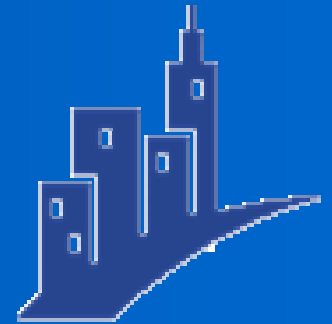


# The Brookings Institution

Metropolitan Policy Program

Robert Puentes, Fellow



## America's First Suburbs: A Policy Agenda for Older Suburbs in Transition

“First Suburbs of the Dayton Region” Workshop  
February 23, 2005



## What is the context for the discussion of older, inner-ring, “First Suburbs”?

- ➔ Decentralization is still the prevailing trend in metropolitan America.
- ➔ Suburbs are highly diverse.
- ➔ Range of suburban experiences is not reflected in the debate around metropolitan (or Smart) growth.
- ➔ Older, inner ring suburbs seem to be caught in a “policy blindspot.”



# America's First Suburbs: A Policy Agenda for Older Suburbs in Transition

I

What are First Suburbs?

II

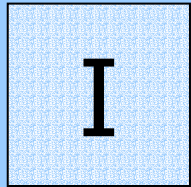
What has happened in First Suburbs nationally and in Ohio over the last 50 years?

III

What does this mean for Ohio?

IV

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



## What are First Suburbs?

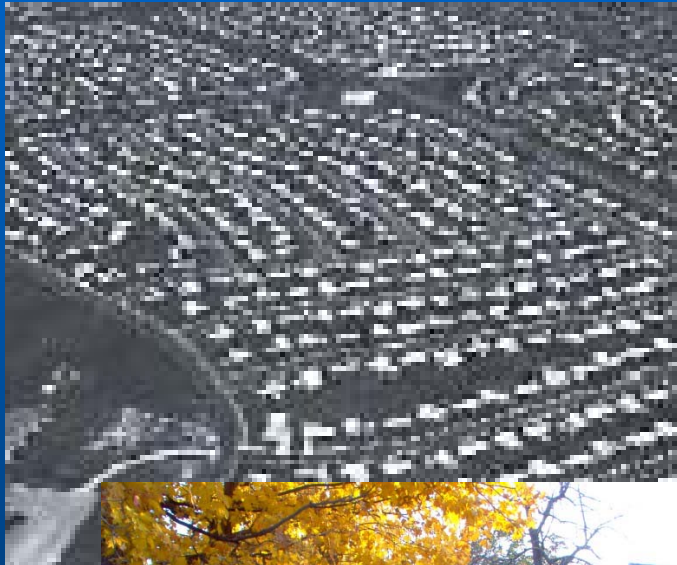
Developed first after their central cities

Comprise a significant portion of the country's population

Vary dramatically across regions



# These places generally developed first after their central cities



Many 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



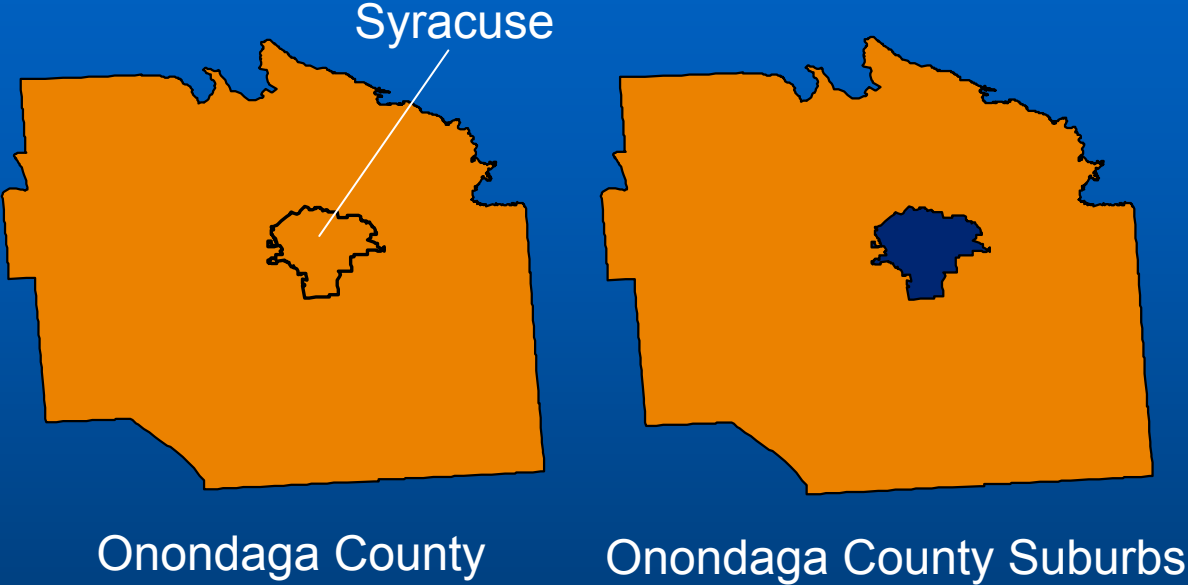
# How were First Suburbs selected for our study?

- Used county level geography
- They existed in 1950 as counties that were part of 1950 'standard metropolitan areas' (SMAs)
- County had to be contiguous with a center city that was ranked in the top 100 in 1950.
- Data for the central city is not included if such existed within the county.





For example, in Onondaga County the First Suburbs are defined as those outside (or excluding) Syracuse

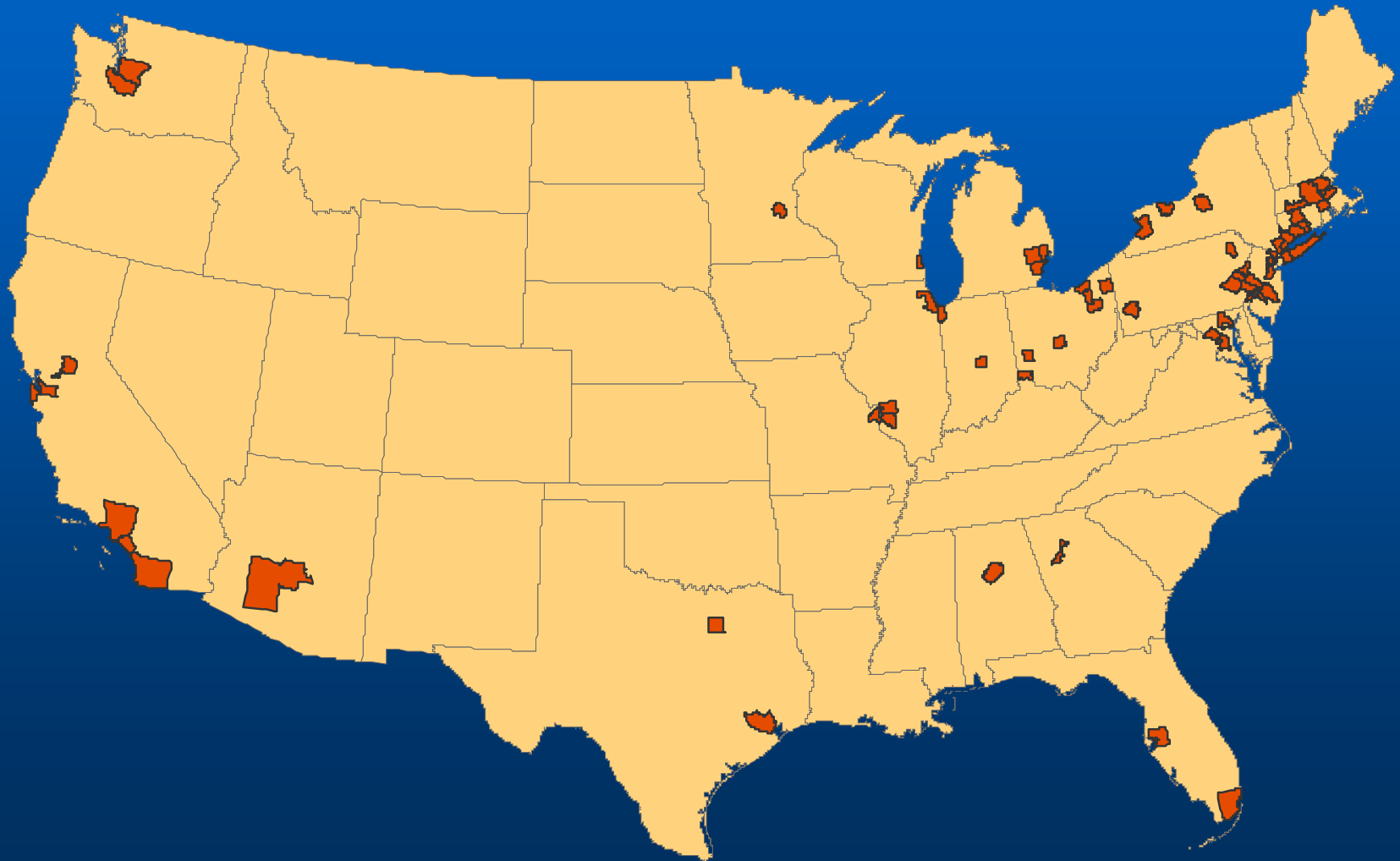


Example:

	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 Suburban counties 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

