

The Brookings Institution

Metropolitan Policy Program
Robert Puentes, Fellow



Redefining Metropolitan America: Key Trends and Implications for the Southwest

Presentation to the Southwest Regional Community Impact Assessment Workshop
June 7, 2005
Scottsdale, AZ

Transportation Research Board
Federal Highway Administration (FHWA)
Arizona Department of Transportation

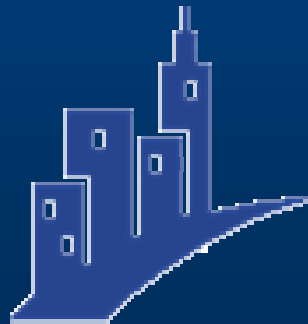
METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM

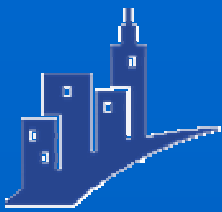
MISSION

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



“The sign of a truly educated man is to be deeply moved by statistics.” *George Bernard Shaw*





Redefining Metropolitan America: Key Trends and Implications for the Southwest

I

What are the general demographic and economic trends affecting the United States?

II

What are the major trends affecting cities and suburbs?

I

What are the general demographic and economic trends affecting the United States?

Major demographic forces are changing the United States



Population Growth

Immigration

Aging

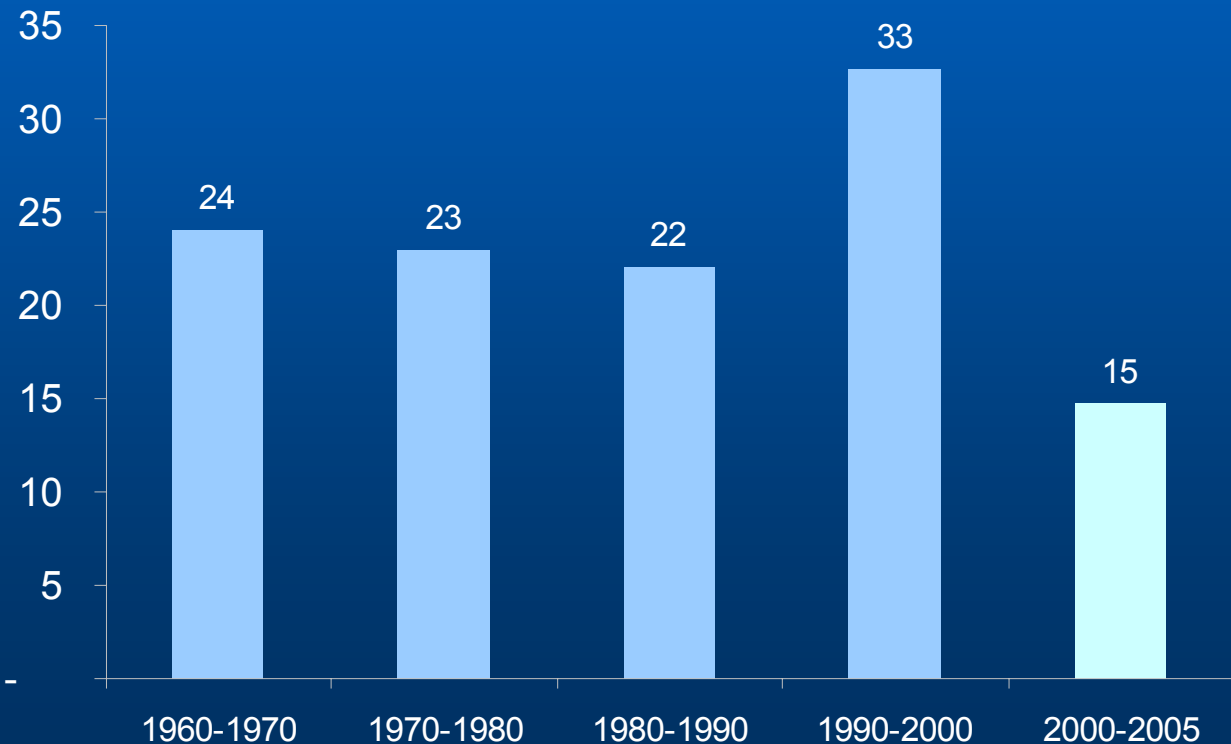
Internal Migration



The 1990s presented the strongest growth in four decades

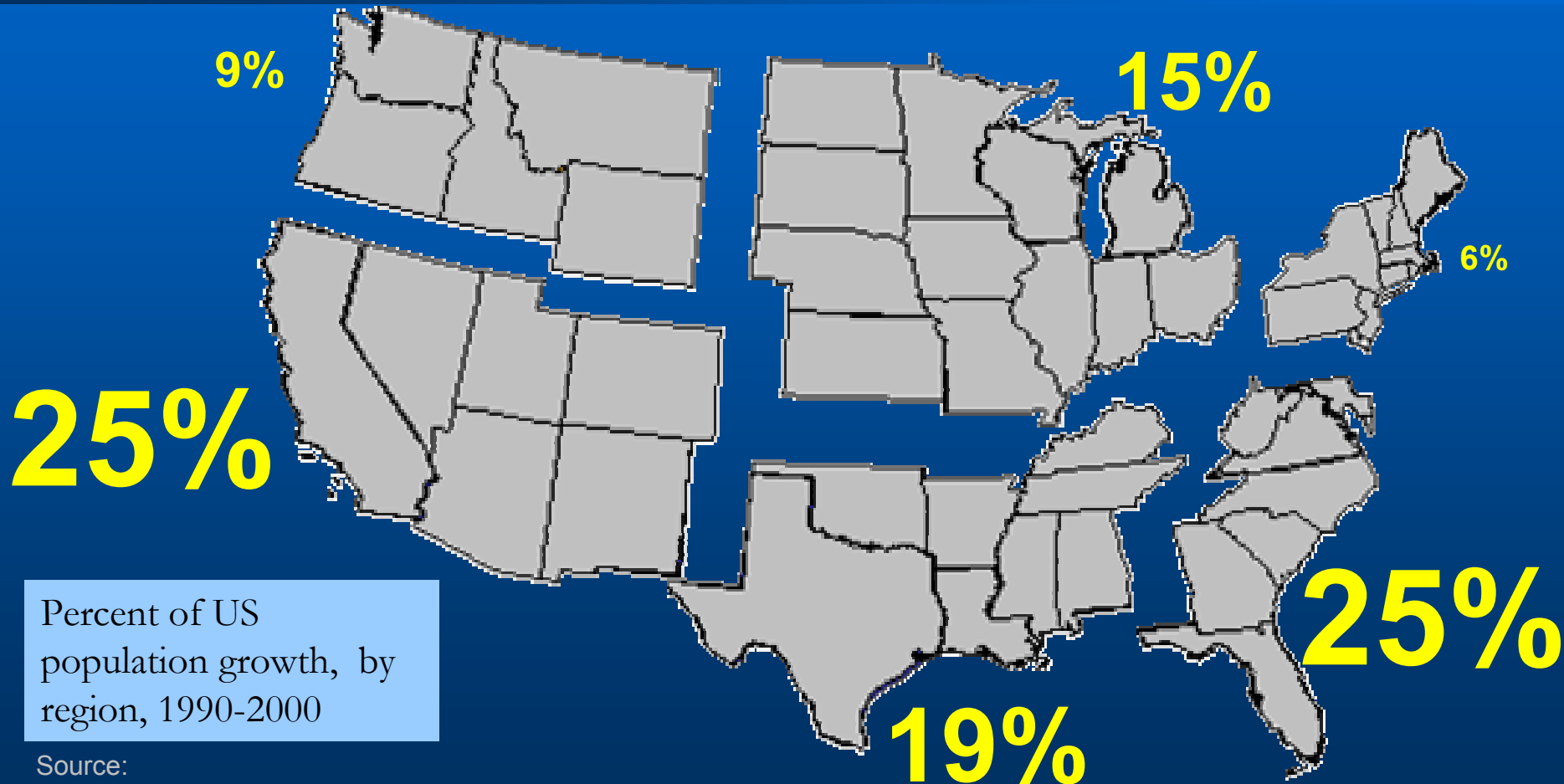
US population
growth (millions),
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau





Half of this growth during the 1990s occurred in the Southwest and South Atlantic



Percent of US
population growth, by
region, 1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

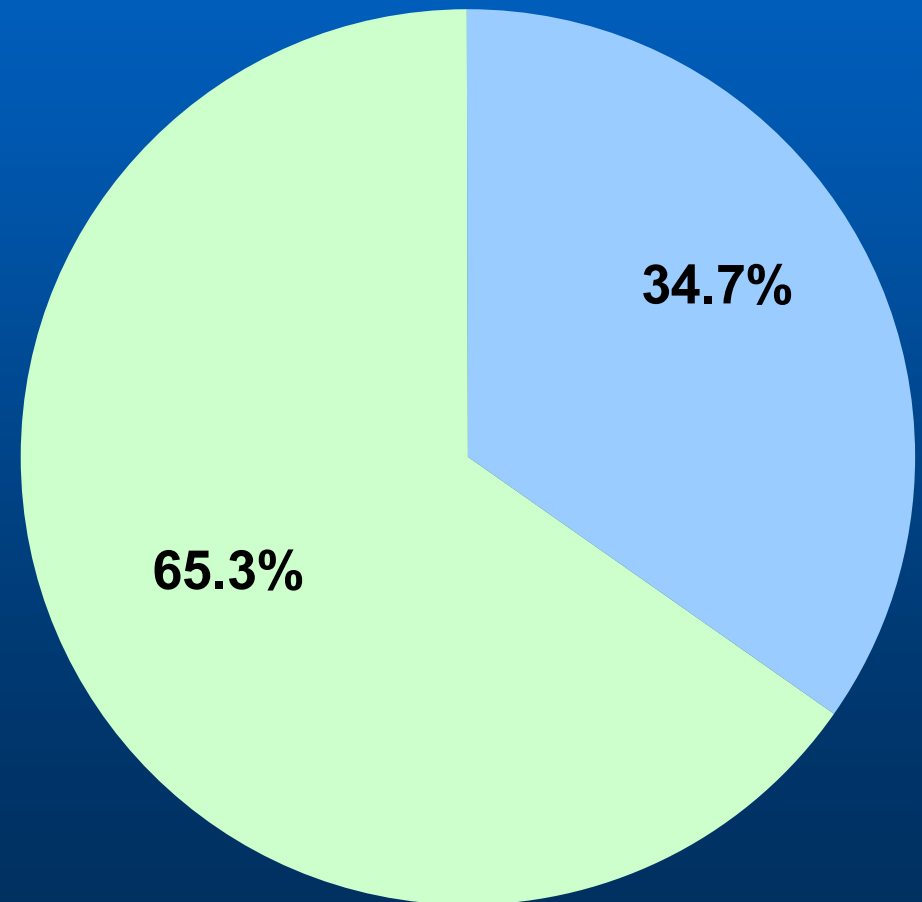


More than 1/3 of this population growth was driven by immigration

Components of
population change,
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

