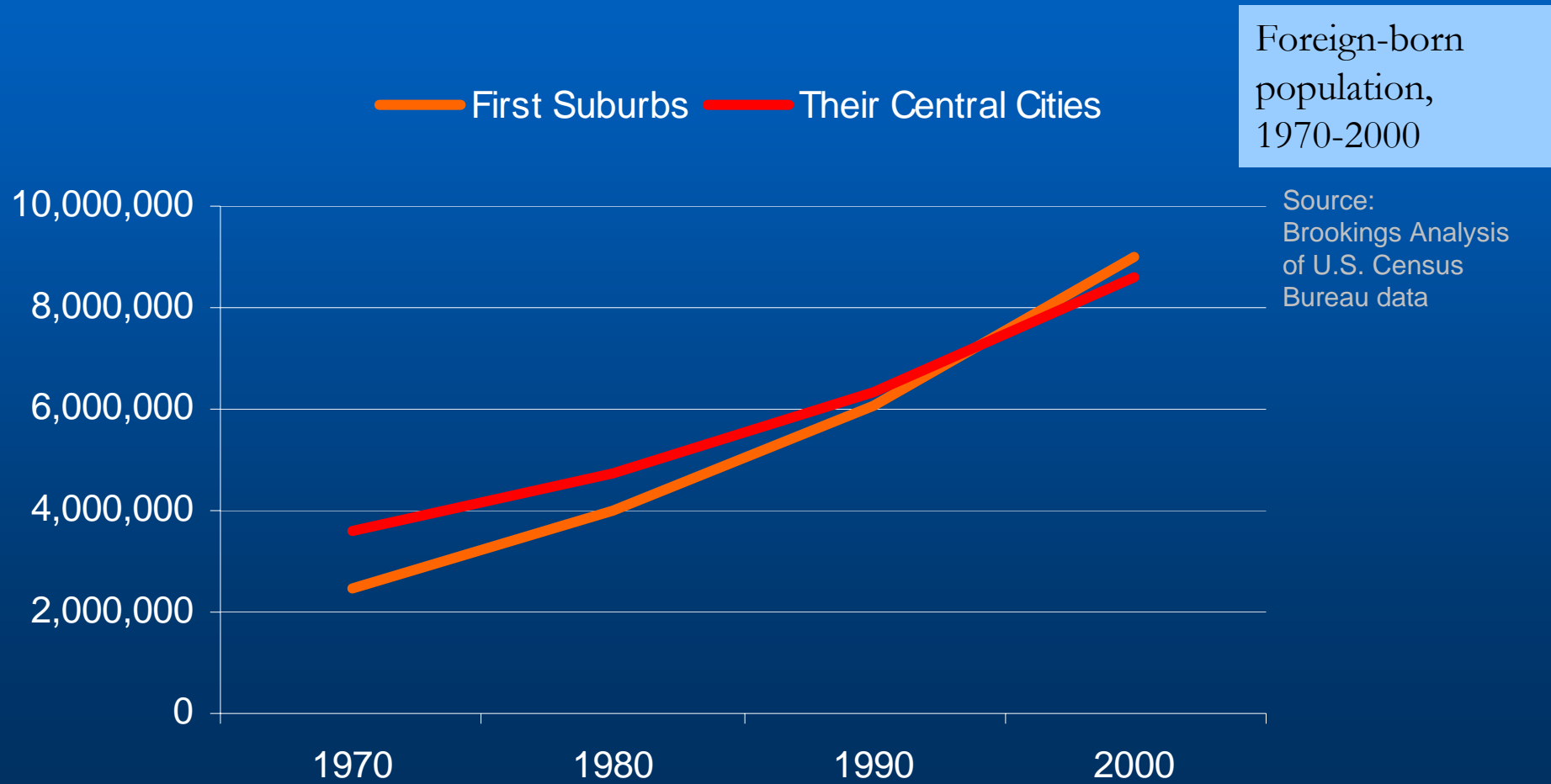
Percent of population other than non-Hispanic White, 2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data



# Immigration

The foreign-born population in First Suburbs grew by 262 percent since 1970, faster than their central cities and faster than the national rate of 225 percent.





## Immigration

By 2000, over 17% of First Suburban residents were foreign-born, compared to 11% of the national population

Rank	First Suburb	Percent Foreign-Born
1	Dade County, FL	49.29%
2	Hudson County, NJ	41.48%
3	Los Angeles County, CA	33.65%
4	San Mateo County, CA	32.26%
5	Orange County, CA	29.86%
<b>11</b>	<b>Westchester County, NY</b>	<b>21.14%</b>
<b>15</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>17.86%</b>
<b>28</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>11.20%</b>
37	Monroe County, NY	7.31%
49	Onondaga County, NY	4.73%
51	Erie County, NY	4.57%
61	St. Clair County, IL	2.13%
62	Trumbull County, OH	1.82%
63	Lackawanna County, PA	1.80%
64	Stark County, OH	1.79%
65	Madison County, IL	1.27%
	All First Suburbs	17.07%
	United States	11.10%