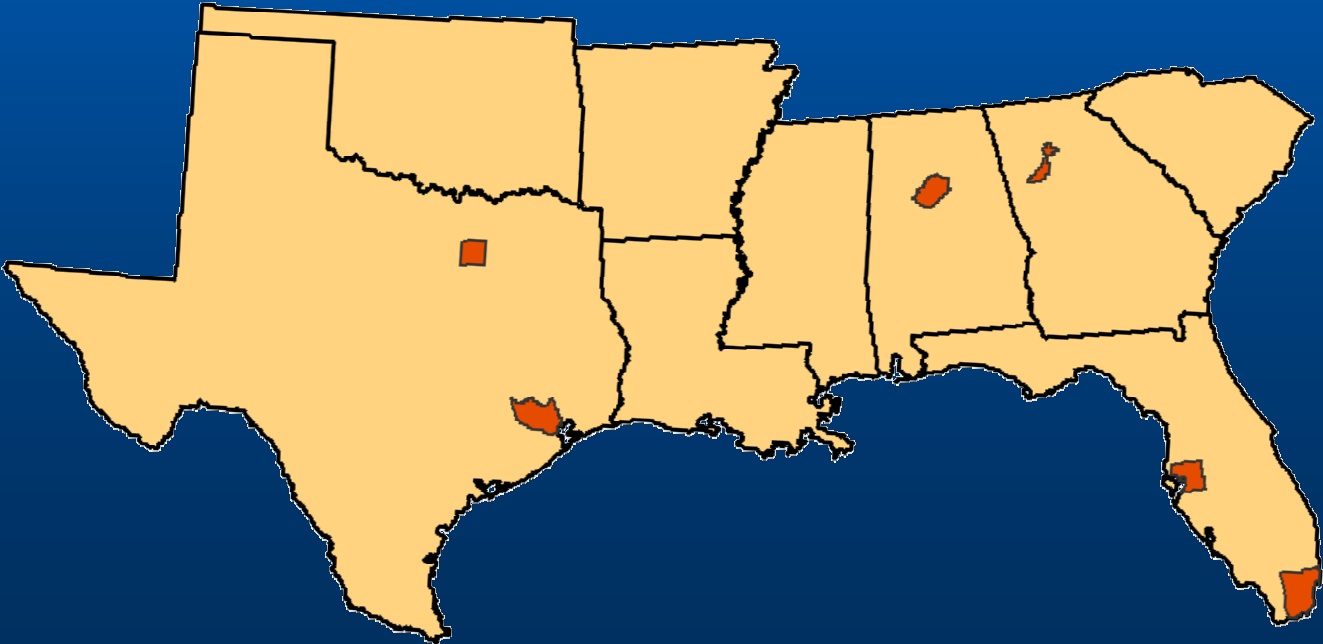
Fulton County, GA

Harris County, TX

Hillsborough County, FL

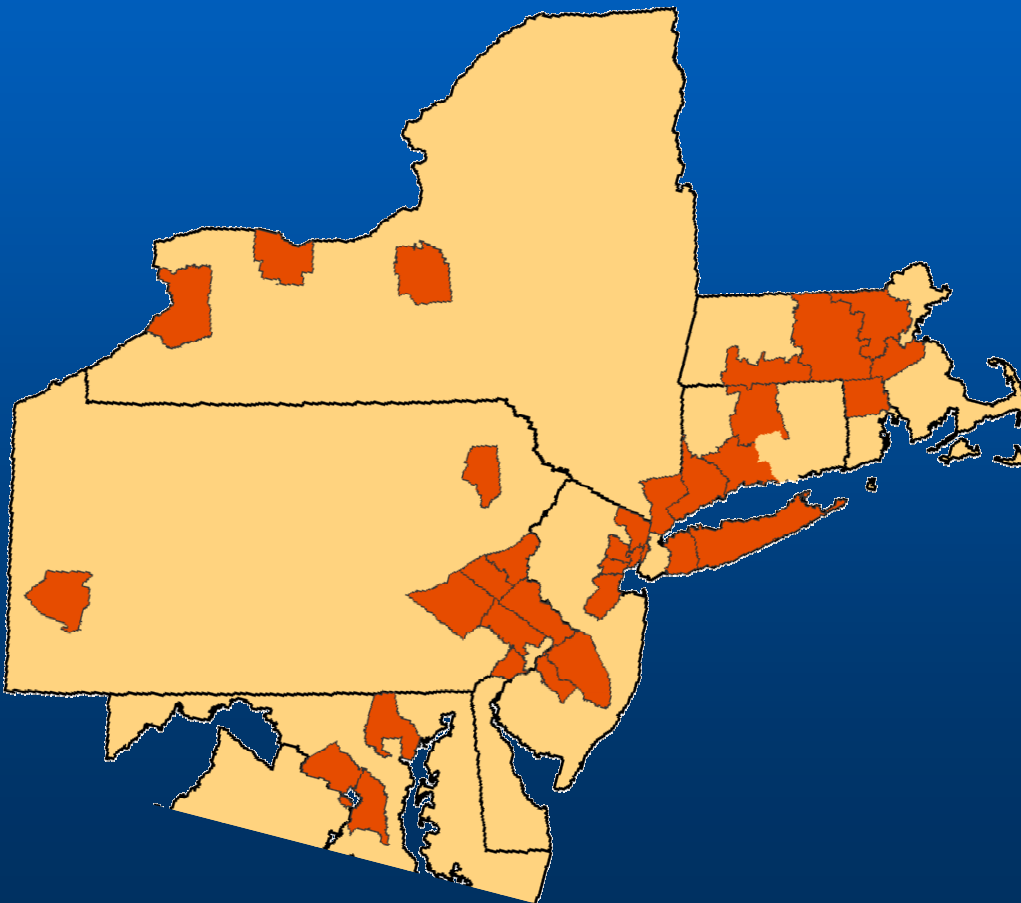
Jefferson County, AL

Dade County, FL





Most are found in the Northeast...



*Examples:*

Allegheny County, PA

Baltimore County, MD

Arlington County, VA

Fairfield County, CT

Middlesex County, MA

Providence County, RI

Bergen County, NJ

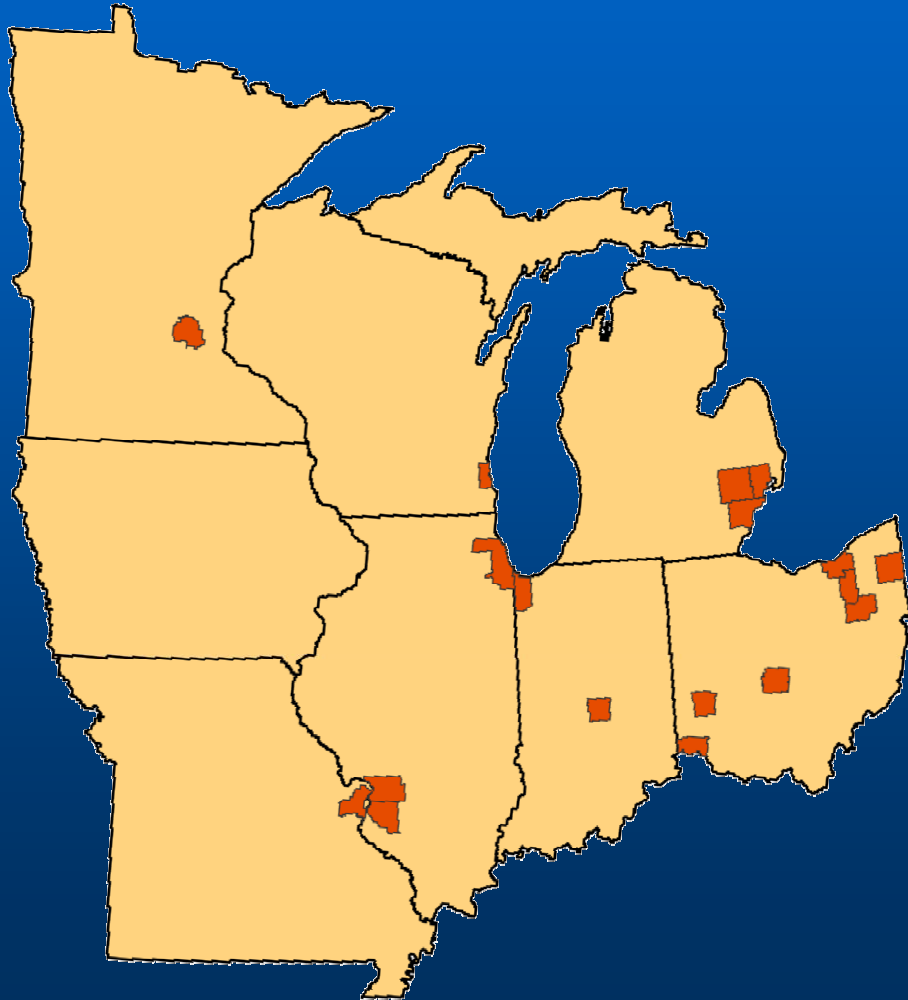
Onondaga County, NY

Westchester County, NY

Nassau County, NY



....And the Midwest.