- Net Immigration
- Natural Increase

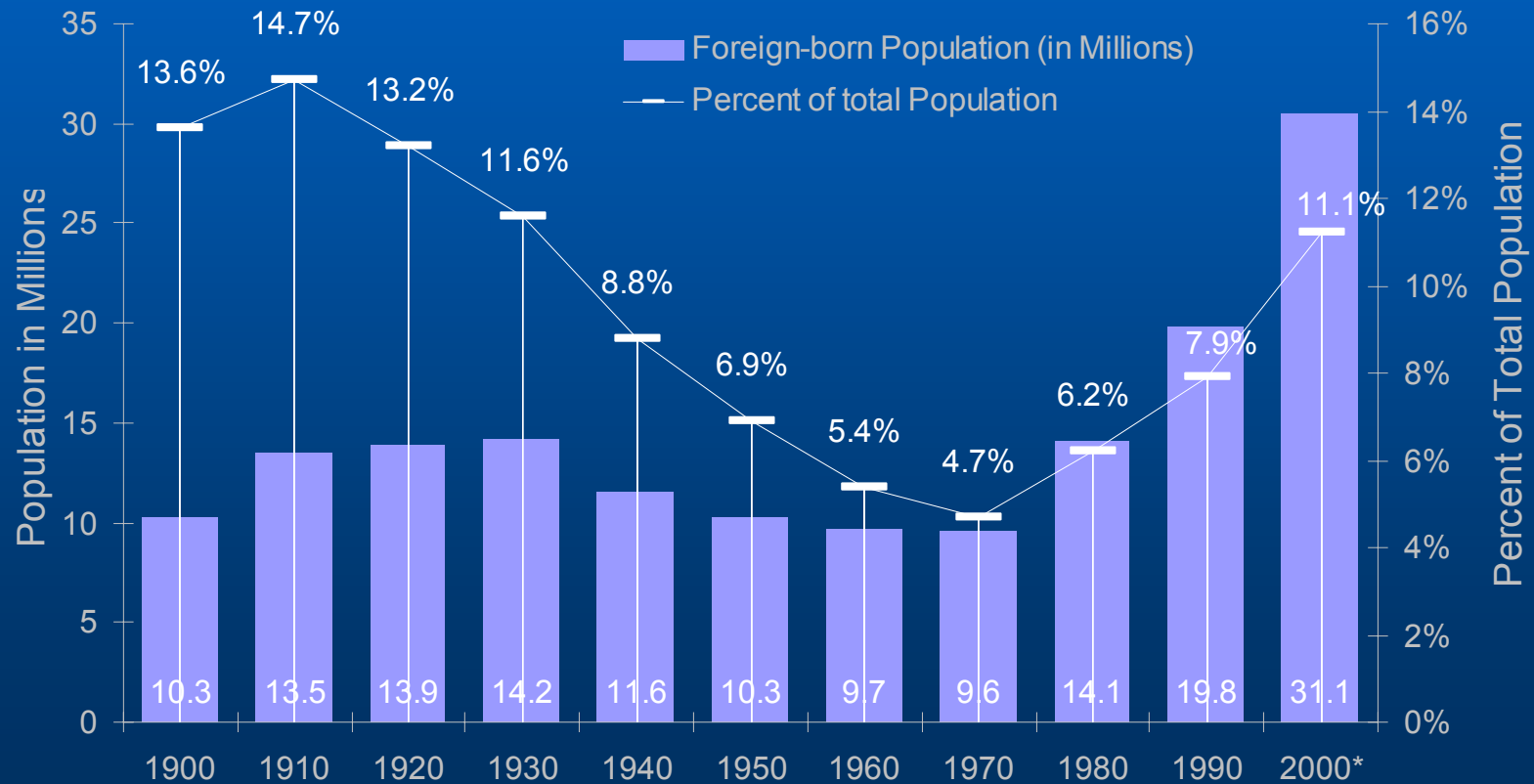




Despite a decade of rapid immigration, the share of the U.S. population that is foreign-born is lower now than in the 1900s

Immigration, 1900-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

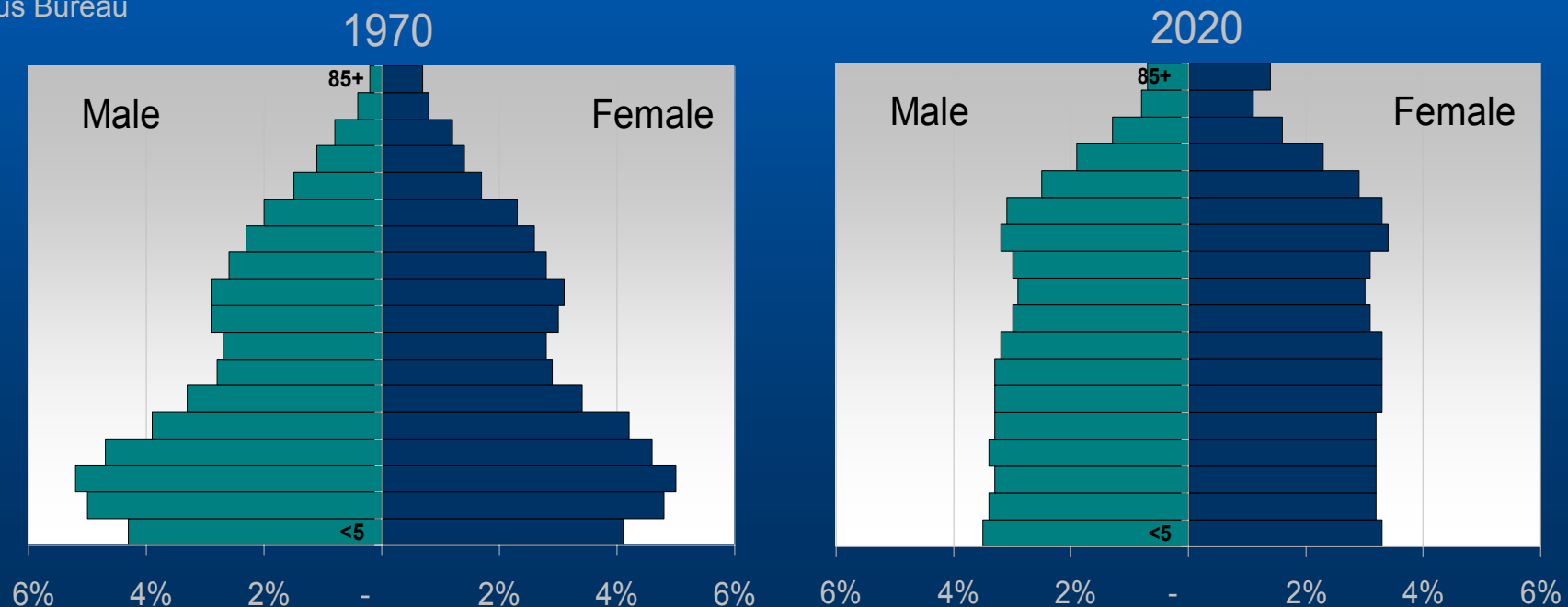




At the same time, the US population is aging

US Age Distribution, 1970 vs. 2020

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

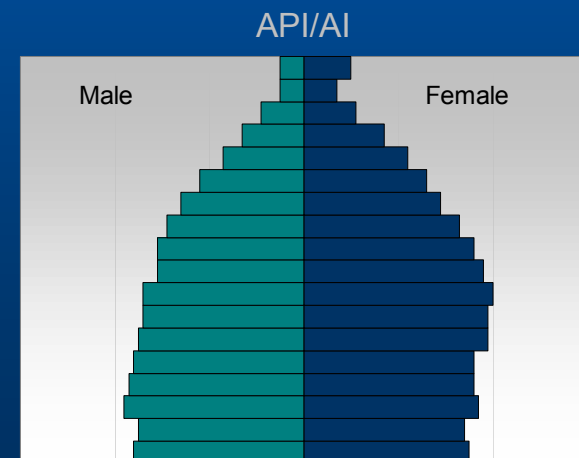
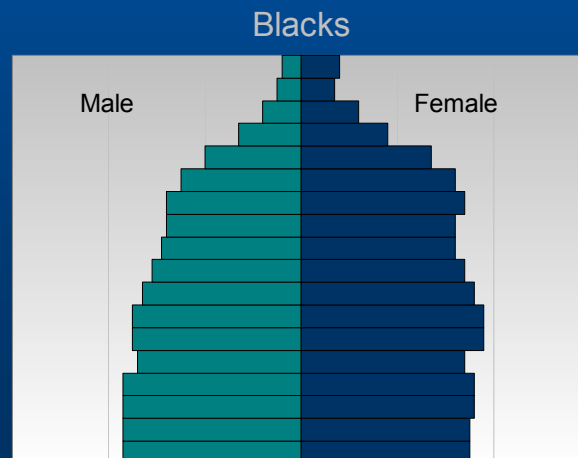
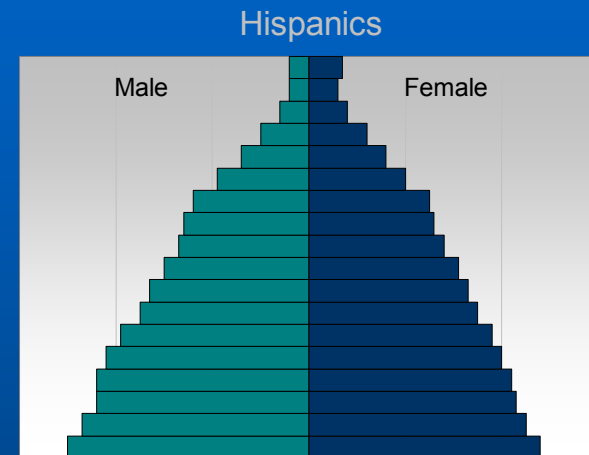
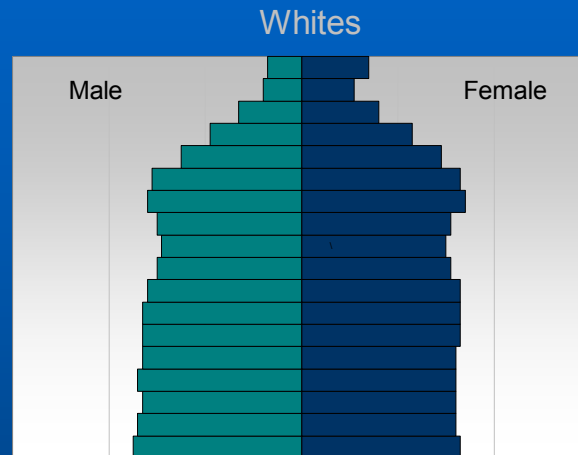