Foreign-born  
population, 2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data



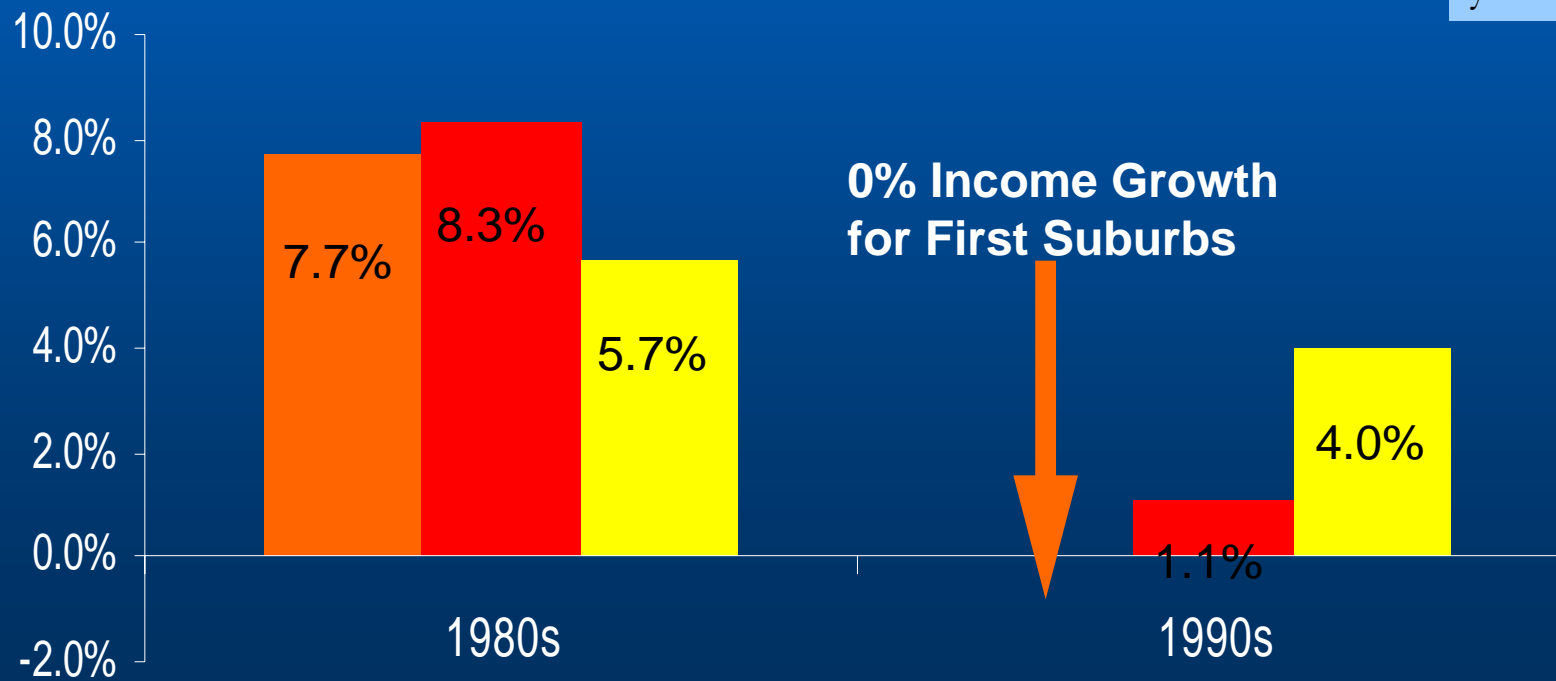
# Income

Real household incomes in First Suburbs remained stagnant in the 1990s; in stark contrast to the 1980s.

Real growth rates in household income for the 1980s and 1990s (income adjusted to year 2000 dollars)

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data

■ First Suburbs ■ Their Central Cities ■ United States







# Income

With the exception of the Erie County suburbs, all of New York's First Suburbs saw real income slip in the 1990s

Rank	First Suburb	Percent Real Income Growth
1	San Mateo County, CA	13.2%
2	Maricopa County, AZ	12.6%
3	Pierce County, WA	11.5%
4	Marion County, IN	10.3%
5	Fulton County, GA	9.8%
<b>32</b>	<b>Erie County, NY</b>	<b>2.0%</b>
<b>43</b>	<b>Westchester County, NY</b>	<b>-0.4%</b>
<b>46</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>-1.1%</b>
<b>49</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>-1.4%</b>
<b>53</b>	<b>Onondaga County, NY</b>	<b>-2.1%</b>
<b>59</b>	<b>Monroe County, NY</b>	<b>-4.4%</b>
61	Providence County, RI	-4.5%
62	New Haven County, CT	-4.6%
63	Prince George's County, MD	-4.6%
64	Hartford County, CT	-6.8%
65	Los Angeles County, CA	-7.2%
	United States	4.0%
	All First Suburbs	0.0%