*Examples:*

Wayne County, MI

Oakland County, MI

Lake County, IN

Marion County, IN

Milwaukee County, WI

Hennepin County, MN

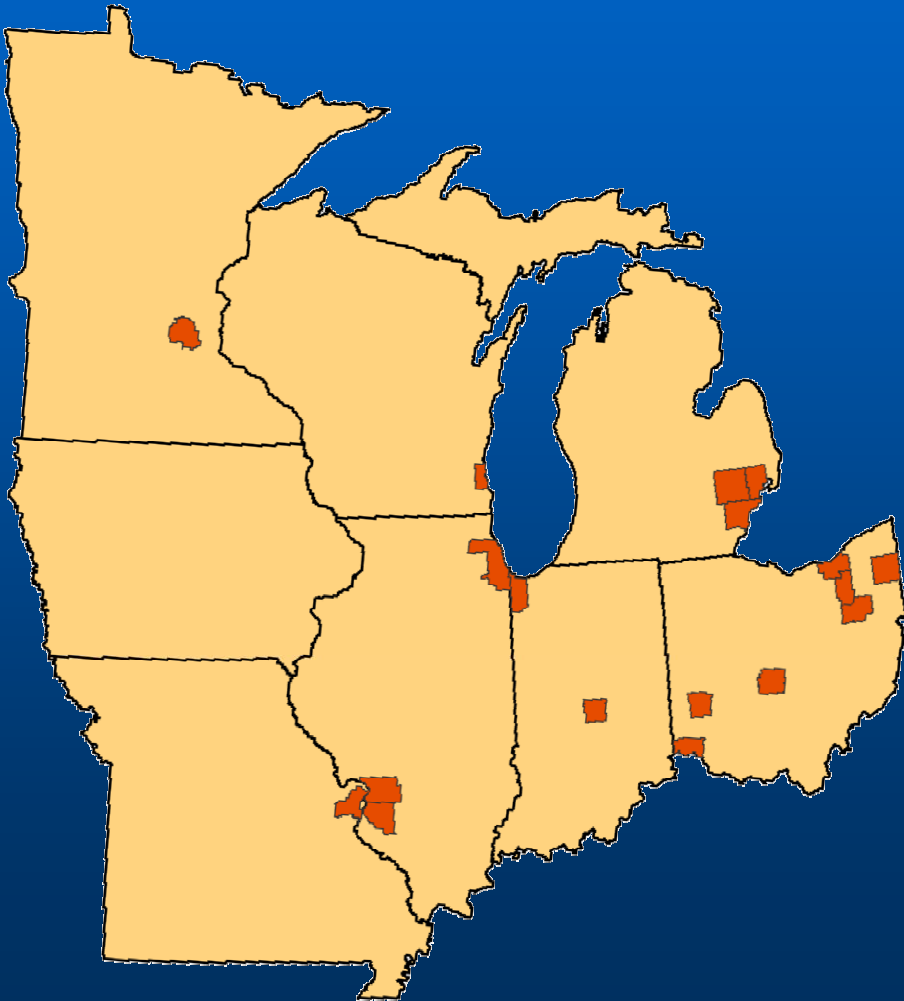
Cook County, IL

St. Clair County, IL

St. Louis County, MO



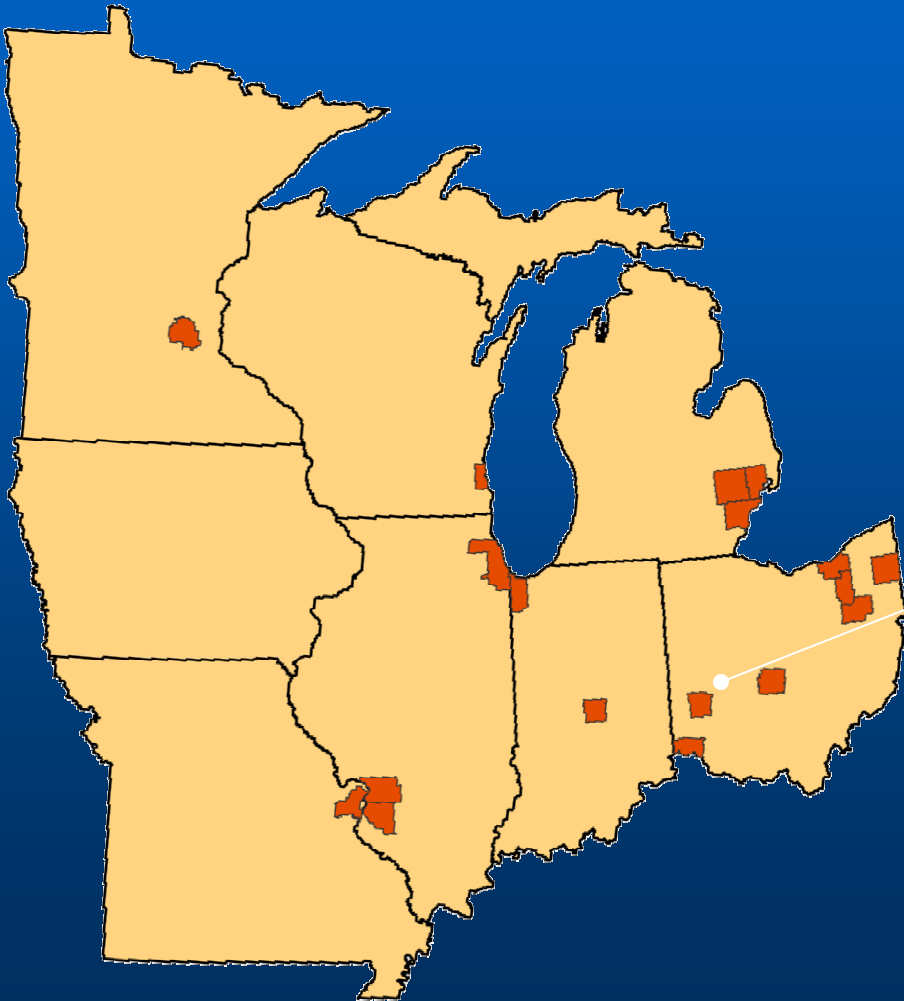
....including seven in Ohio alone.



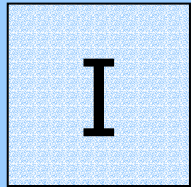
- Cuyahoga County
- Franklin County
- Hamilton County
- Stark County
- Summit County
- Trumbull County
- Montgomery County**



....including seven in Ohio alone.



- Centerville*
- Clayton*
- Englewood*
- Huber Heights*
- Kettering*
- Miamisburg*
- Moraine*
- Oakwood*
- Riverside*
- Trotwood*
- Vandalia*
- West Carrollton*



## What are First Suburbs?

Developed first after their central cities

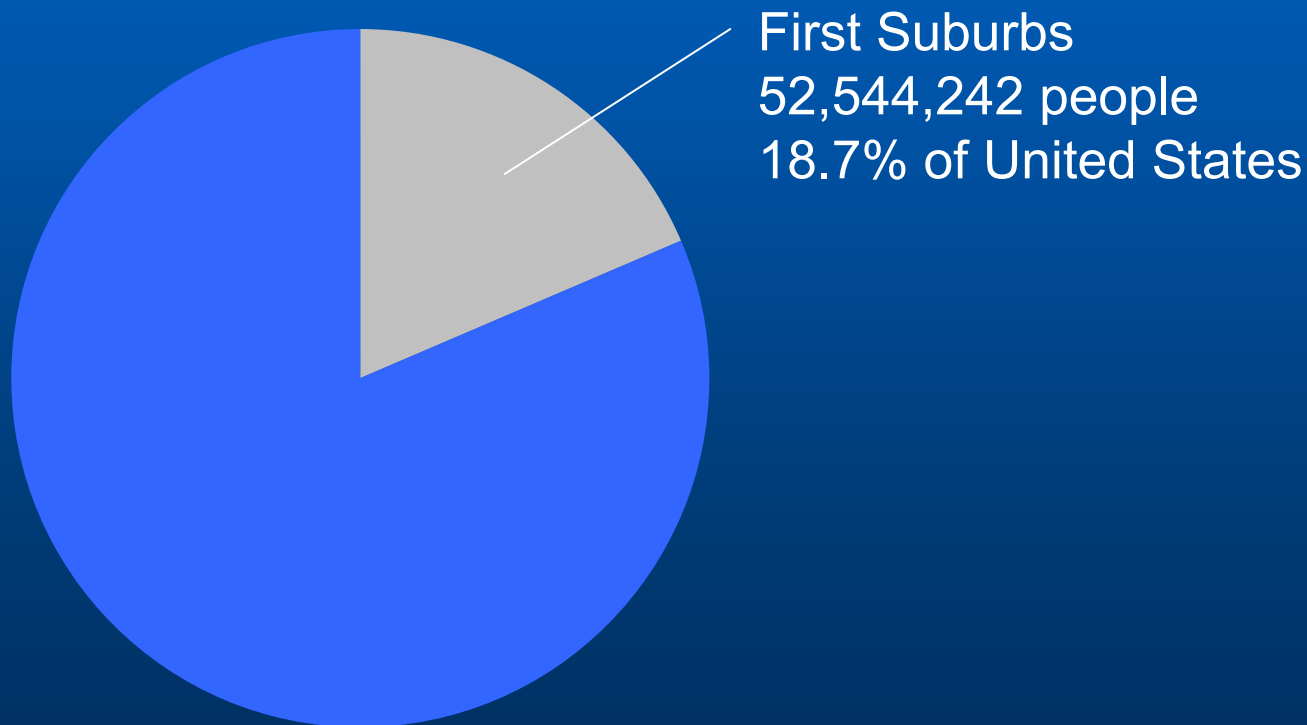
Comprise a significant portion of the country's population

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

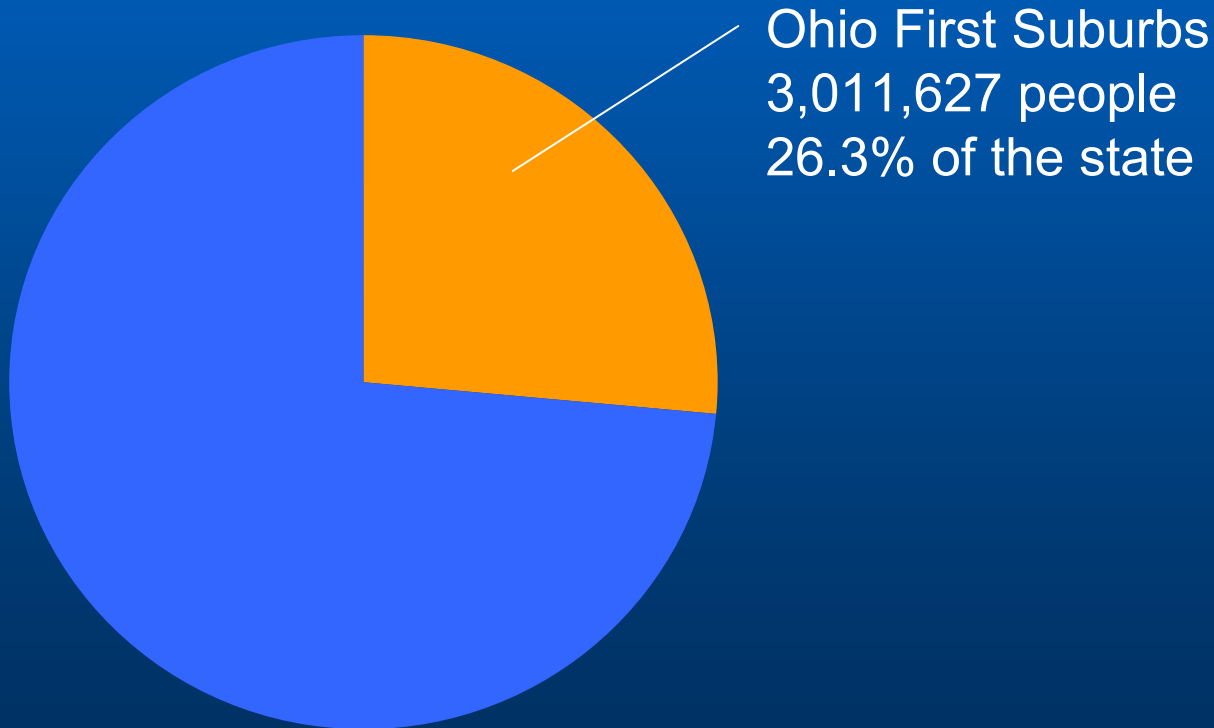






First Suburbs are especially important in Ohio, where they account for over a quarter of the state's population

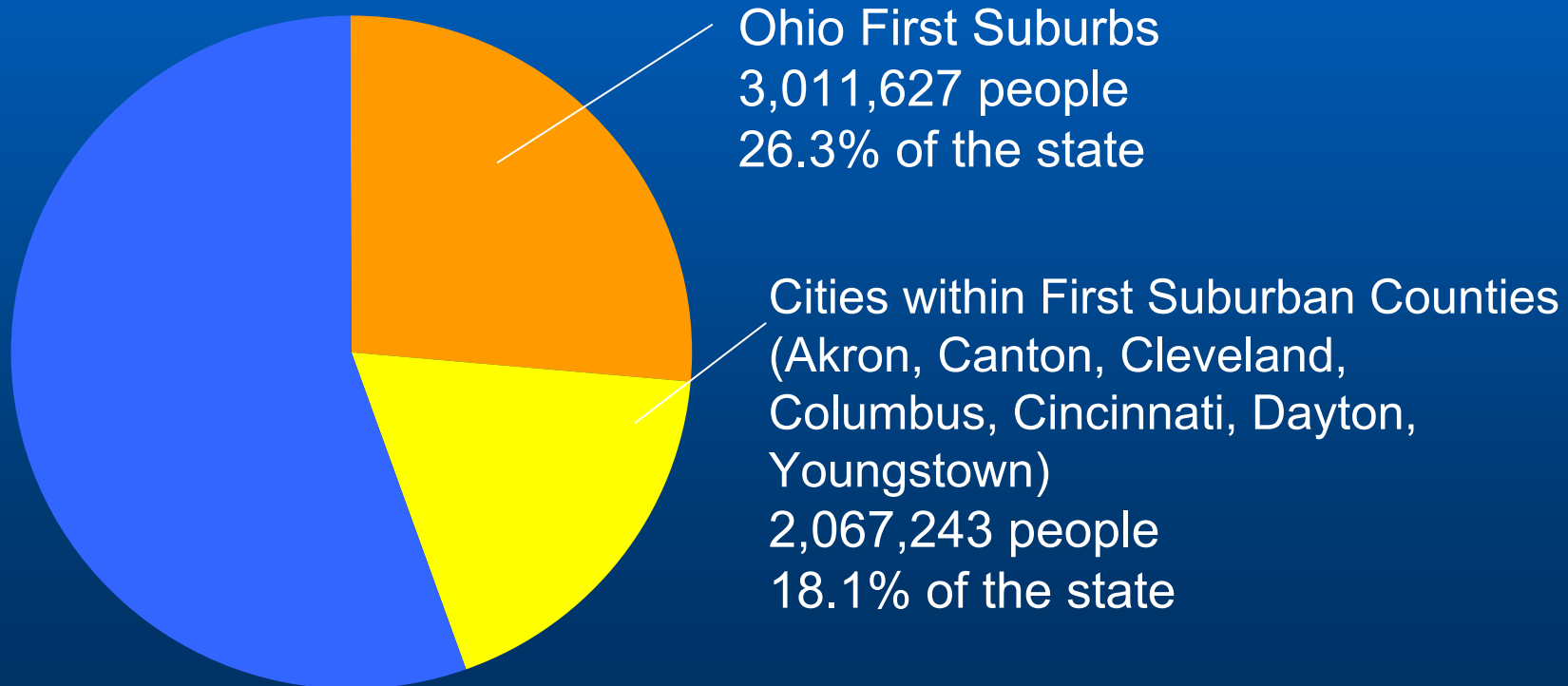
Almost 3 *million* Ohioans live in First Suburbs