Minorities, however, have younger age structures than whites

US Age Distribution, 2020

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau





America's New Demographic Regions

The New Sunbelt



Migration growth states

Melting Pot America



Diversity states

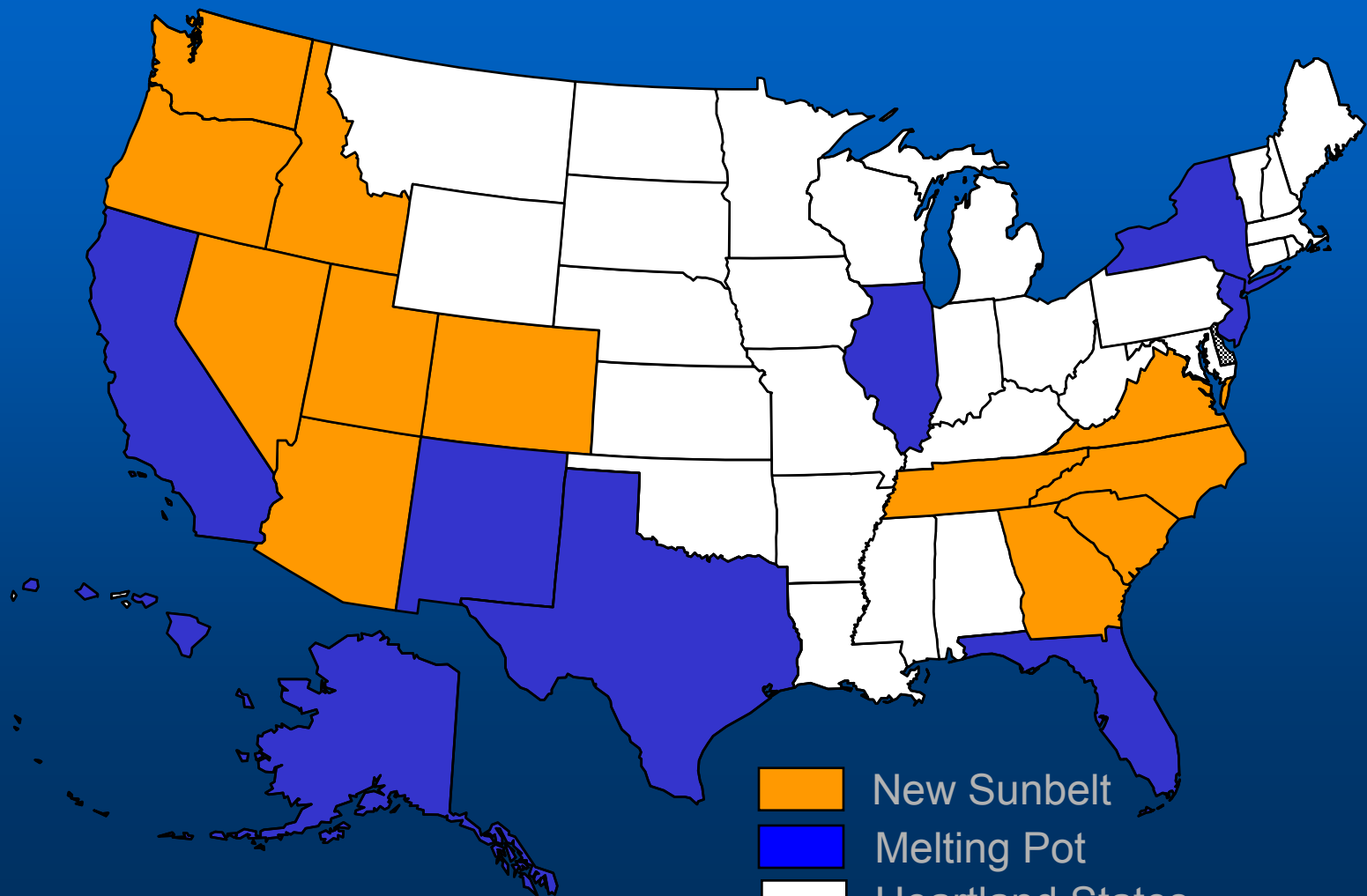
The Heartland



Slow growth states



America's New Demographic Regions



Source: William H. Frey

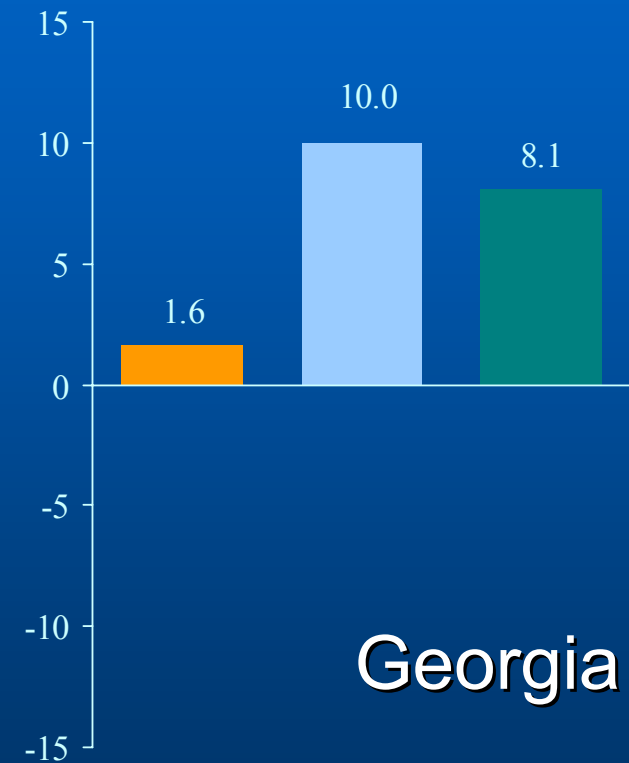
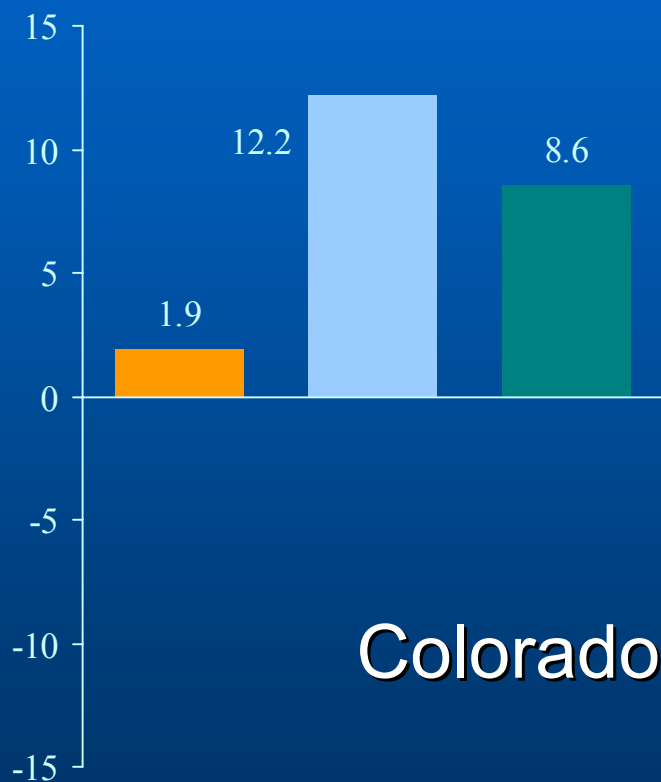
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New Sunbelt
Melting Pot
Heartland States

METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM



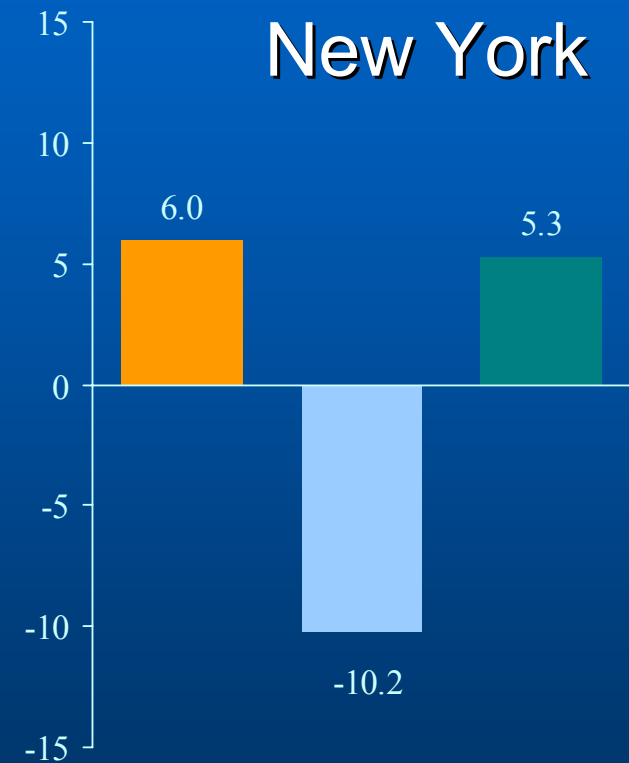
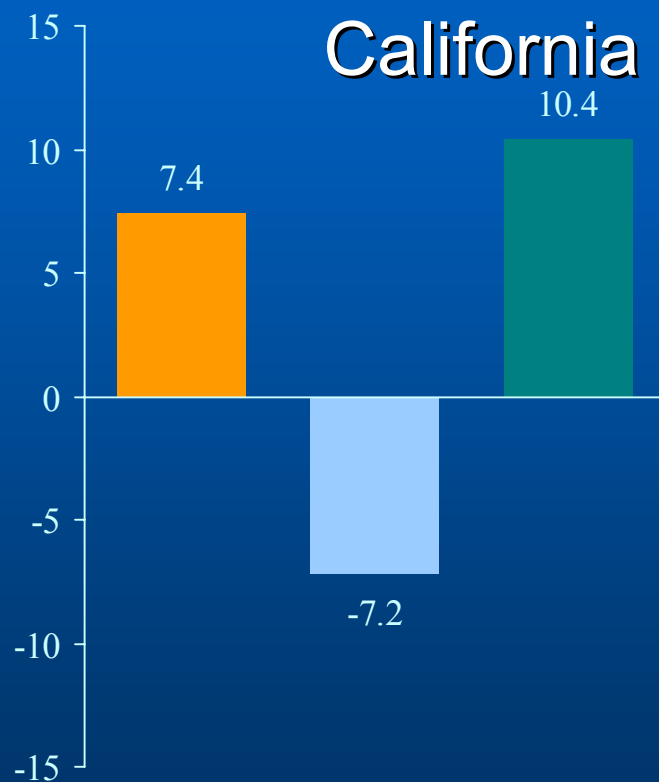
New Sunbelt: Examples