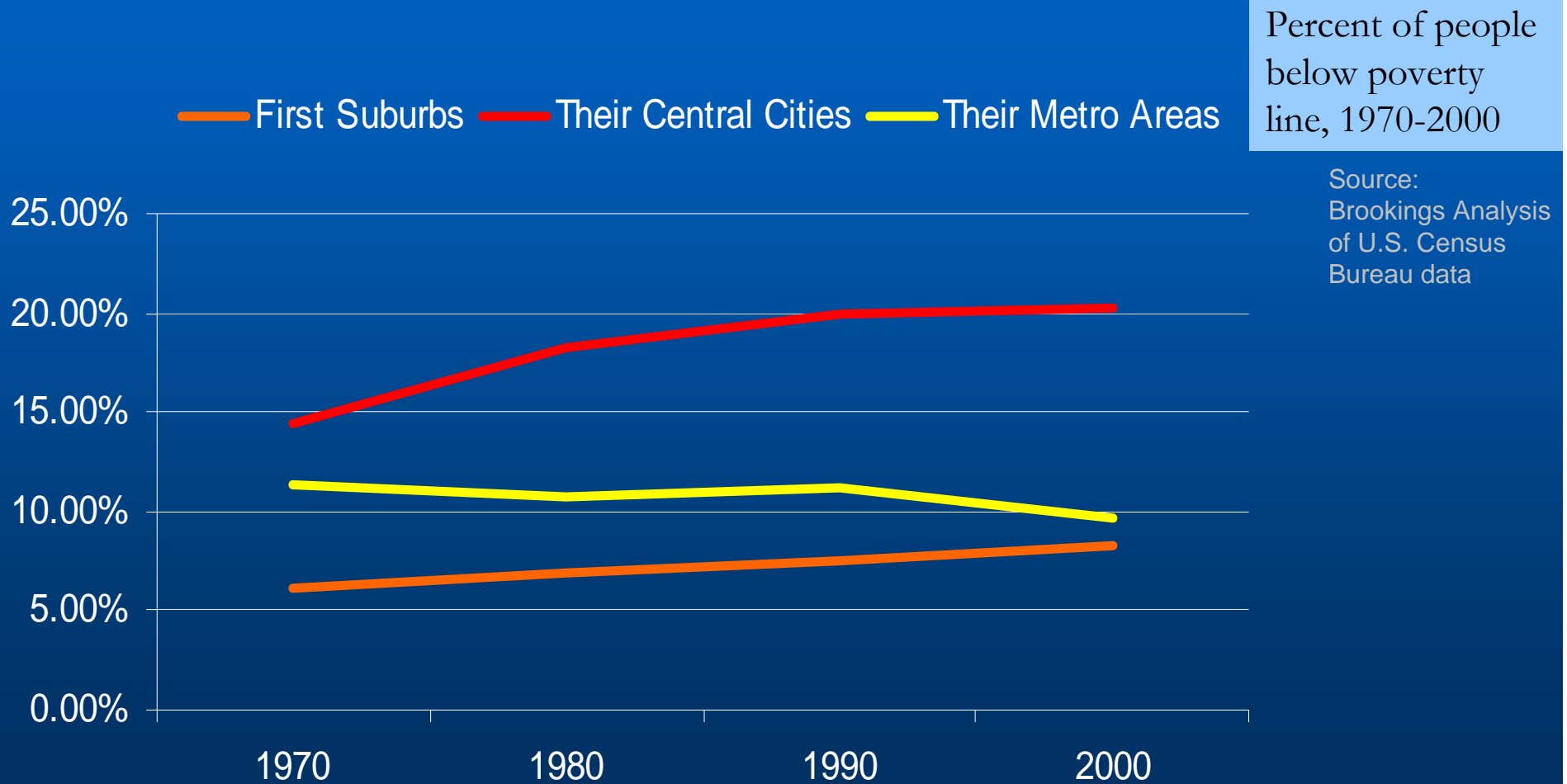
Real growth rates in household income for the 1990s (with incomes adjusted to year 2000 dollars)