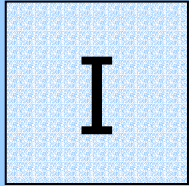




# Ohio's First Suburbs plus their center cities make up nearly half of the state's population

Over *5 million* Ohioans live in First Suburbs or their center cities





## 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%
<b>10</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>41.7%</b>

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%



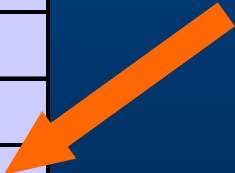
... and population *loss* occurring in the Rust Belt

Slow-Growth Rank	First Suburb	Percent Growth, 1980-2000
1	Allegheny County, PA	-7.70%
<b>2</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>-6.92%</b>
3	St. Clair County, IL	-4.28%
4	Wayne County, MI	-2.17%
5	Lackawanna County, PA	-2.08%
<b>6</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>-0.97%</b>
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





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What does this mean for Ohio?

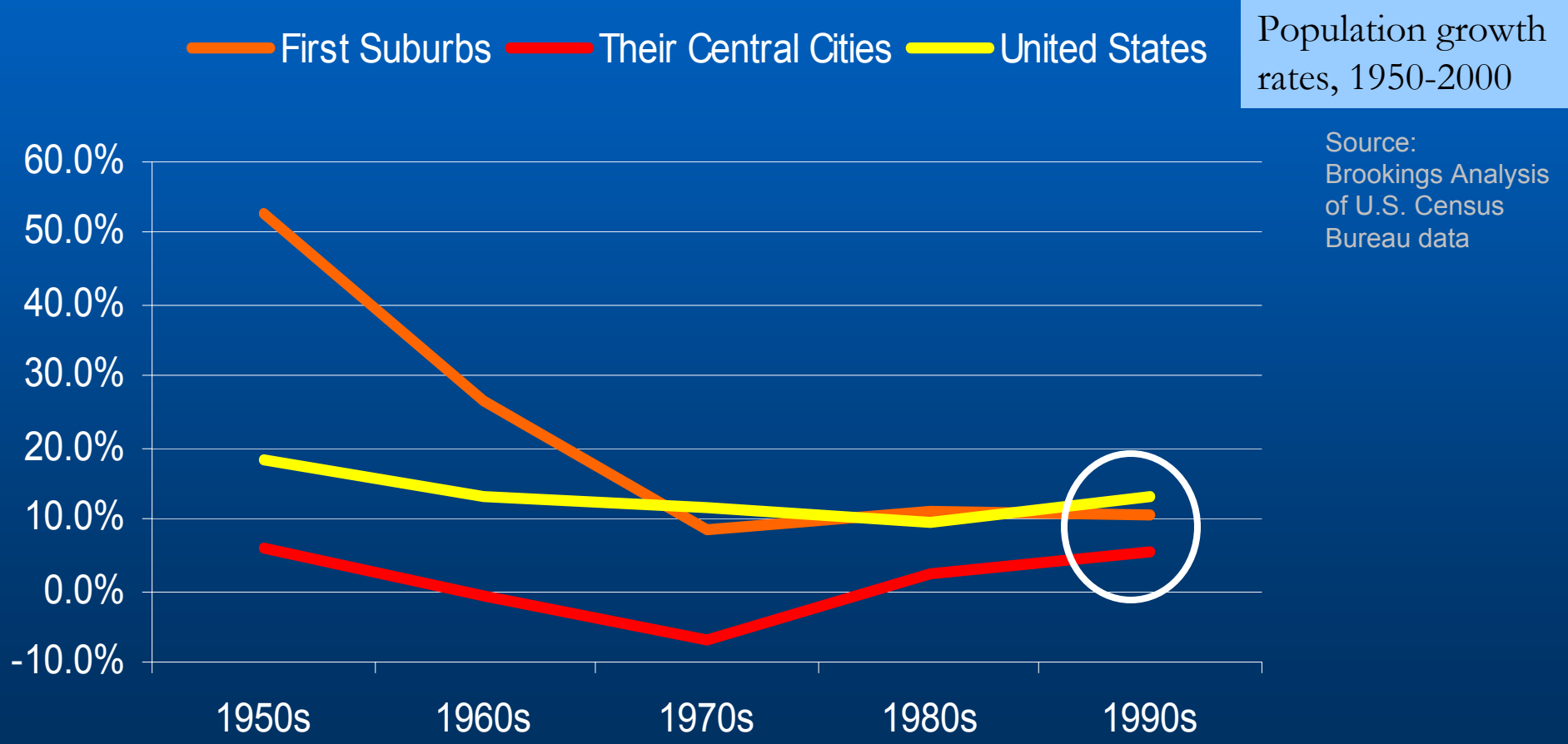
IV

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





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.





Ohio's First Suburbs, including Montgomery, have experienced little growth over the past 20 years, ranking near the bottom among all First Suburbs.

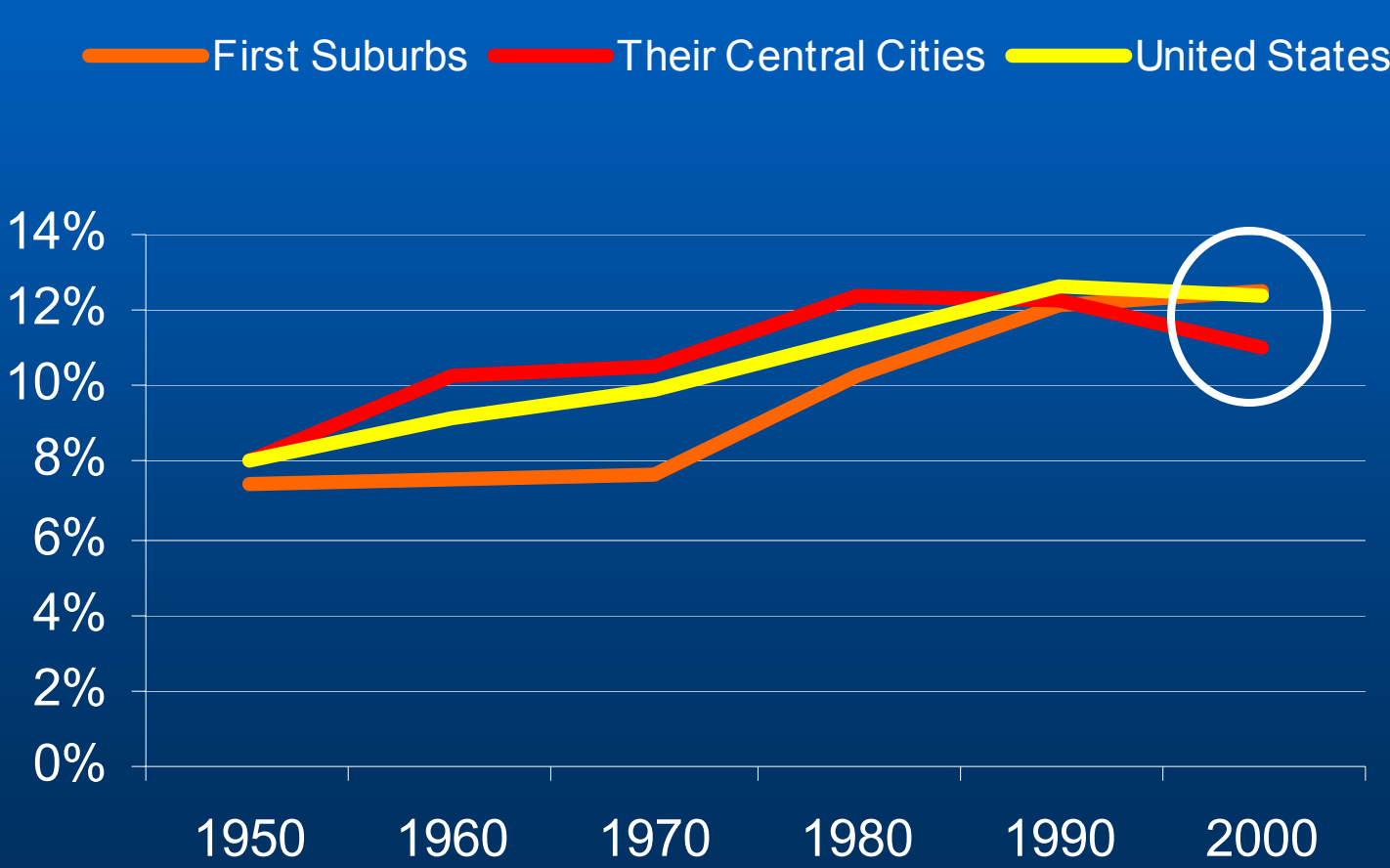
Population growth  
rates, 1980-2000  
(and 1950-2000)

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%
<b>26</b>	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>17.5%</b>
<b>31</b>	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>13.4%</b>
<b>44</b>	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>6.7%</b>
<b>46</b>	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>5.4%</b>
<b>47</b>	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>4.7%</b>
<b>59</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>-1.0%</b>
61	Wayne County, MI	-2.2%
62	St. Clair County, IL	-4.3%
<b>63</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>-6.9%</b>
64	Allegheny County, PA	-7.7%
	All First Suburbs	23.4%
	United States	9.7%



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



Percent of population age 65 and over, 1950-2000

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



All of Ohio's First Suburbs have higher concentrations of elderly than the U.S. (except Franklin County)

Rank	First Suburb	Percent of Population 65 and Over
1	Lackawanna County, PA	19.1%
2	Allegheny County, PA	18.3%
<b>3</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>17.2%</b>
4	Erie County, NY	17.0%
5	Milwaukee County, WI	16.5%
<b>8</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>15.7%</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>15.3%</b>
<b>20</b>	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>14.5%</b>
<b>21</b>	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>14.4%</b>
<b>27</b>	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>14.2%</b>
<b>51</b>	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>11.5%</b>
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%