Immigration Domestic Migration Natural Increase



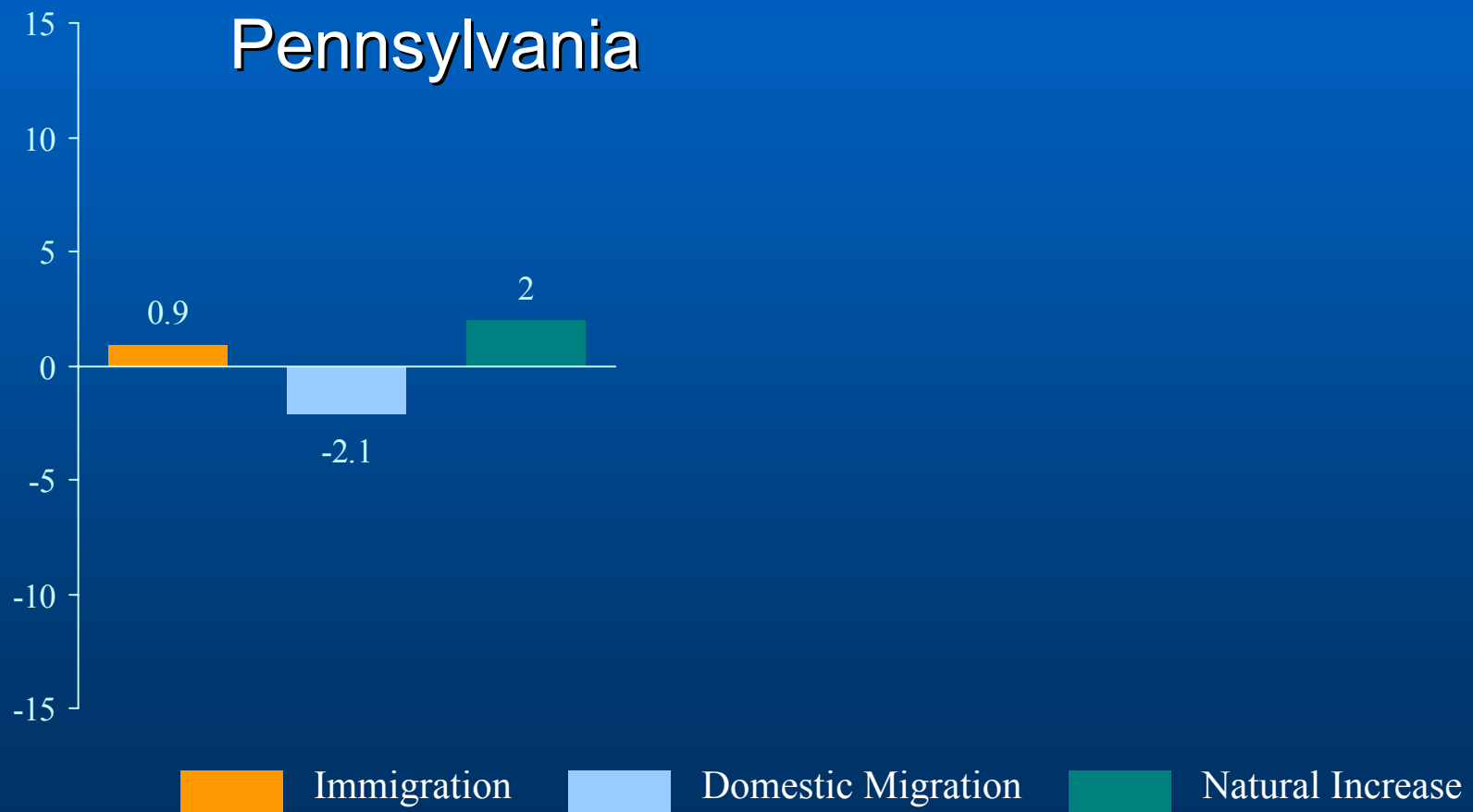
Melting Pot: Examples



Immigration Domestic Migration Natural Increase

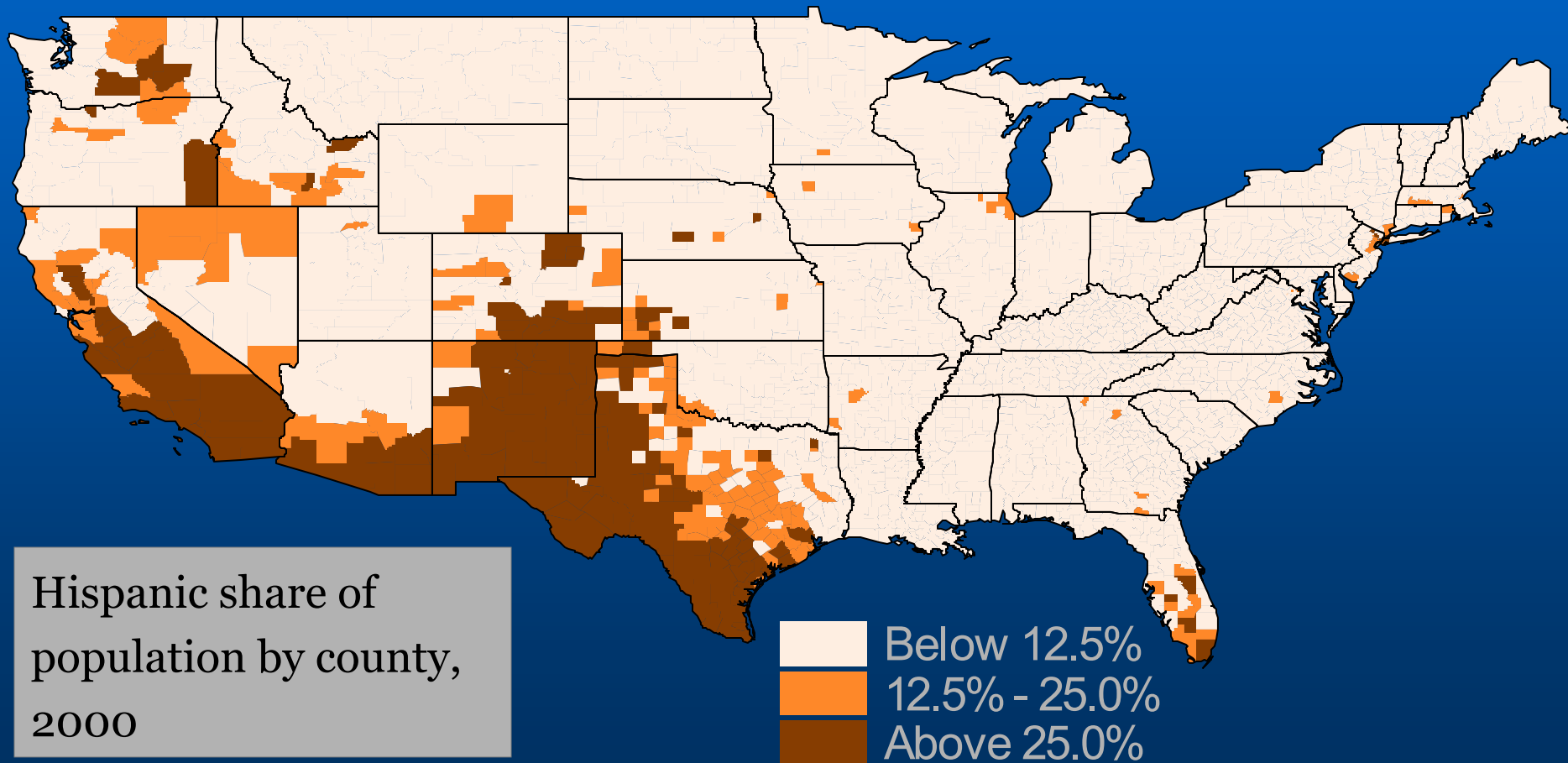


Heartland: Examples





Hispanics are concentrated in Washington, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Florida and isolated urban pockets



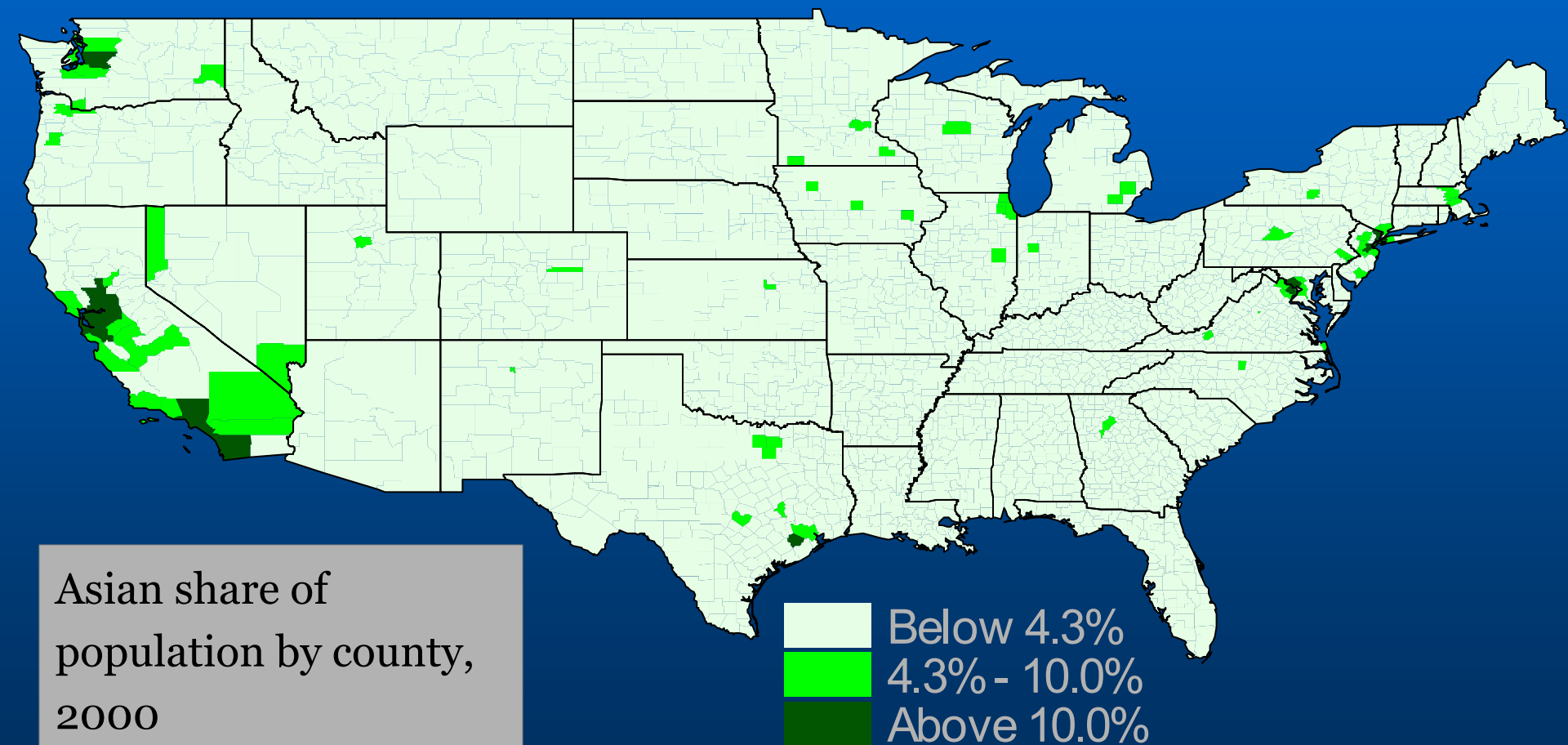
Source: William H. Frey

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Asians are concentrated in California and isolated urban pockets



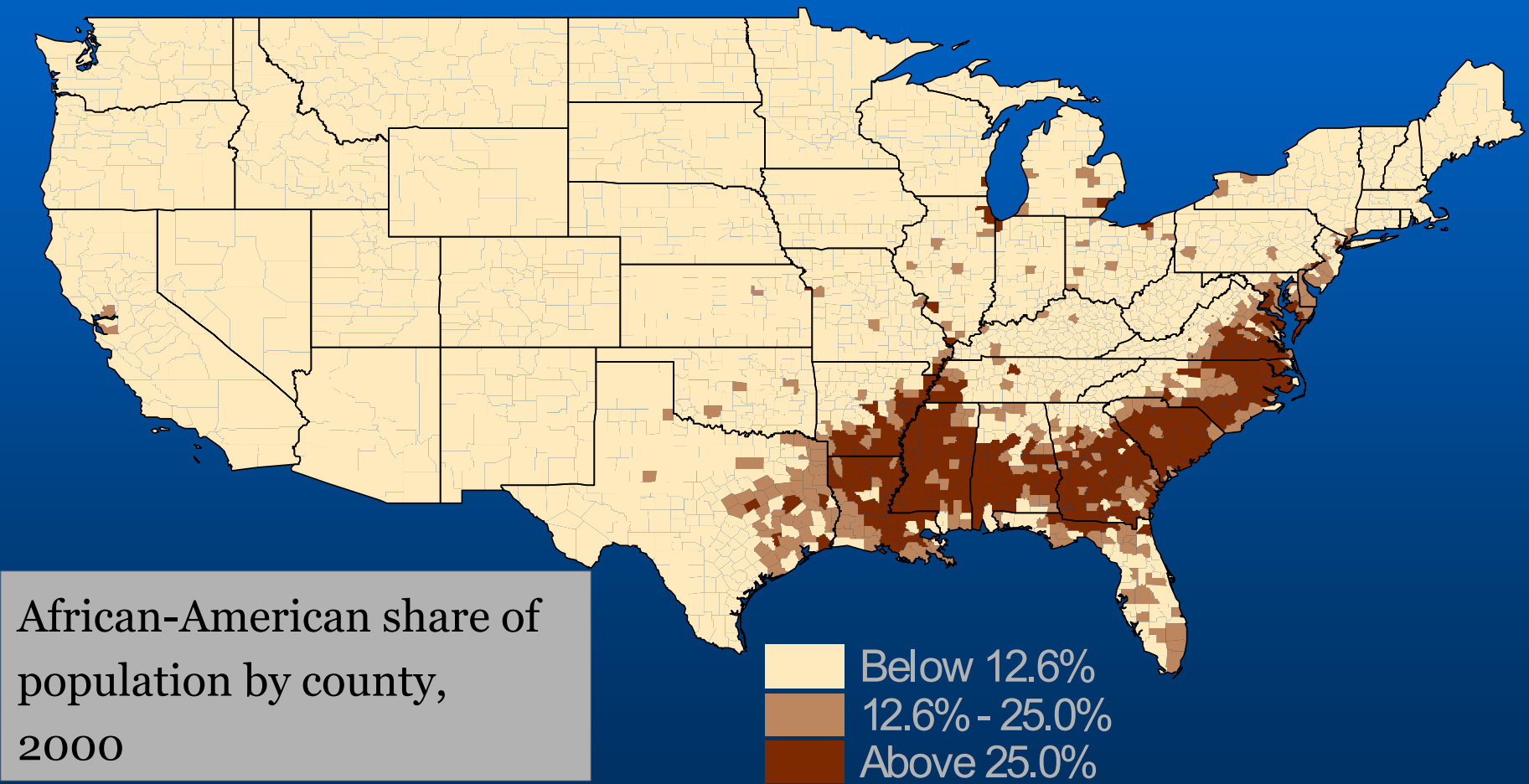
Source: William H. Frey

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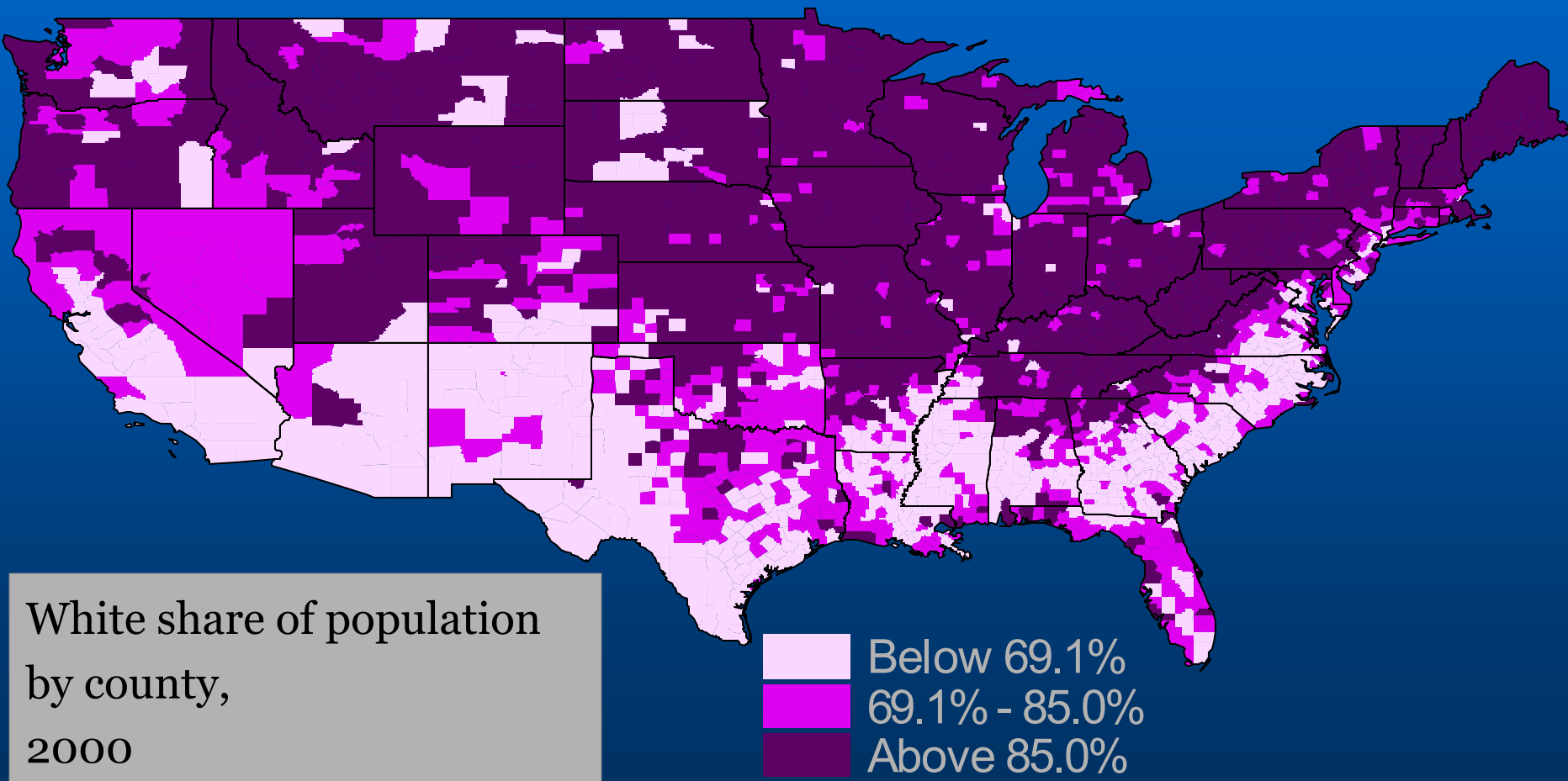