Source: Brookings Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data



# Poverty

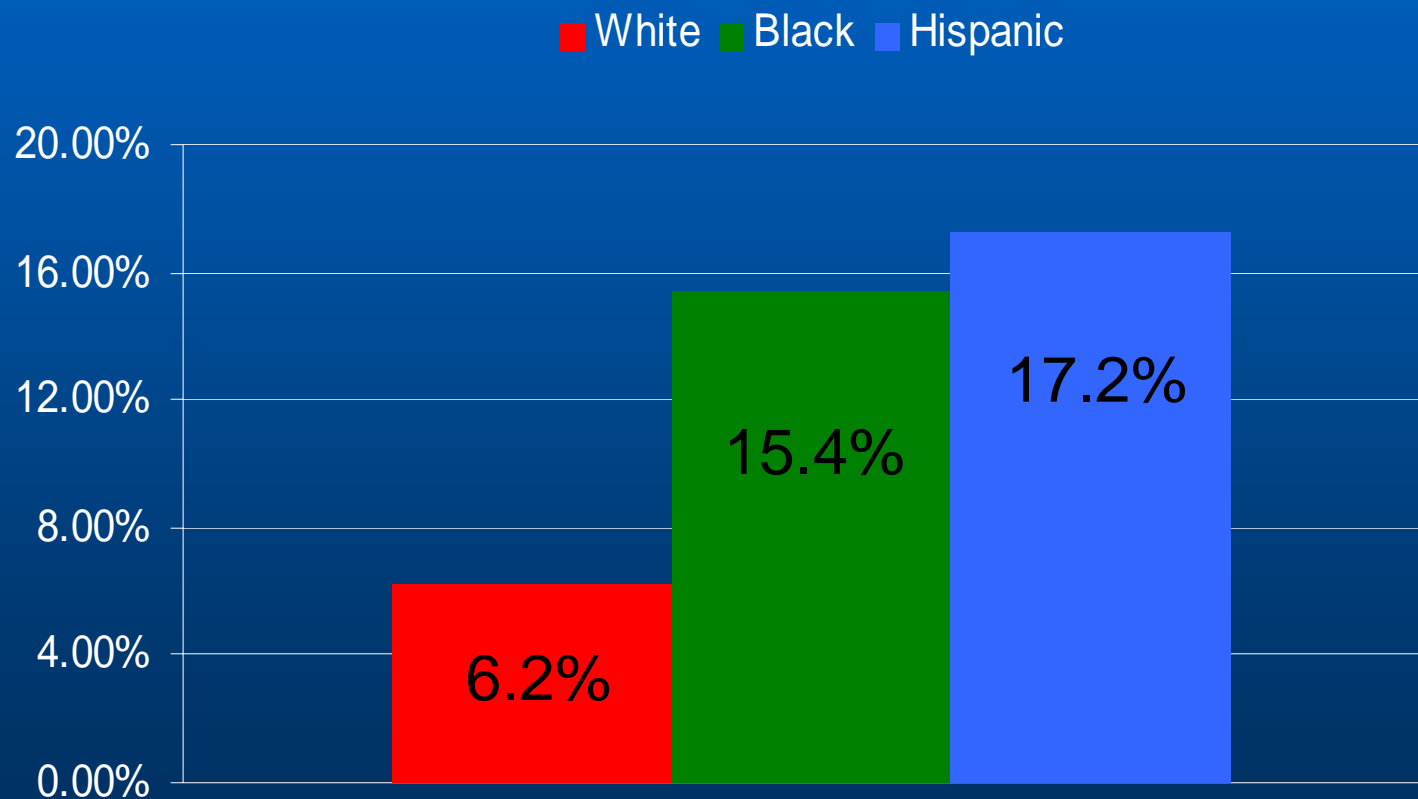
While low, poverty rates in First Suburbs have been steadily rising despite a slight decrease in the rates of their metro areas.





## Poverty

But poverty rates in First Suburbs vary by race and ethnicity; blacks and Hispanics are two and three times more likely to be poor than whites.



Percent of people below poverty line, 1970-2000

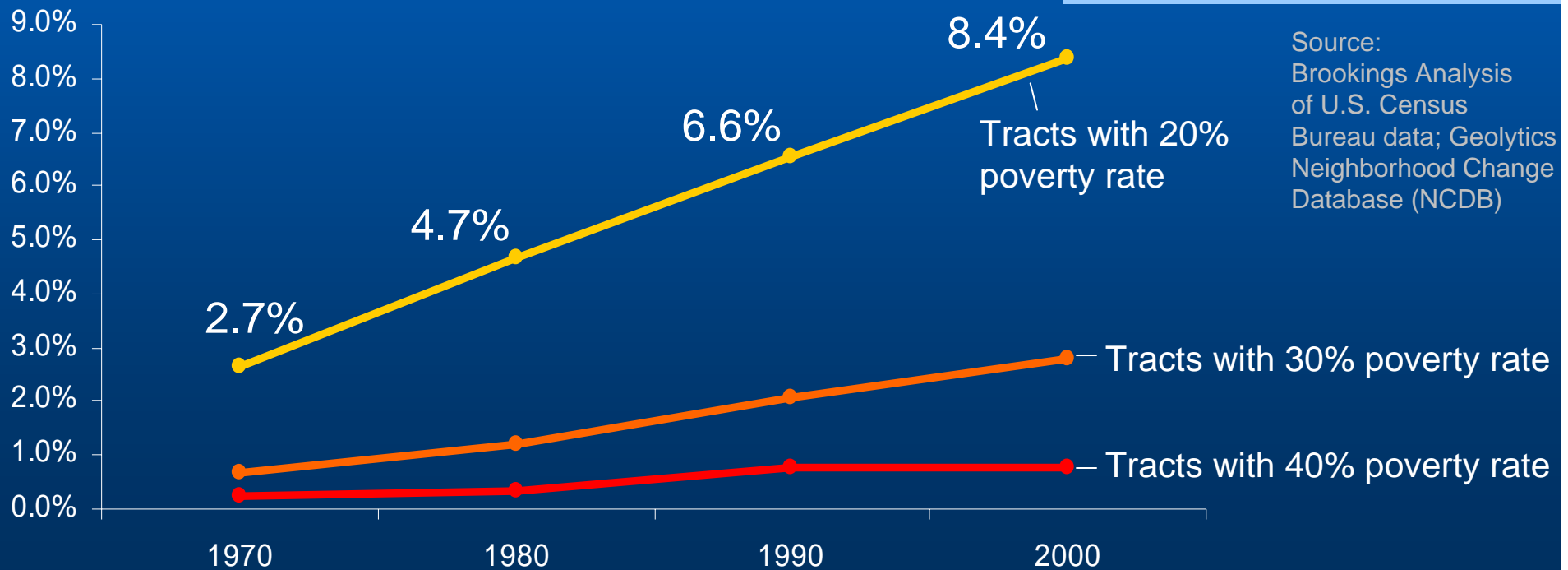
Source: Brookings Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data