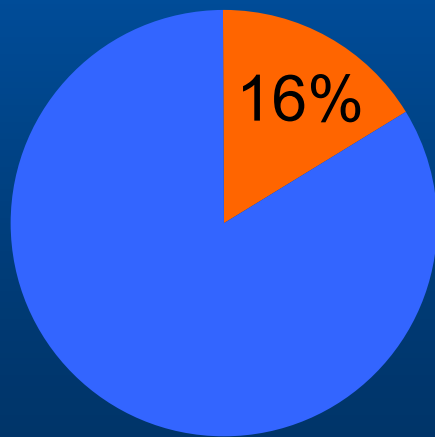
Percent of population  
age 65 and over,  
2000

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

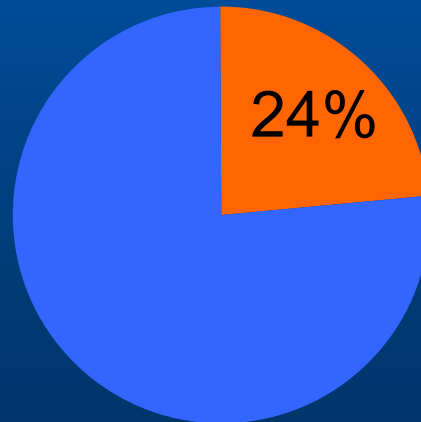


## First Suburbs have become much more diverse; racial and ethnic minorities now comprise one-third of the population of First Suburbs

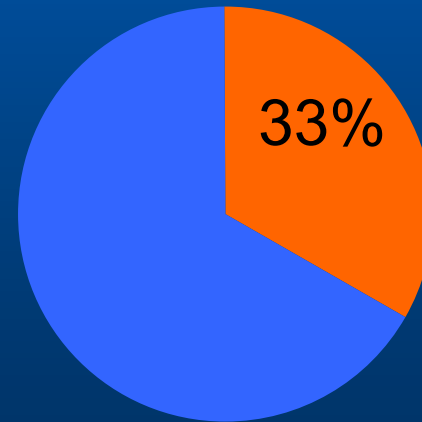
■ Racial/Ethnic Minorities ■ Non-Hispanic White



1980



1990



2000

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

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



All of Ohio's First Suburbs are less diverse than the U.S. and First Suburbs' average.

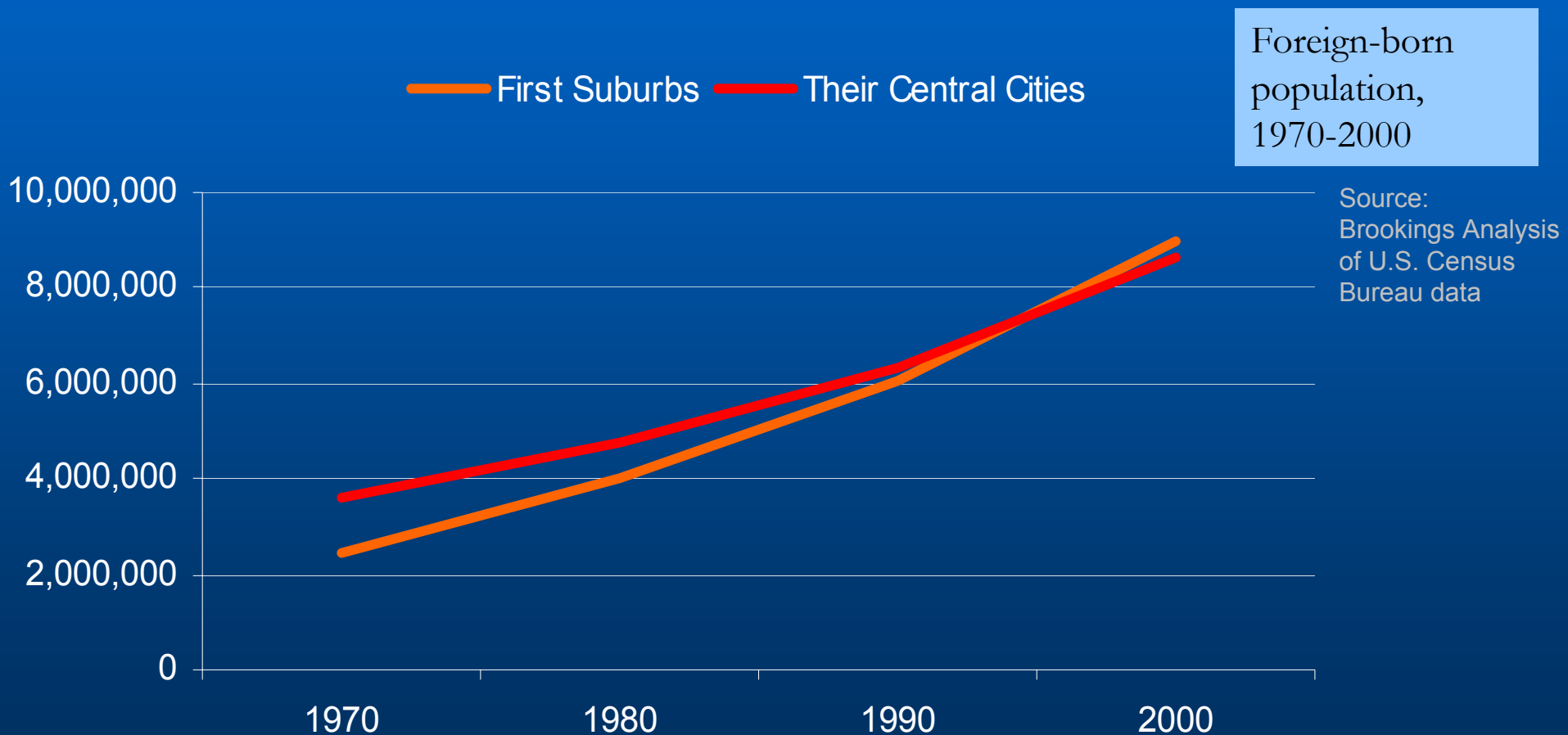
Rank	First Suburb	Population Other Than Non-Hispanic White
1	Dade County, FL	77.6%
2	Prince George's County, MD	75.7%
3	Los Angeles County, CA	68.2%
4	Hudson County, NJ	57.0%
5	Alameda County, CA	53.2%
6	San Mateo County, CA	50.2%
7	Essex County, NJ	50.1%
<b>34</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>19.9%</b>
<b>43</b>	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>14.8%</b>
<b>45</b>	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>14.3%</b>
<b>50</b>	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>10.6%</b>
<b>51</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>10.3%</b>
<b>61</b>	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>6.1%</b>
<b>62</b>	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>6.0%</b>
63	Lackawanna County, PA	5.1%
64	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



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.





By 2000, over 17% of First Suburban residents were foreign-born, compared to 11% of the national population. Figures for Ohio's First Suburbs are much lower.

Rank	First Suburb	Percent Foreign-Born
1	Dade County, FL	49.3%
2	Hudson County, NJ	41.5%
3	Los Angeles County, CA	33.6%
4	San Mateo County, CA	32.3%
5	Orange County, CA	29.9%
6	Alameda County, CA	28.2%
36	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>7.4%</b>
50	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>4.7%</b>
55	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>3.3%</b>
56	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>3.1%</b>
58	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>2.7%</b>
59	Berks County, PA	2.6%
61	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>1.8%</b>
62	Lackawanna County, PA	1.8%
63	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>1.8%</b>
64	Madison County, IL	1.3%
	All First Suburbs	17.1%
	United States	11.1%

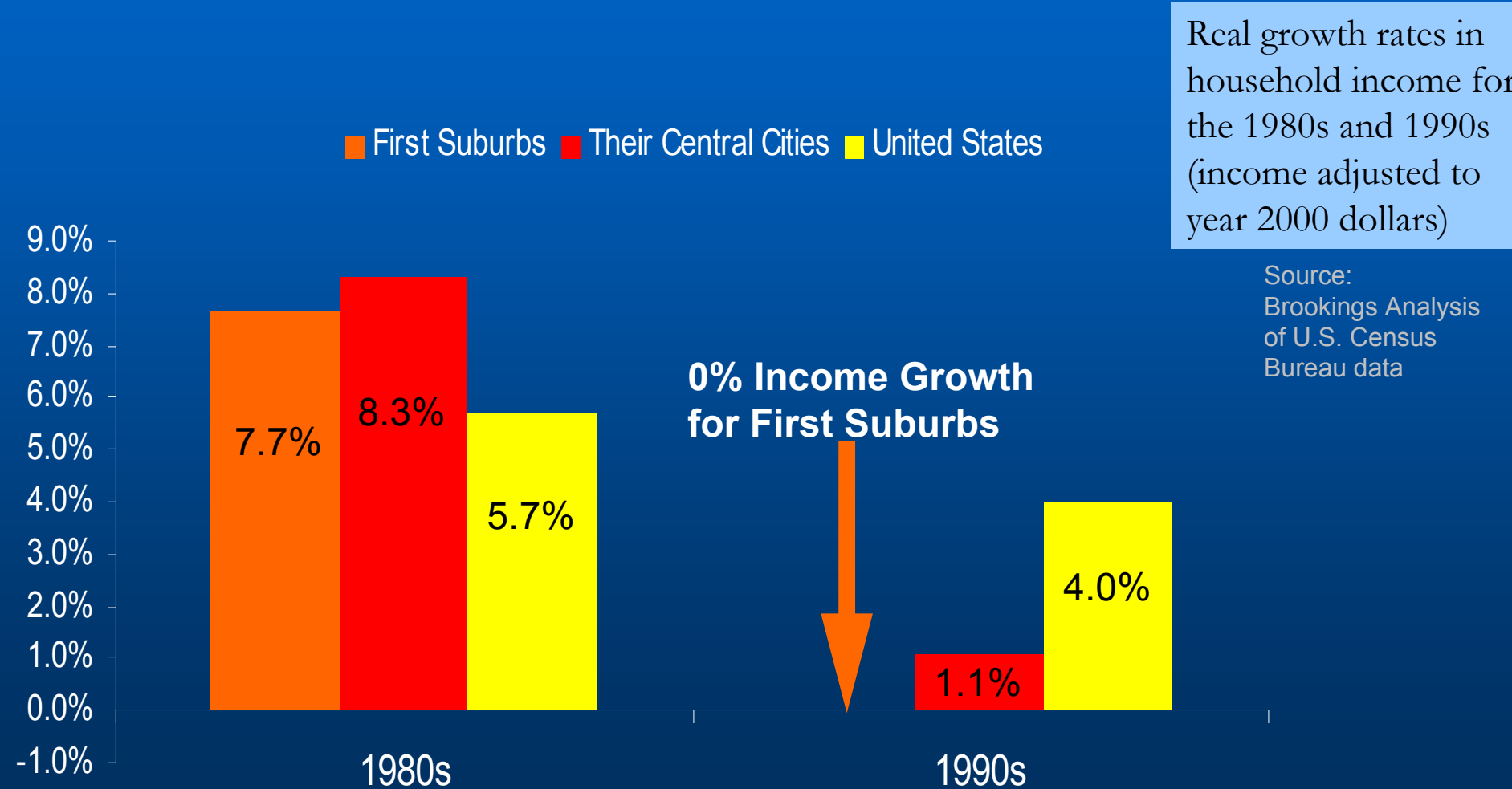
Foreign-born  
population, 2000

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





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





With the exception of Cuyahoga and Montgomery Counties, all of Ohio's First Suburbs saw some real income growth in the 1990s.