Blacks are concentrated in the South and industrial cities of the North





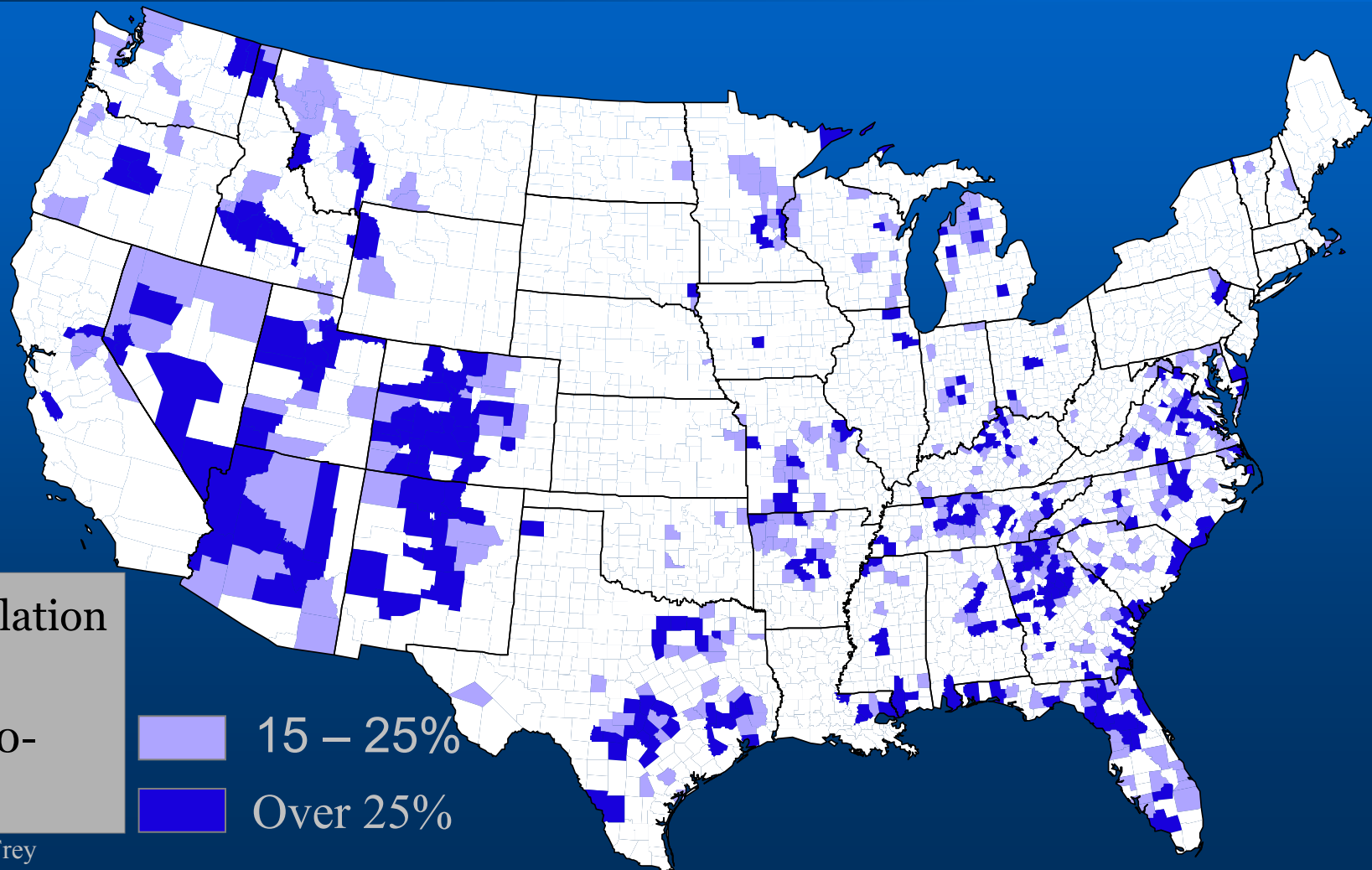
Whites are principally concentrated in the Heartland



White share of population
by county,
2000



But even so, the Southwest also has the fastest rates of white population growth



Source: William H. Frey

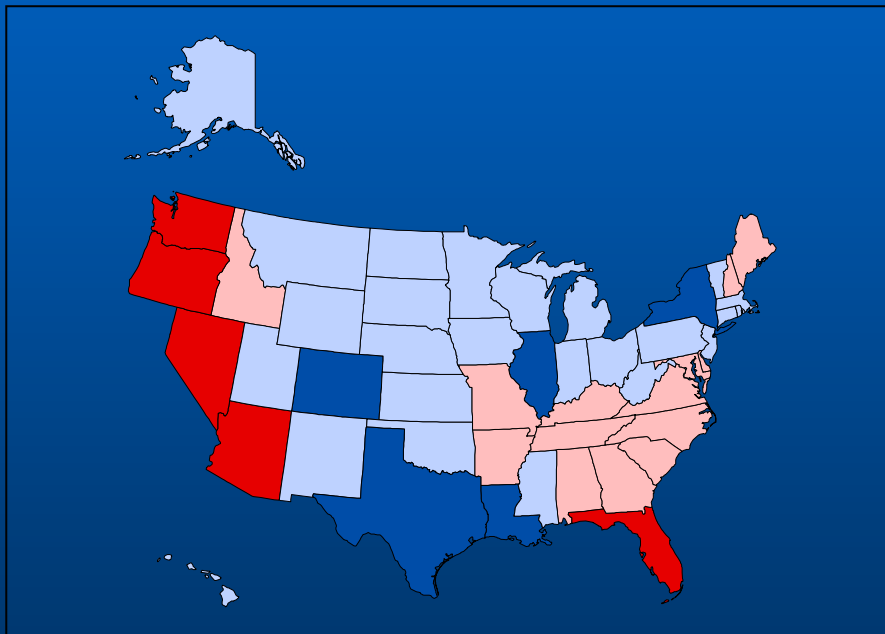
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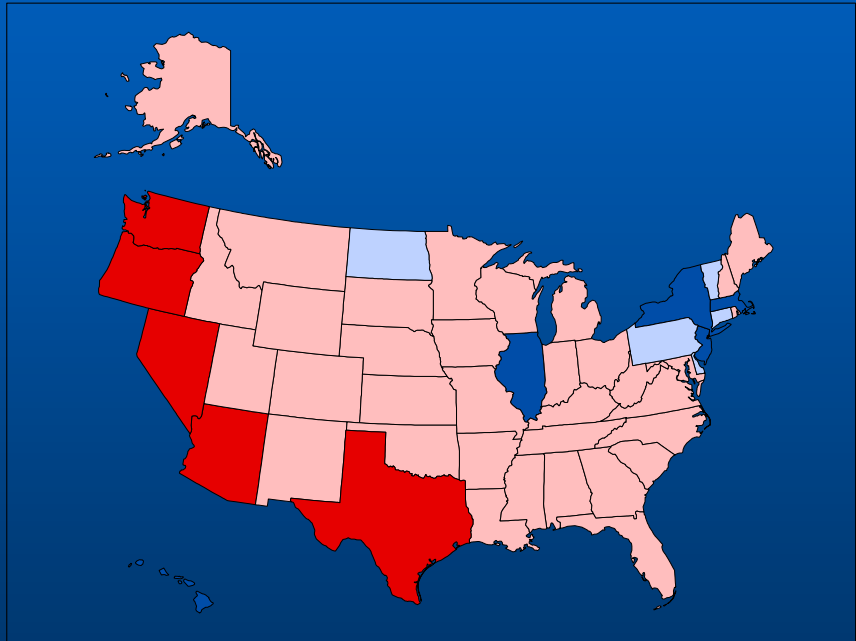


California is a huge source of migrants for the rest of the West and its influence is growing

1985-1990



1995-2000

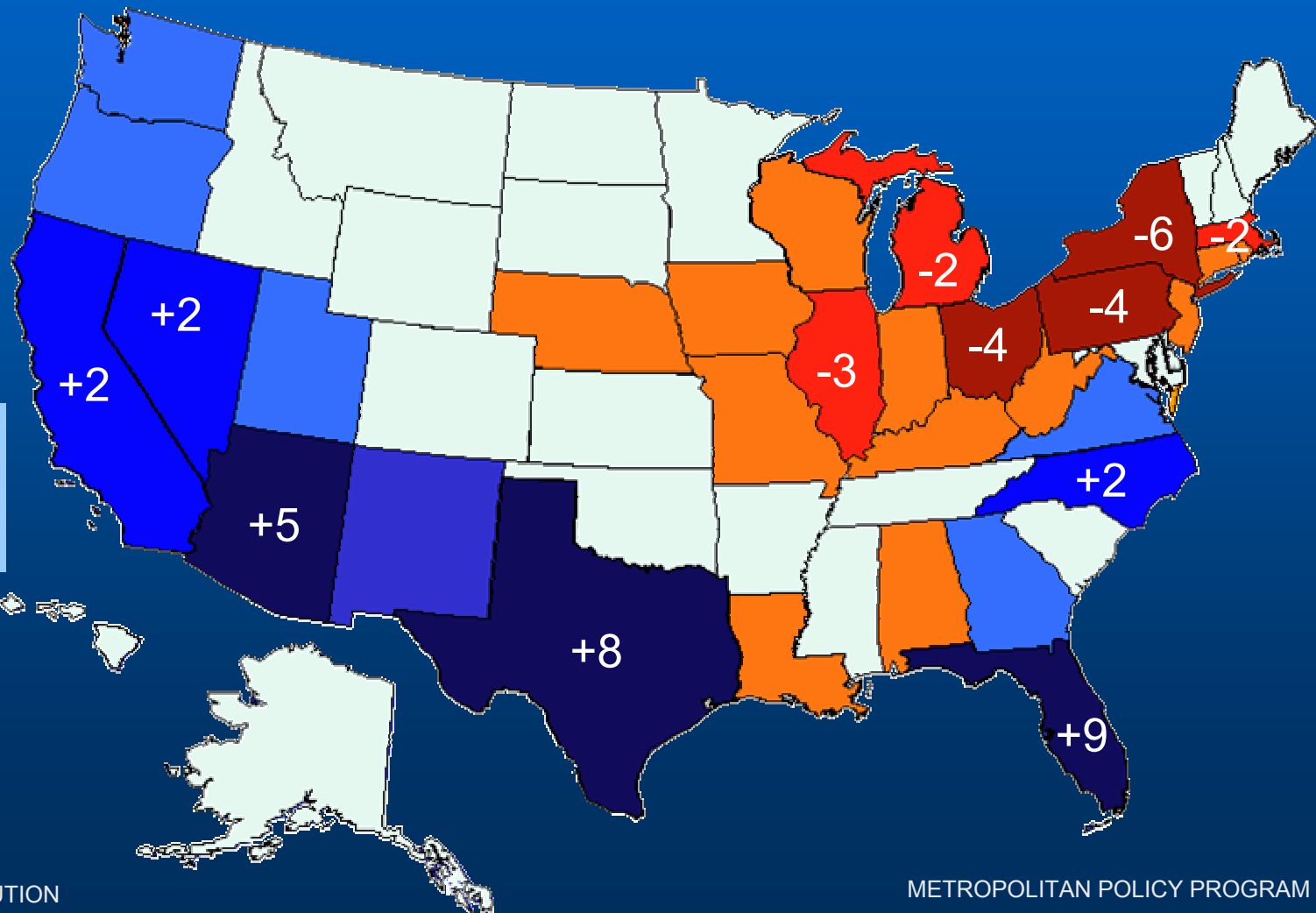


	Top 5 Sending States
	Other Sending States
	Other Receiving States
	Top 5 Receiving States

Source: William H. Frey

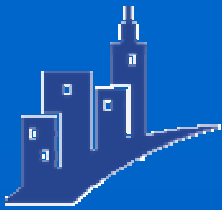


Western population trends will alter the U.S.'s future political geography.