## Poverty

Neighborhoods of concentrated poverty have been increasing in First Suburbs, especially those with poverty rates of 20 percent or higher.

Percent of Census tracts in First Suburbs with poverty rates of 20% or higher, 1970-2000



Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data; Geolytics  
Neighborhood Change  
Database (NCDB)



# Poverty

But in New York, including Long Island, very little concentrated poverty exists.

Rank	First Suburb	Percent of Tracts with Poverty Rate of 20% or More
65	St. Clair County, IL	30.9%
64	Miami-Dade County, IL	28.5%
63	Los Angeles County, CA	26.9%
62	Hampden County, MA	19.3%
61	Providence County, RI	19.0%
<b>54</b>	<b>Westchester County, NY</b>	<b>5.9%</b>
<b>52</b>	<b>Erie County, NY</b>	<b>3.9%</b>
<b>49</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>1.4%</b>
<b>35</b>	<b>Monroe County, NY</b>	<b>1.0%</b>
<b>27</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>0.9%</b>
1	San Mateo County, CA	0.0%
1	Marion County, IN	0.0%
1	Montgomery County, MD	0.0%
1	Hennepin County, MN	0.0%
<b>1</b>	<b>Onondaga County, NY</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
1	Franklin County, OH	0.0%
1	Bucks County, PA	0.0%
1	Lackawanna County, PA	0.0%
1	Arlington County, VA	0.0%
	All First Suburbs	8.4%

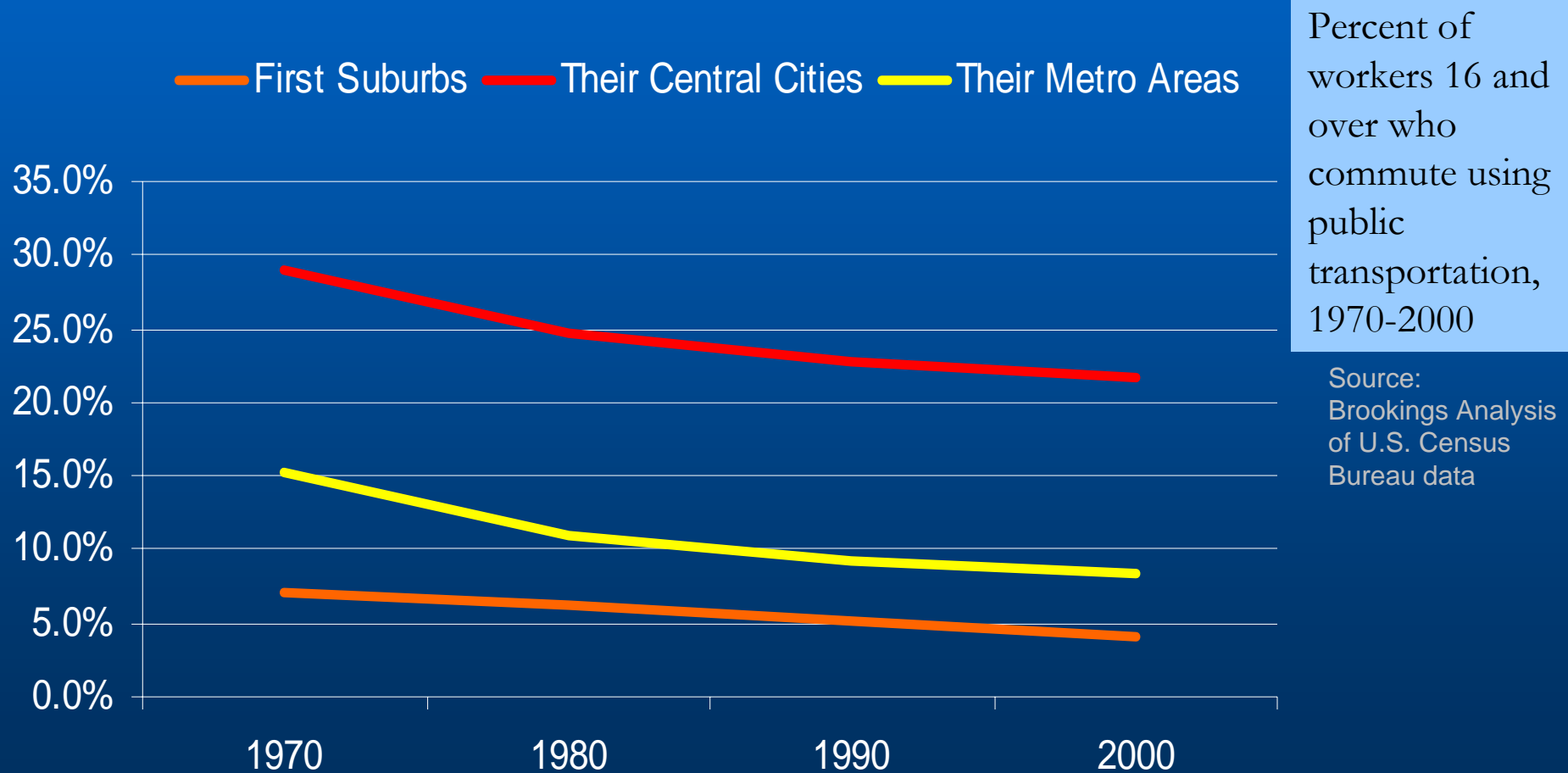
Percent of Census tracts in First Suburbs with poverty rates of 20% or higher, 2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data; Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB)