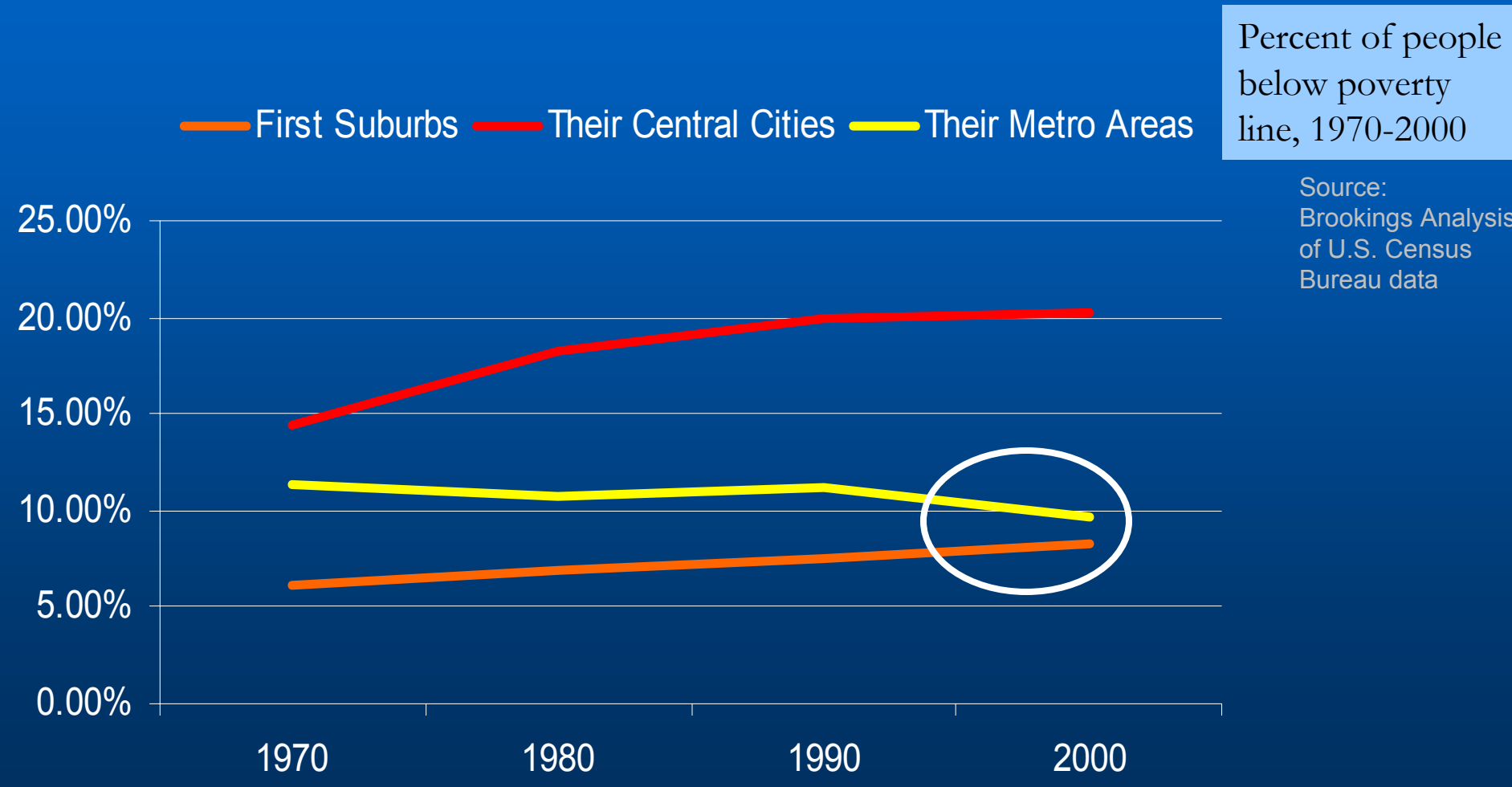
Rank	First Suburb	Percent Real Income Growth
1	San Mateo County, CA	13.2%
2	Maricopa County, AZ	12.6%
3	Pierce County, WA	11.5%
4	Marion County, IN	10.3%
5	Fulton County, GA	9.8%
8	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>8.8%</b>
10	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>6.7%</b>
16	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>5.0%</b>
24	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>3.1%</b>
33	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>1.4%</b>
41	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>-0.1%</b>
55	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>-2.6%</b>
61	New Haven County, CT	-4.6%
62	Prince George's County, MD	-4.6%
63	Hartford County, CT	-6.8%
64	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

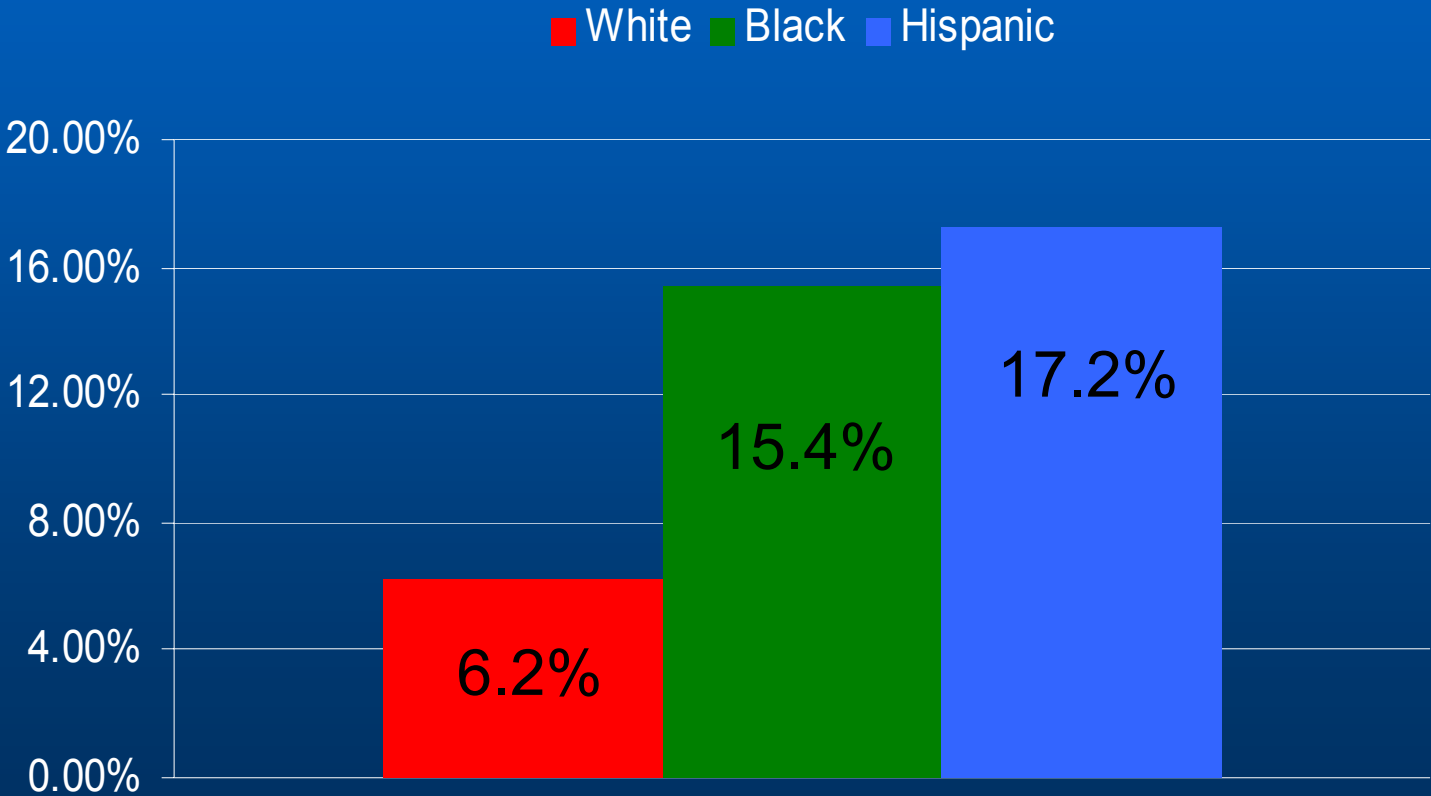


While low, poverty rates in First Suburbs have been steadily rising despite a slight decrease in the rates of their metro areas.





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.