State electoral college change, 2000-2030

Source: Frey, "Electoral College Moves to the Sun Belt," Brookings, 2005



Redefining Metropolitan America: Key Trends and Implications for the Southwest

I What are the general demographic and economic trends affecting the United States?

II What are the major trends affecting cities and suburbs?

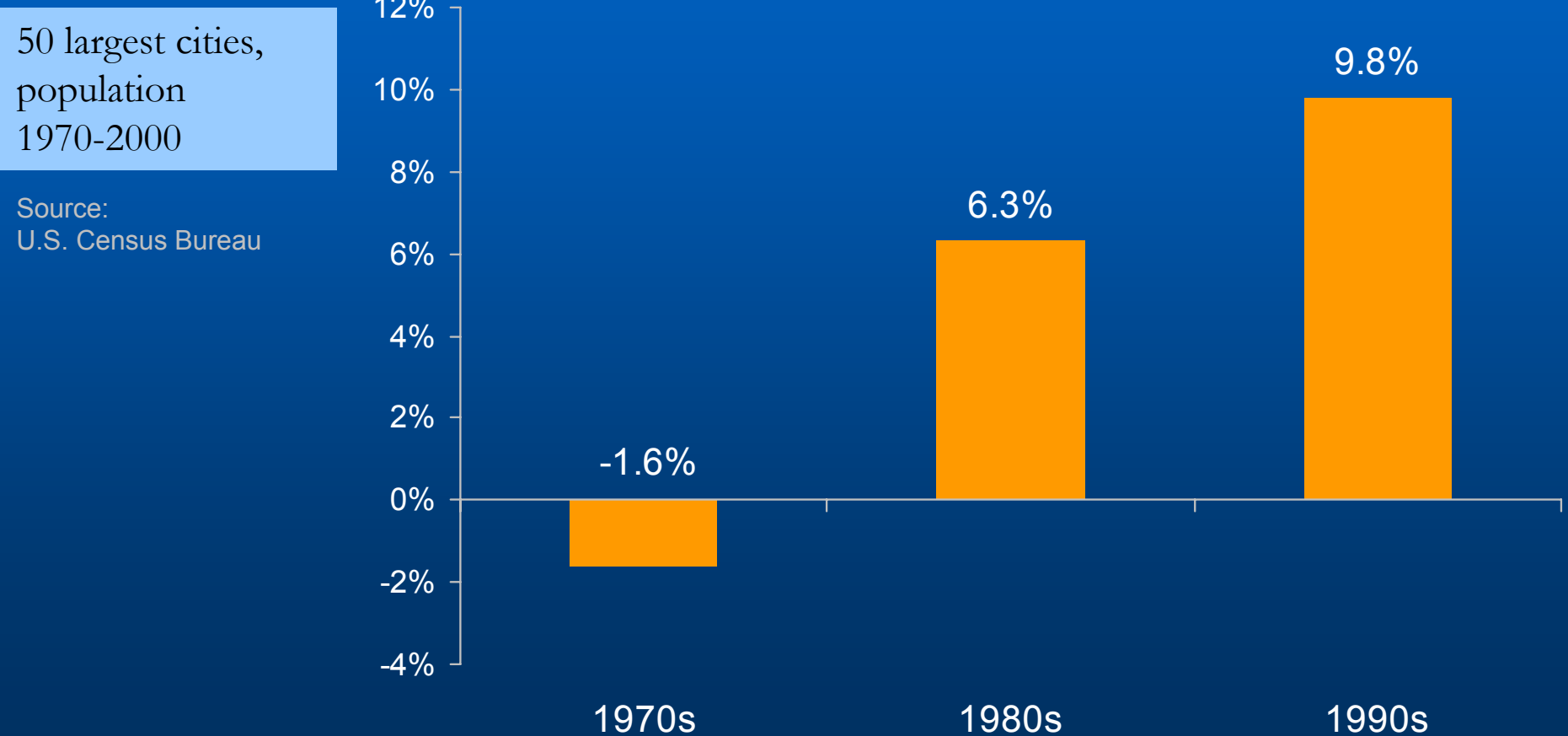
II

What are the major trends affecting cities and suburbs?

1. Cities are growing, but metros are still sprawling
2. Regional variation is substantial
3. Cities and suburbs are becoming more diverse
4. The geography of work is changing
5. The geography of poverty is changing



Large cities grew faster in the 1990s than they did in the 1980s and 1970s

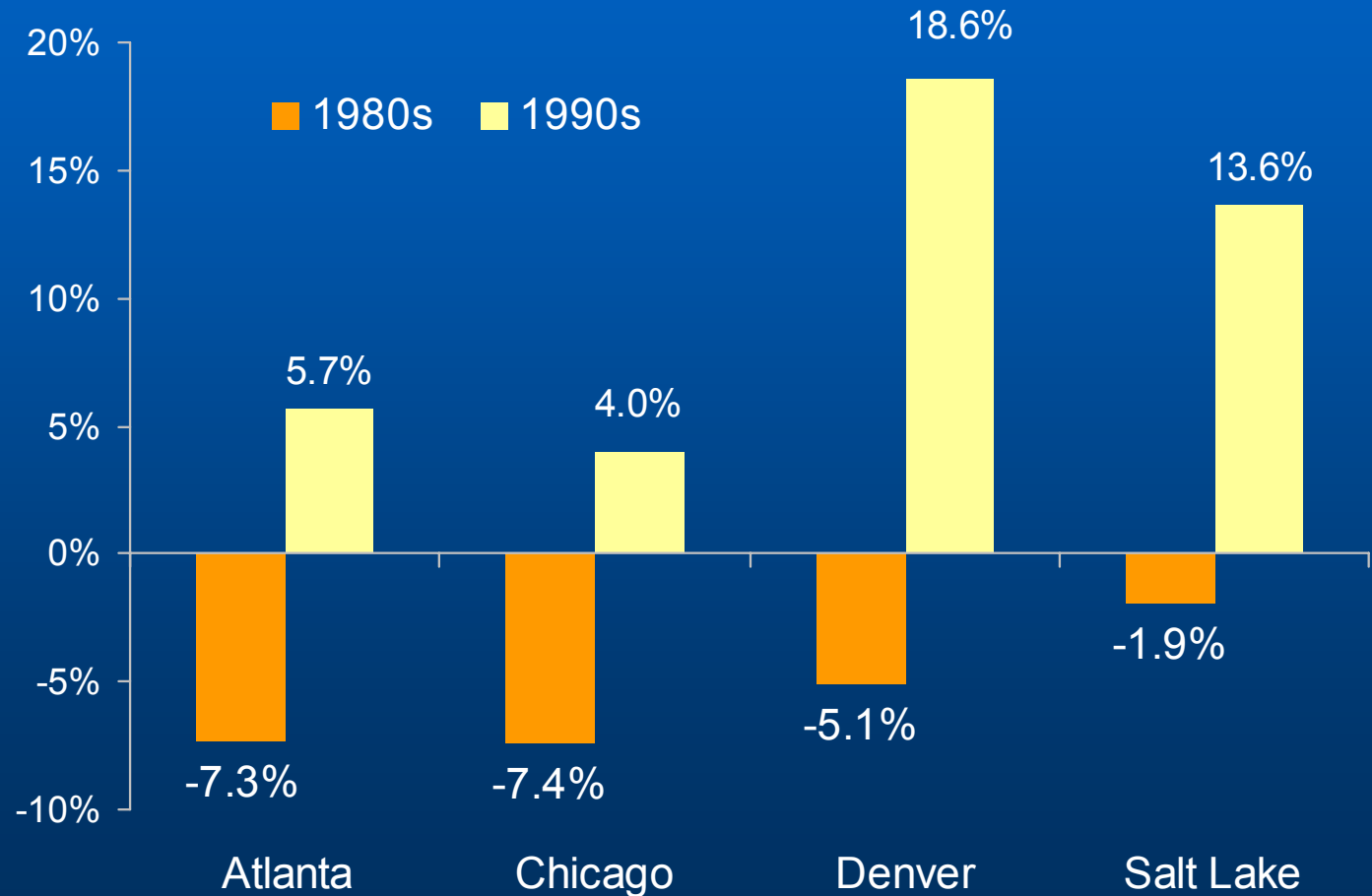




Several large cities gained population during the 1990s after losing population in the 1980s

Selected cities,
population growth
1990-2000

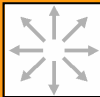
Source:
U.S. Census Bureau





Cities in growing metros grew, while those in slow growth metros generally declined

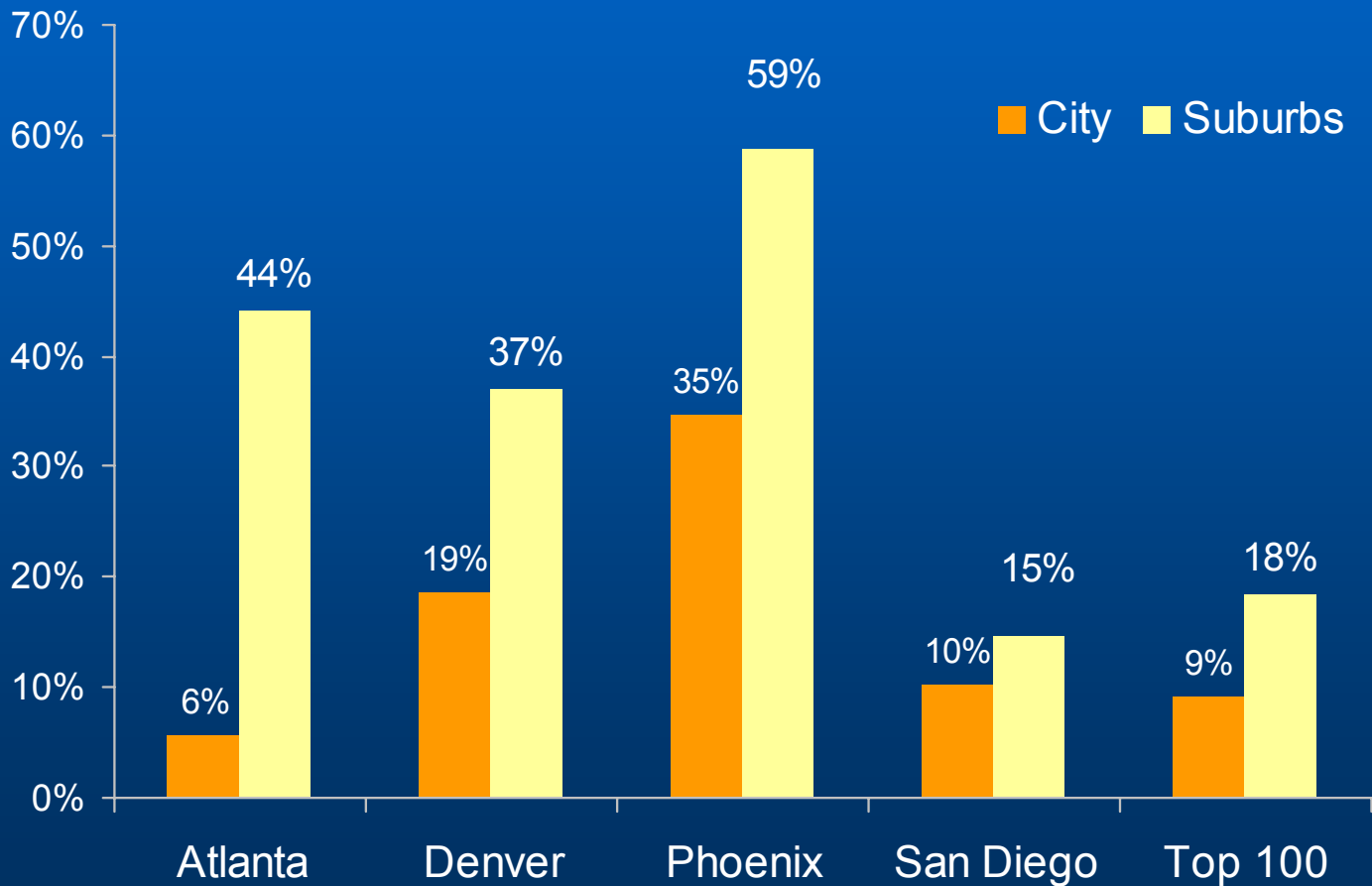
City Category	Number of Cities	City Population Change	MSA Population Change
Rapid Growth (over 20%)	14	32%	25%
Significant Growth (10 to 20%)	22	15%	22%
Moderate Growth (2 to 10%)	36	7%	13%
No Growth (-2 to 2%)	6	0%	11%
Loss (below -2%)	20	-7%	6%