## Commuting

Use of public transportation for commuting among all First Suburban residents has declined over 30 years from already low levels





## Commuting

In contrast, public transit use in Long Island and Westchester County far exceeds the national and First Suburban averages.

Rank	First Suburb	Percent of Commuters Using Public Transit, 2000
1	Hudson County, NJ	29.97%
2	Arlington, County, VA	23.31%
<b>3</b>	<b>Westchester County, NY</b>	<b>19.75%</b>
4	Essex County, NJ	15.78%
<b>5</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>15.72%</b>
<b>20</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>6.83%</b>
49	Erie County, NY	1.16%
54	Onondaga County, NY	0.93%
55	Monroe County, NY	0.84%
61	Berks County, PA	0.53%
62	Macomb County, MI	0.50%
63	Oakland County, MI	0.46%
64	Jefferson County, AL	0.33%
65	Trumbull County, OH	0.25%
	United States	4.73%
	All First Suburbs	4.18%

Percent of workers 16 and over who commute using public transportation, 2000

Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data

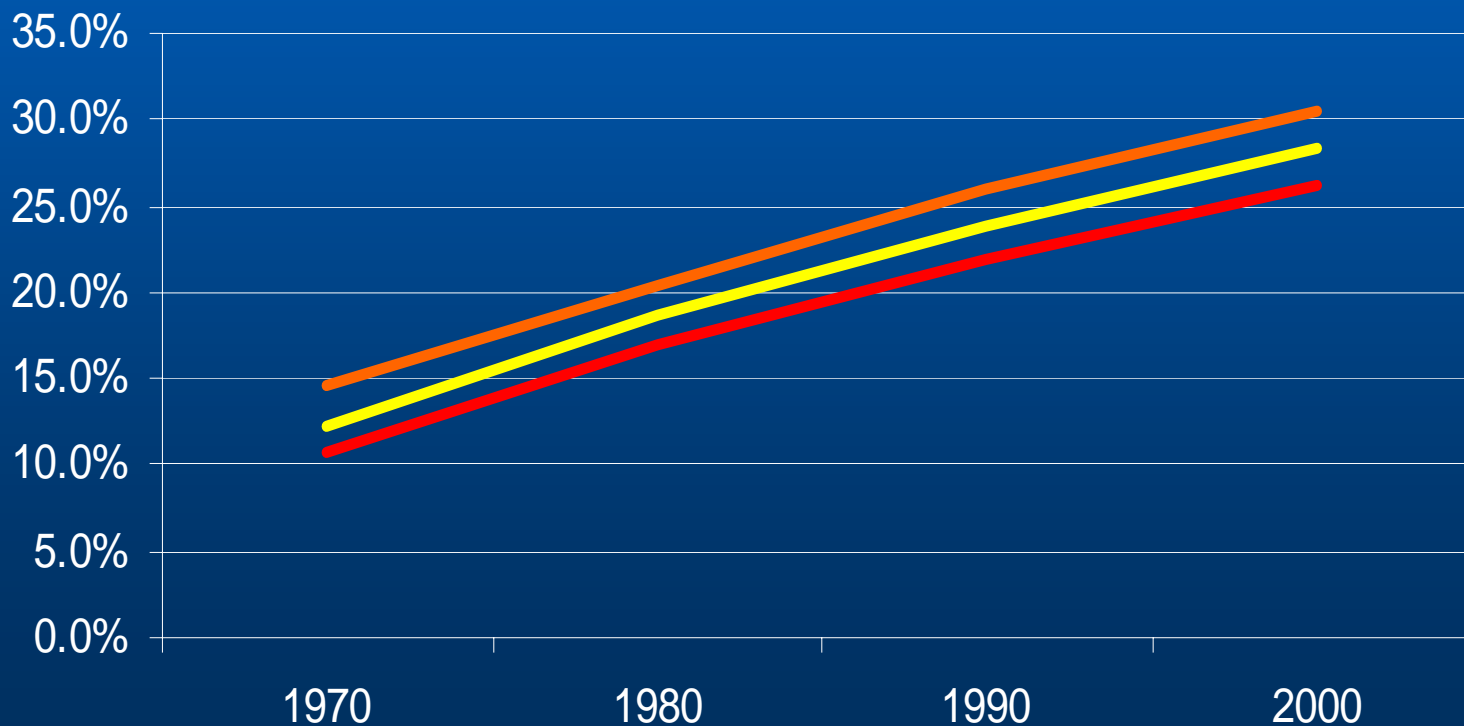


## Education

Like the U.S. as a whole, the share of college graduates has steadily increased in First Suburbs over the last 30 years; and the share remains larger than that of their central cities and metros.

Percent of those age 25 and over with a BA, 1970-2000

— First Suburbs — Their Central Cities — Their Metro Areas



Source:  
Brookings Analysis  
of U.S. Census  
Bureau data



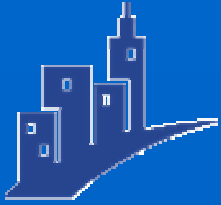


## The First Suburbs of Long Island outperform the nation in BA attainment rates

Rank	First Suburb	BA Attainment Rate, 2000
1	Arlington County, VA	60.2%
2	Montgomery County, MD	54.6%
3	Fulton County, GA	48.4%
<b>4</b>	<b>Westchester County, NY</b>	<b>45.1%</b>
5	Fairfield County, CT	44.4%
<b>17</b>	<b>Monroe County, NY</b>	<b>35.4%</b>
<b>18</b>	<b>Nassau County, NY</b>	<b>35.4%</b>
<b>29</b>	<b>Onondaga County, NY</b>	<b>30.6%</b>
<b>39</b>	<b>Suffolk County, NY</b>	<b>27.5%</b>