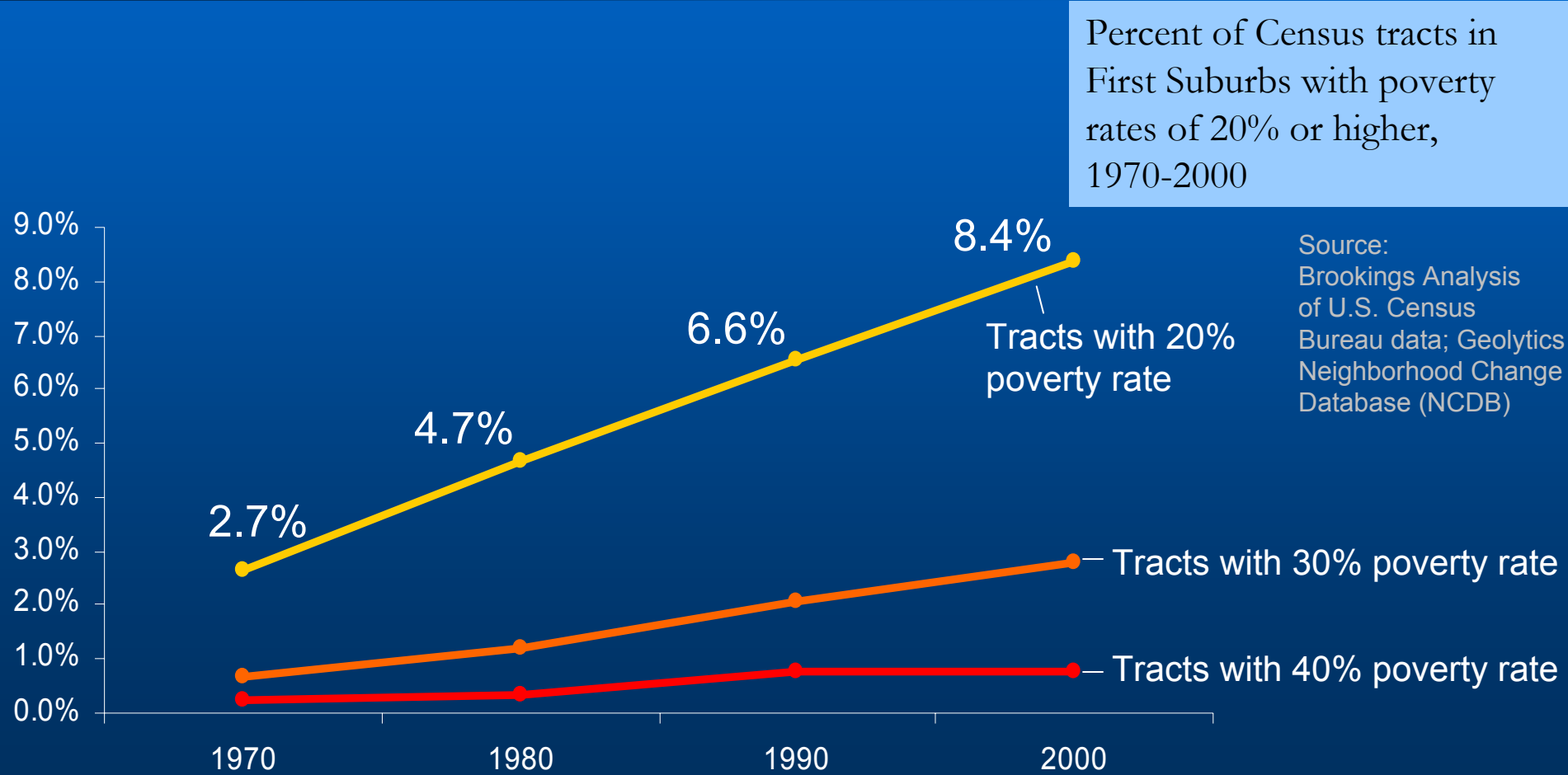


Percent of people below poverty line, 1970-2000

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



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





But in Ohio, only Trumbull County has concentrated poverty rates above the First Suburban average. Most are well below.

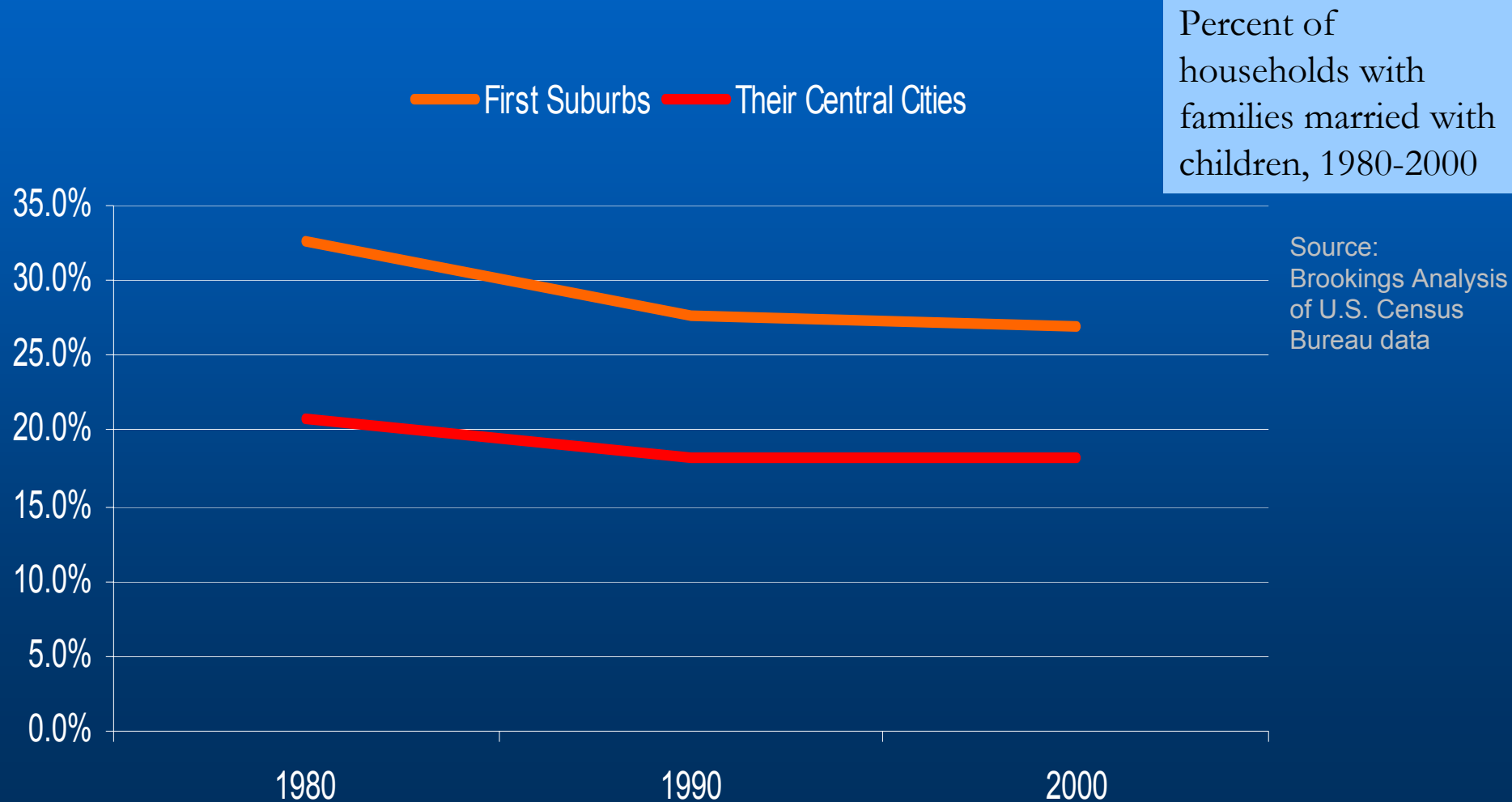
Rank	First Suburb	Percent of Tracts with Poverty Rate of 20% or More
64	St. Clair County, IL	30.9%
63	Miami-Dade County, FL	30.5%
62	Los Angeles County, CA	26.9%
61	Hampden County, MA	19.3%
60	Lehigh County, PA	19.1%
59	Providence County, RI	19.0%
<b>57</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>17.9%</b>
<b>40</b>	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>7.7%</b>
<b>34</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>5.8%</b>
<b>27</b>	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>3.4%</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>1.3%</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>1.0%</b>
1	Montgomery County, MD	0.0%
1	Hennepin County, MN	0.0%
<b>1</b>	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>0.0%</b>
1	Marion County, IN	0.0%
1	San Mateo County, CA	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)



Like the rest of the country, the number of “nuclear families” in First Suburbs are decreasing





In Ohio First Suburbs, the percent of married households with children is generally below the First Suburban averages.

Rank	First Suburb	Households, Married with Children, 2000
1	Harris County, TX	36.4%
2	Dallas County, TX	32.2%
3	Nassau County, NY	31.4%
4	Los Angeles County, CA	30.9%
5	Orange County, CA	30.6%
<b>13</b>	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>28.7%</b>
<b>25</b>	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>26.9%</b>
26	Norfolk County, MA	26.8%
27	Monroe County, NY	26.7%
<b>28</b>	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>26.6%</b>
<b>39</b>	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>25.5%</b>
<b>54</b>	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>23.0%</b>
55	Hampden County, MA	23.0%
<b>56</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>22.4%</b>
<b>61</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>21.6%</b>
62	Hudson County, NJ	20.4%
63	Lackawanna County, PA	19.7%
64	Arlington County, VA	15.4%
	All First Suburbs	27.0%
	United States	23.5%

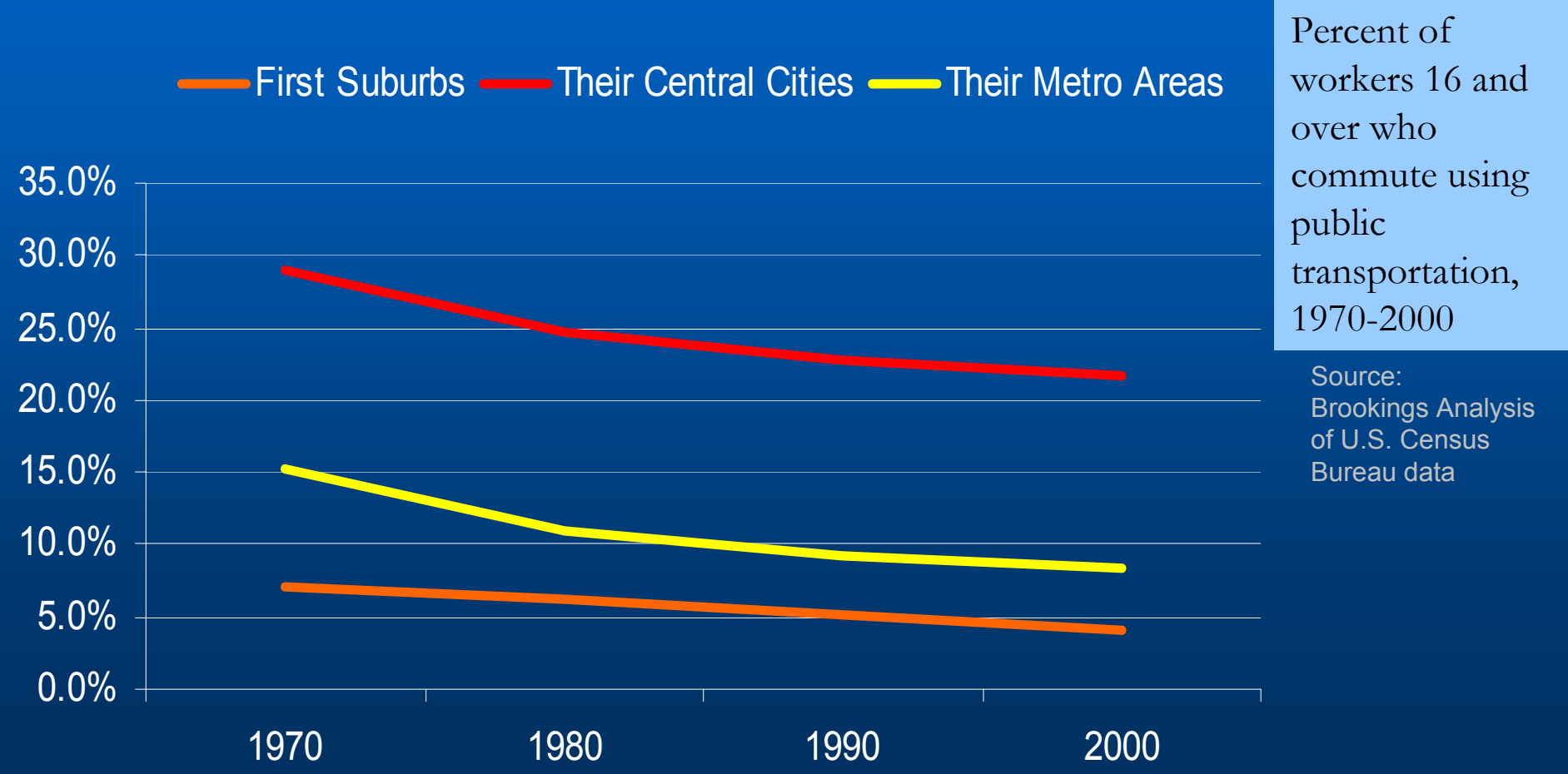
Percent of households with families married with children, 2000

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





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



Percent of workers 16 and over who commute using public transportation, 1970-2000

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



Public transit use in all Ohio First Suburbs is far below the national and First Suburban average.