Population is decentralizing in nearly every U.S. metropolitan area

Selected cities and suburbs,
population growth
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

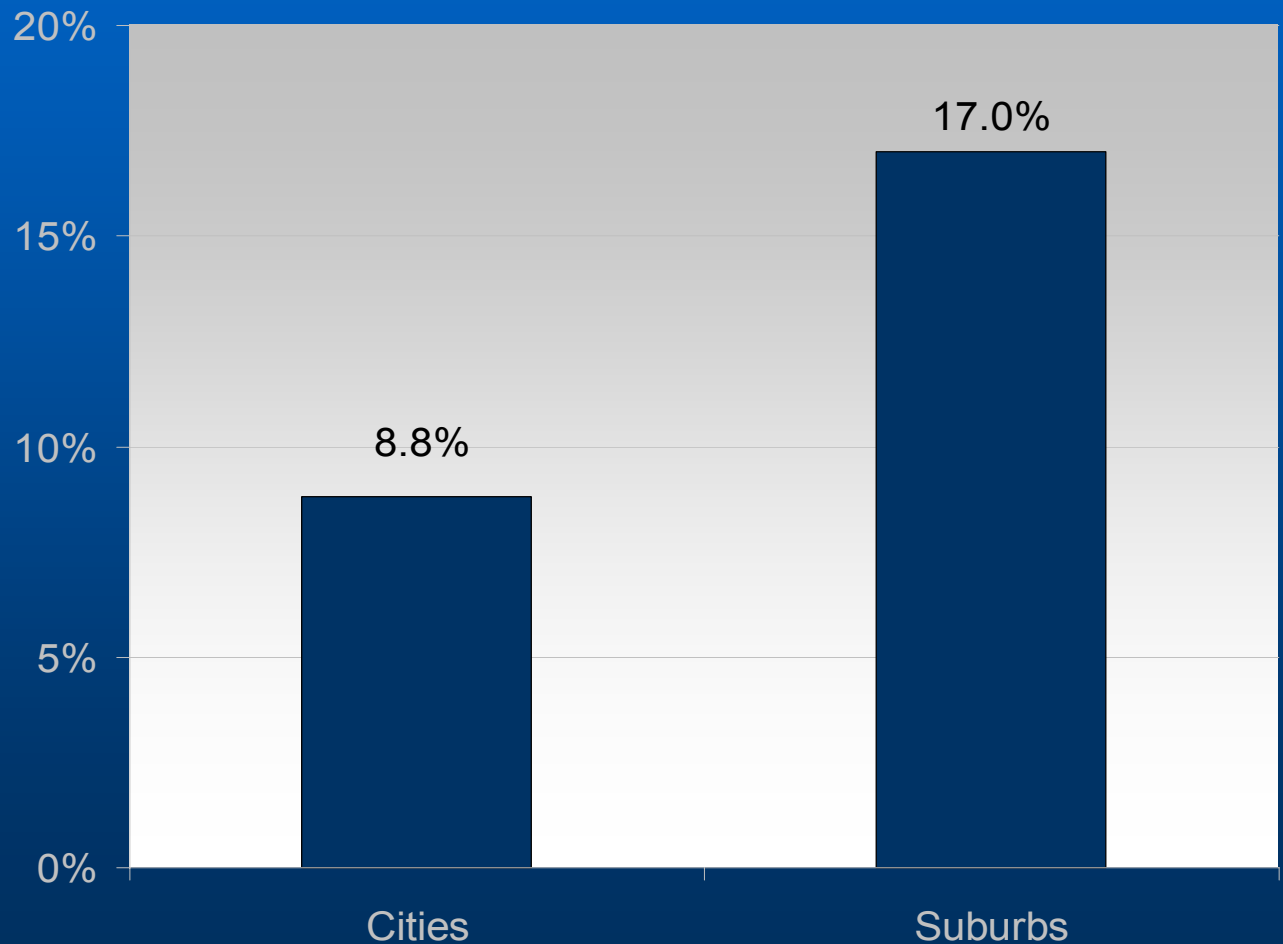


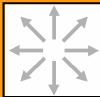


Suburbs grew faster than cities in the 1990s

Percent population growth, 100 largest cities and suburbs 1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

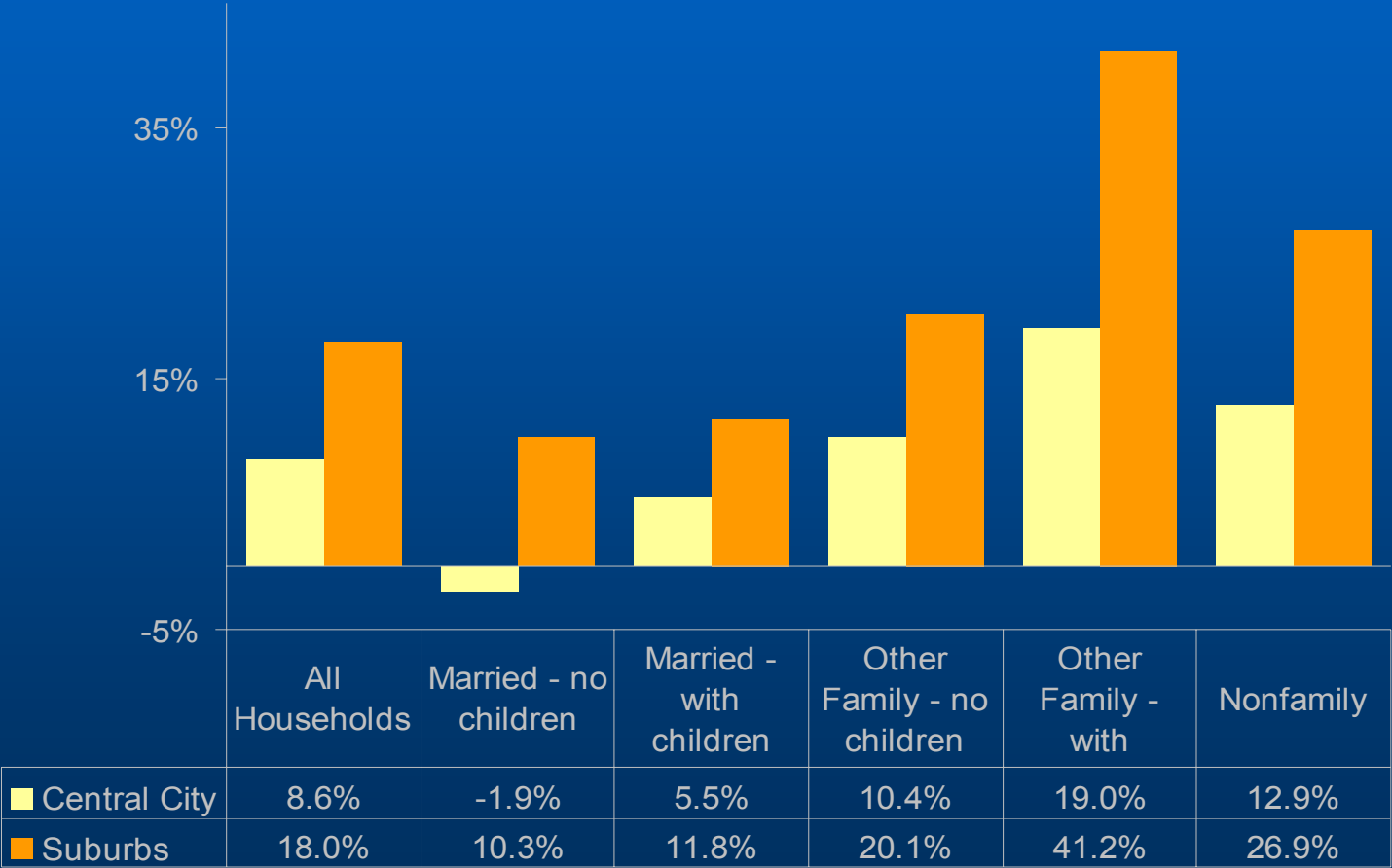




Every household type grew at faster rates in the suburbs than in cities

Population growth,
1990-2000

Source: William Frey. "A
Census 2000 Study of
City and Suburb
Household Change."
Brookings,
Forthcoming



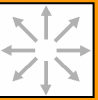


Ten of the top 15 center cities with the highest share of “nuclear families” are in the Southwest

Rank	Metro Area	Married W/ children
1	Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA	34.7%
2	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	33.2%
3	San Jose, CA	29.9%
4	El Paso, TX	29.7%
5	Bakersfield, CA	28.6%
6	Riverside-San Bernadino, CA	27.1%
7	Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA	26.2%
8	Stockton-Lodi, CA	25.9%
9	Fresno, CA	25.4%
10	Forth Worth-Arlington, TX	25.2%
11	Colorado Springs, CO	24.7%
12	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	24.2%
13	San Antonio, TX	24.1%
14	Norfolk-Va Beach-Newport News, VA	23.6%
	<i>National Average</i>	<i>23.5%</i>
15	Ventura, CA	22.7%

Percent of
households
married couples
with children,
2000

Source: Frey and Berube,
“City Families and
Suburban Singles,”
Brookings, 2003



“Senior suburban growth centers” are all located in the Sunbelt – especially in the Southwest

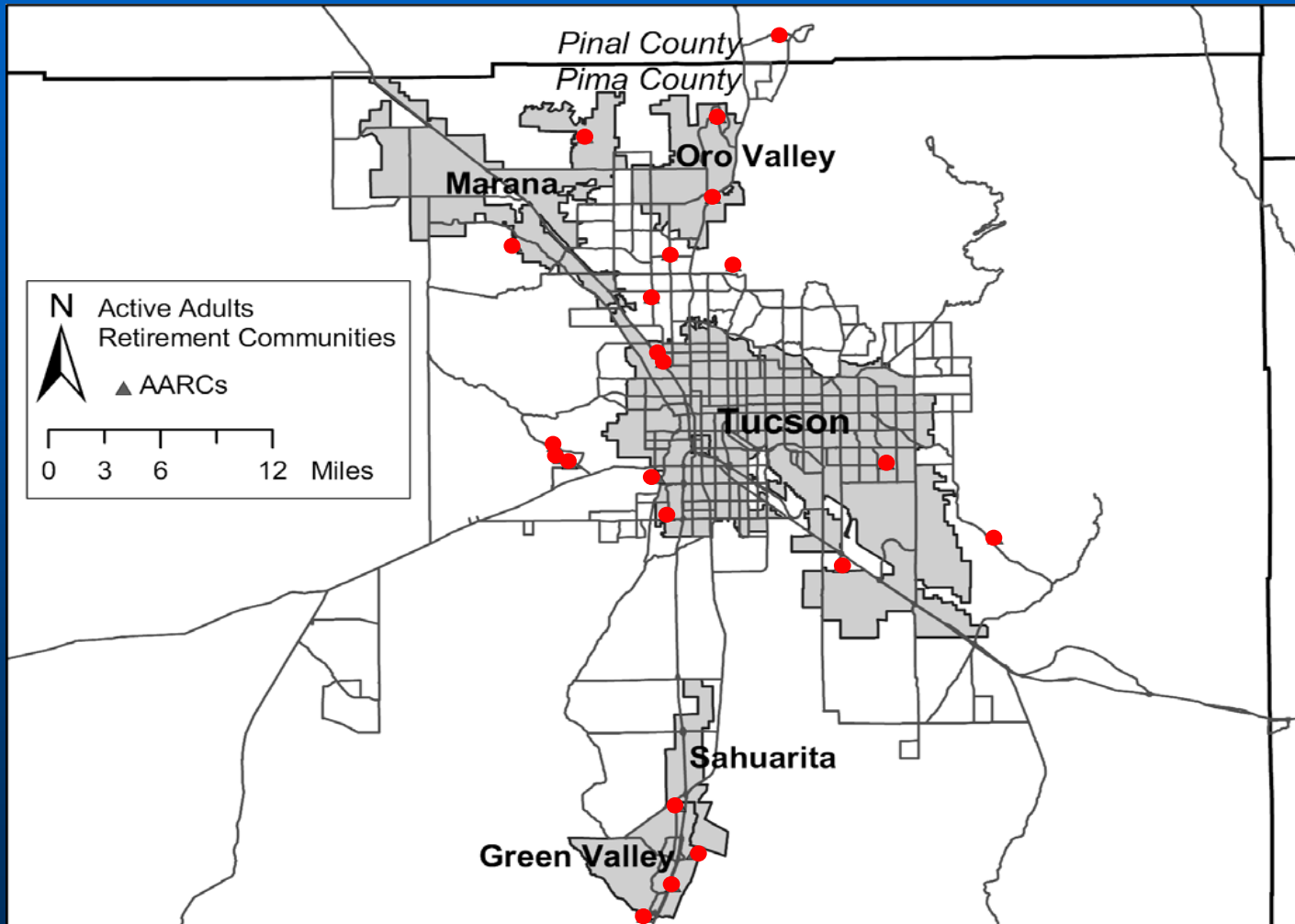
Metro area
change in
suburban
population over
65 and under 35,
1990-2000

Rank	Metro Area	Change in Suburban population 65+	Change in Suburban population <35
1	El Paso, TX	83.1%	39.5%
2	Las Vegas, NV-AZ	78.1%	75.4%
3	Colorado Springs, CO	69.8%	17.7%
4	Honolulu, HI	53.4%	-7.1%
5	Tucson, AZ	53.1%	20.7%
6	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	52.1%	47.5%
7	Austin, TX	48.6%	42.4%
8	McAllen, TX	47.3%	50.7%
9	Denver, CO	47.2%	23.5%
10	Jacksonville, FL	46.6%	16.2%
11	Houston, TX	46.2%	19.6%
12	Albuquerque, NM	43.0%	12.1%
13	Dallas, TX	41.5%	28.2%
14	Salt Lake City, UT	41.3%	17.7%
15	Baton Rouge, LA	40.1%	8.2%

Source:
Frey, “Boomer and
Seniors in the Suburbs,”
Brookings, 2003



In some areas in the Southwest, the elderly are becoming disproportionately represented on the suburban fringe.