<b>41</b>	<b>Erie County, NY</b>	<b>27.1%</b>
61	St. Clair County, IL	19.3%
62	Madison County, IL	19.2%
63	Lake County, IN	17.7%
64	Macomb County, MI	17.6%
65	Trumbull County, OH	14.5%
	All First Suburbs	30.6%
	United States	24.4%

Percent of those age 25 and over with a BA, 2000

Source: Brookings Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data



## One-Fifth of the Nation: America's First Suburbs in Transition

I

What are First Suburbs?

II

What has happened in First Suburbs nationally and in New York over the last 50 years?

III

What does this mean for Long Island?

IV

What is the role of current federal and state policies and what is a First Suburban policy agenda?



In general, First Suburbs in Long Island face a number of challenges.

1. Very little population growth
2. A relatively high share of older Americans
3. Shrinking household incomes
4. Slight increase in poverty and concentrated poverty





Long Island also faces some other threats to its ability to remain competitive.

1. Aging and obsolete infrastructure
2. Struggling business and retail corridors
3. Fiscal stress and high tax burdens
4. Aging homes and deteriorating real estate
5. Underutilized and fragmented commercial land

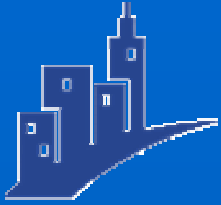




## But like many First Suburbs, Long Island possesses many assets and opportunities

1. Home to a large share of the state's population and a good share of educated workers.
2. Quality housing design and construction
3. Convenience and location
4. Established infrastructure (especially transit)
5. Potential for bi-county collaboration





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## Current state and federal policies generally don't help First Suburbs

### *First Suburbs in Policy “Blind-Spot”*

→ The focus is often on central cities or newer suburbs, particularly exurbs or newly developing places

→ Sometimes policies that set the rules of development and governance actually undermine First Suburbs