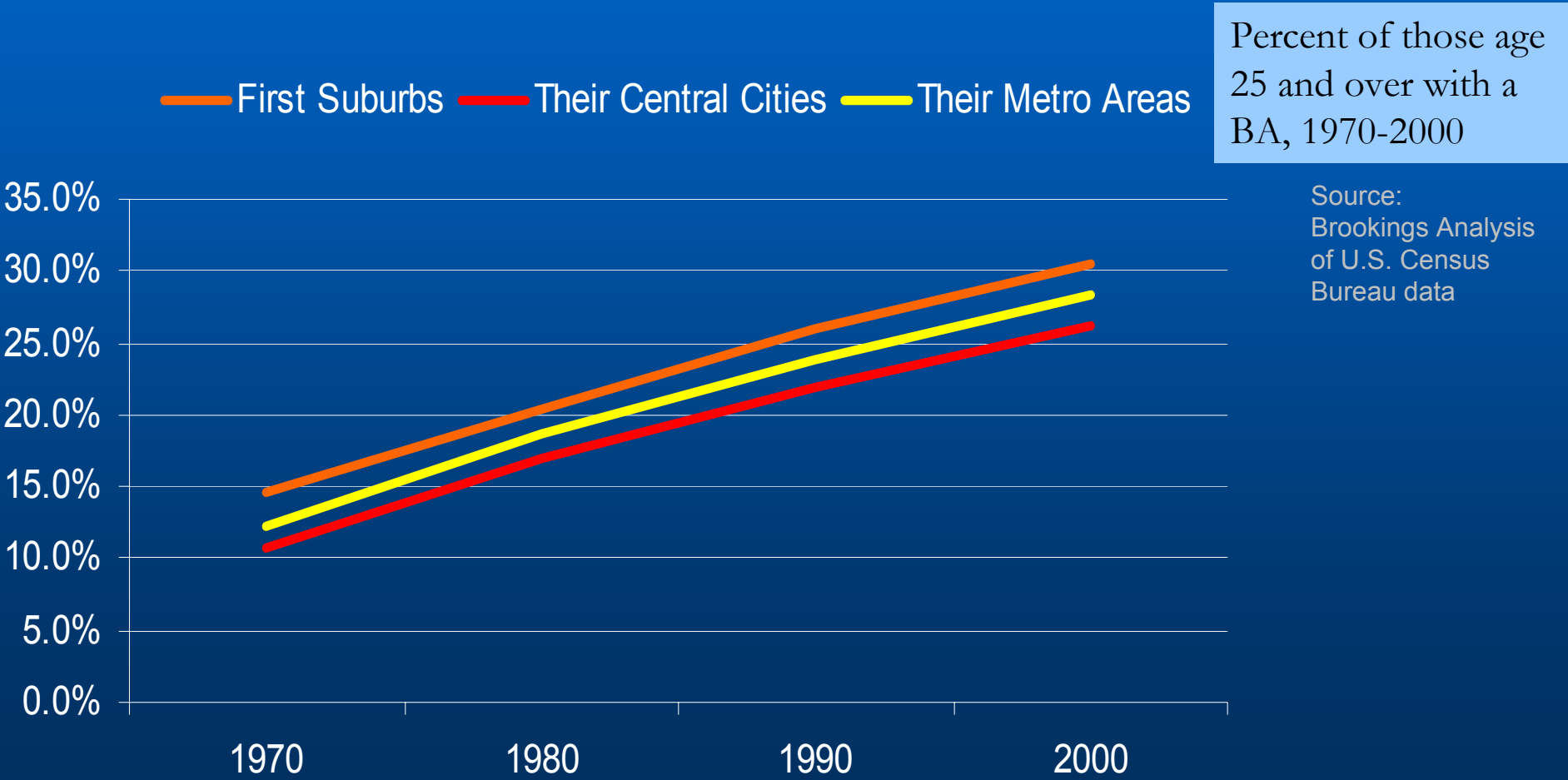
Rank	First Suburb	Percent of Commuters Using Public Transit, 2000
1	Hudson County, NJ	29.97%
2	Arlington County, VA	23.31%
3	Westchester County, NY	19.75%
4	Essex County, NJ	15.78%
5	Nassau County, NY	15.72%
6	Montgomery County, MD	12.63%
<b>26</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>3.98%</b>
<b>38</b>	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>2.02%</b>
<b>45</b>	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>1.43%</b>
<b>47</b>	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>1.16%</b>
<b>57</b>	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>0.69%</b>
<b>59</b>	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>0.60%</b>
63	Jefferson County, AL	0.33%
<b>64</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>0.25%</b>
	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



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.





Three of the First Suburban counties in Ohio 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%
4	Westchester County, NY	45.1%
5	Fairfield County, CT	44.4%
<b>13</b>	<b>Franklin County, OH</b>	<b>37.0%</b>
<b>23</b>	<b>Cuyahoga County, OH</b>	<b>31.5%</b>
<b>28</b>	<b>Hamilton County, OH</b>	<b>30.7%</b>
<b>32</b>	<b>Summit County, OH</b>	<b>29.6%</b>
<b>44</b>	<b>Montgomery County, OH</b>	<b>26.0%</b>
<b>59</b>	<b>Stark County, OH</b>	<b>19.5%</b>
61	Madison County, IL	19.2%
62	Lake County, IN	17.7%
63	Macomb County, MI	17.6%
<b>64</b>	<b>Trumbull County, OH</b>	<b>14.5%</b>
	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



# America's First Suburbs: A Policy Agenda for Older Suburbs in Transition

I

What are First Suburbs?

II

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

III

What does this mean for Ohio?

IV

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



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

1. Very little population growth
2. A relatively high share of older Americans
3. Sluggish household incomes with some increases in concentrated poverty
4. Almost total reliance on automobile for commuting





## Ohio's First Suburbs also face some other threats to their 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, Ohio's possesses many important assets and opportunities

1. Home to a large share of the state's population and a good share of educated workers.
2. Mixed use often high quality design
3. Convenience and central location
4. Established infrastructure: transportation, water, sewer, schools
5. Potential for 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



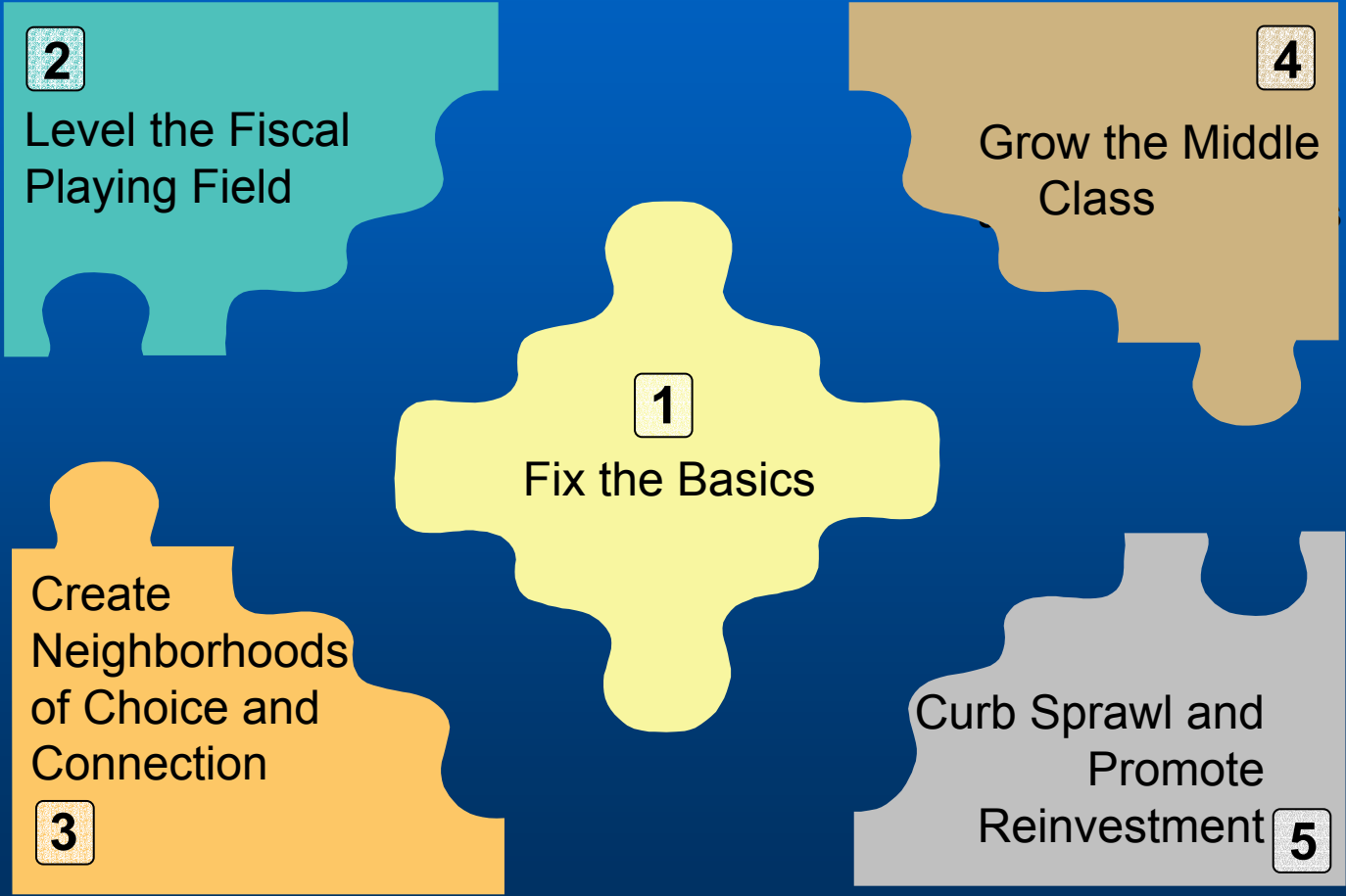
# Current state and federal policies generally don't help First Suburbs

## ***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





# First suburbs need to organize coalitions around state reform and local practices

## *Organize for success*

→ Build regional and statewide political coalitions that reflect their unique set of issues and challenges


→ Identify funding to staff and support coalitions

→ Partner with university and research organizations for independent research analysis and policy positions




Building on the success of Ohio's First Suburbs consortia, other groups have organized throughout the U.S.


### ***Examples of First Suburban Coalitions***



Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Detroit, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Atlanta have established some form of coalition.




A dozen other metropolitan areas have organized meetings such as this one.



Constituent groups like the National League of Cities are also organizing First Suburbs.

# www.brookings.edu/metro



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- read the paper
- Special Series on the Health of Upstate New York

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