## Current state and federal policies generally don't help First Suburbs

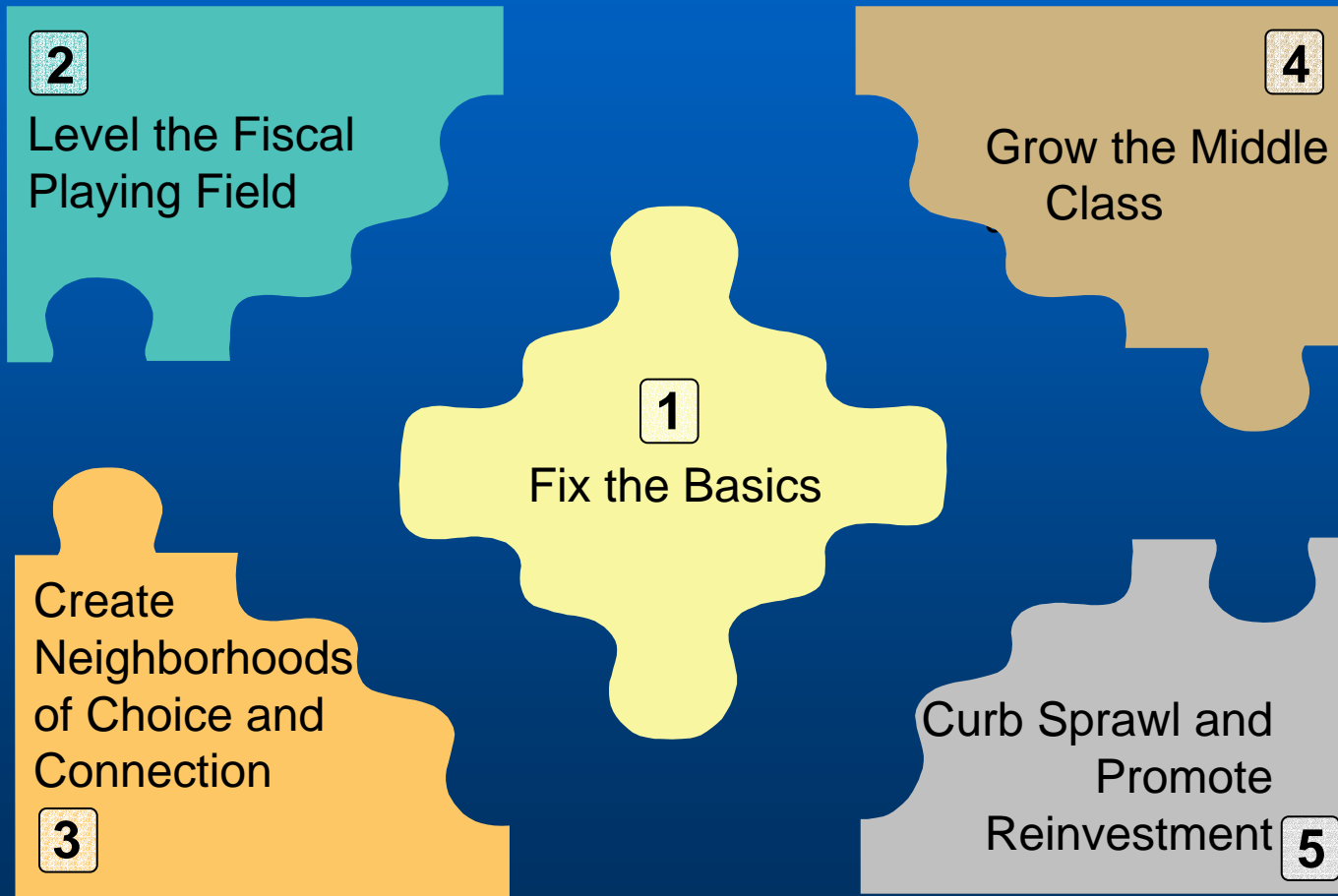
### ***First Suburbs in Policy “Blind-Spot”***

1. States do not provide enough fiscal support to First Suburbs
2. Federal housing policy is not designed to meet the housing maintenance and redevelopment needs of first suburbs
3. Federal and state policies neglect a vital element of First Suburbs' population: working families
4. Federal and state policies facilitate sprawl, outmigration and the concentration of poverty





# A federal and state policy agenda for First Suburbs



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July 1, 2004

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*Redefining the challenges facing metropolitan America and promoting innovative solutions to help communities grow in more inclusive, competitive, and sustainable ways.*

### ANNOUNCEMENT

#### Urban Center Becomes Metropolitan Program

In a major promotion, the Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy this month became the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program—and the first new Brookings department established since 1948. The new status reflects the rising importance of metropolitan issues to the domestic and global challenges Brookings seeks to address.

▶ read an open letter from Brookings President Strobe Talbott

#### METROVIEW

**Deficits by Design Plague Metro**  
by Robert Puentes  
*The Washington Times*  
June 21, 2004

[News Index](#)

#### METROPOLITAN GROWTH

#### Mechanisms for Market-Based Land Use Control

Using case studies and a national survey, this paper examines transfers of development rights (TDRs) and other market-based land preservation techniques like mitigation banking and density transfer fees.

#### IMMIGRATION

#### Washington Goes Polyglot

Metro Washington's "limited English proficient" (LEP) population

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