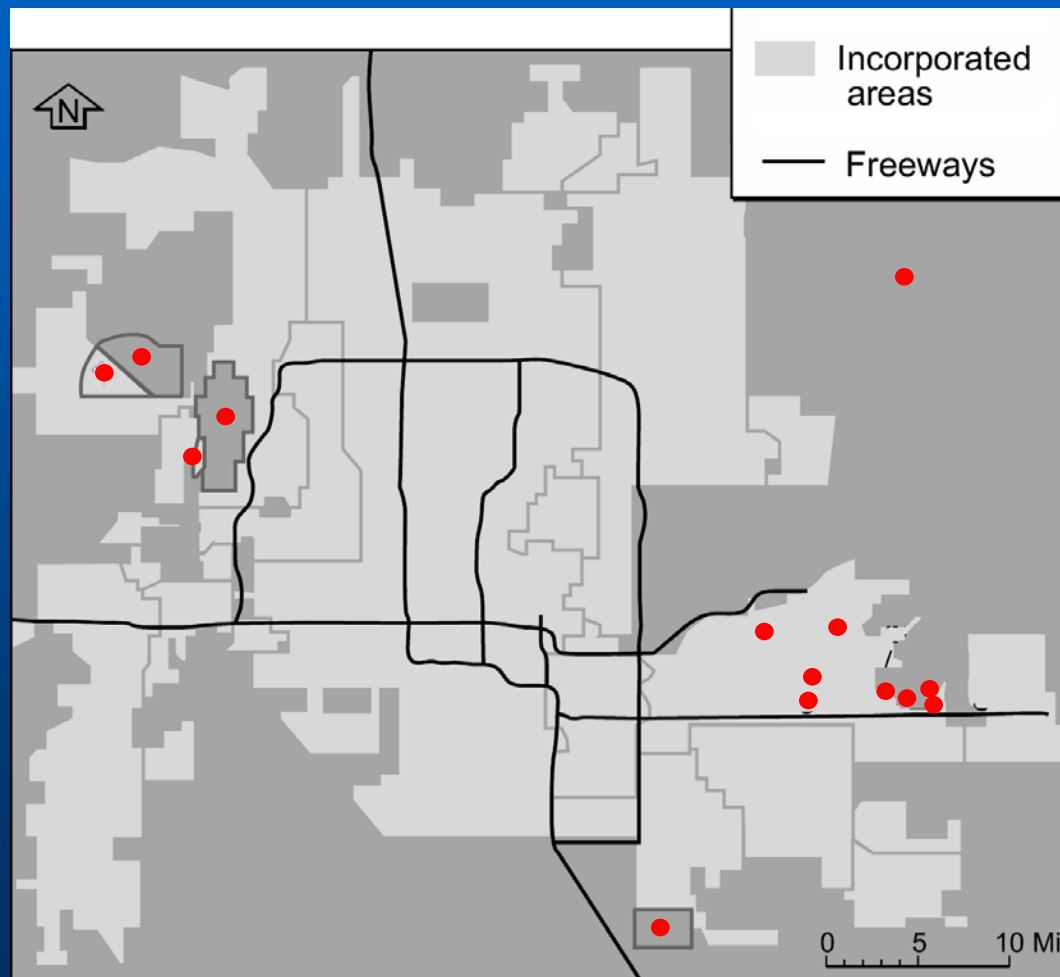
Location of
Tucson area
retirement
communities

Source:
Rosenbloom, "The
Mobility Needs of Older
Americans, Brookings,
2003 and Patricia Gober,
"Arizona State U."

● Active adults
retirement
communities



In the Phoenix and Tucson metropolitan areas the elderly represent on-third of new urban fringe residents.



Location of
Phoenix area
retirement
communities

Source:
Rosenbloom, "The
Mobility Needs of Older
Americans, Brookings,
2003 and Morrison
Institute, Arizona State U.

● Retirement
communities

II

What are the major trends affecting cities and suburbs?

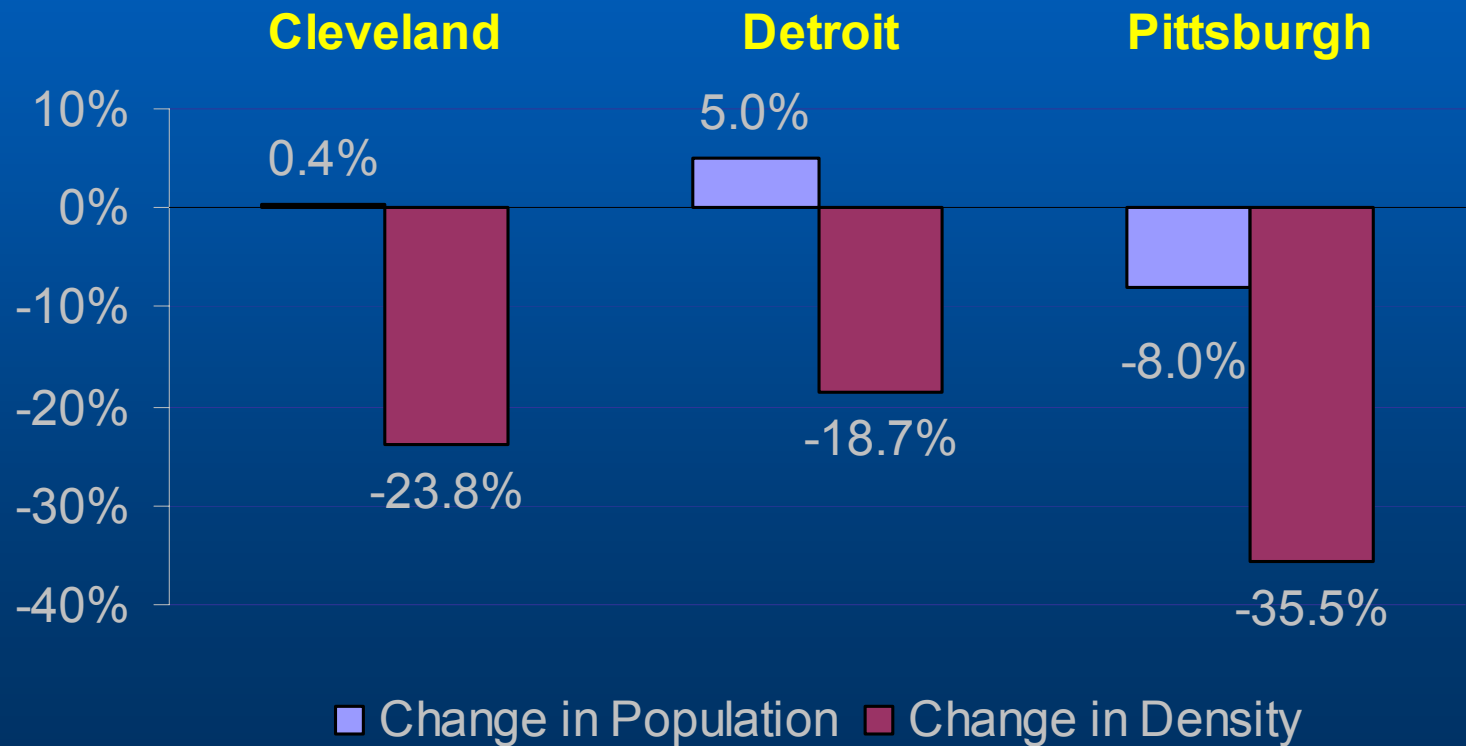
1. Cities are growing, but metros are still sprawling
2. Regional variation is substantial
3. Cities and suburbs are becoming more diverse
4. The geography of work is changing
5. The geography of poverty is changing



In the Northeast/Midwest stagnant growth and sprawl are common

Change in population and density, by metropolitan area, 1982-1997

Source:
Fulton et al, 2001

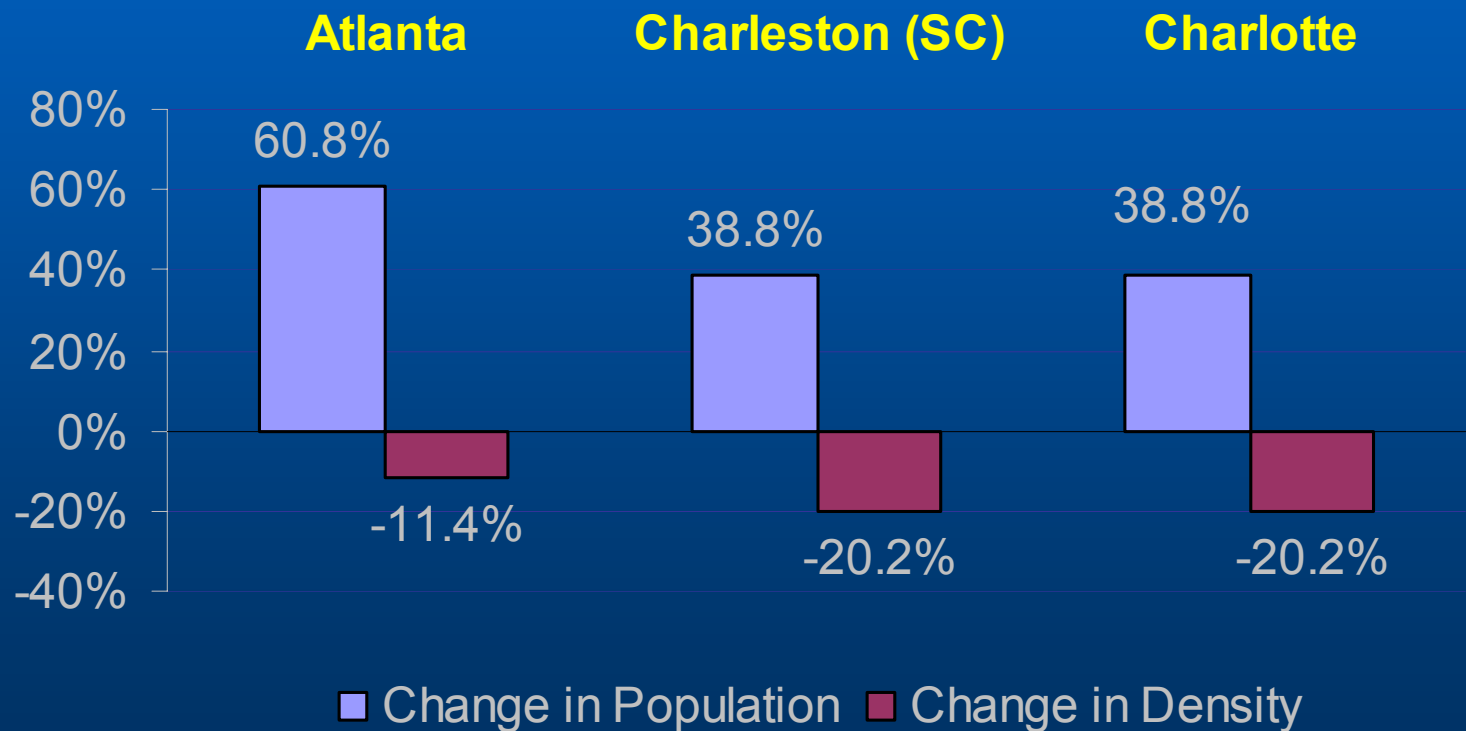




In the South/Southeast, many metro areas are growing and spreading out

Change in
population and
density, by
metropolitan area,
1982-1997

Source:
Fulton et al, 2001

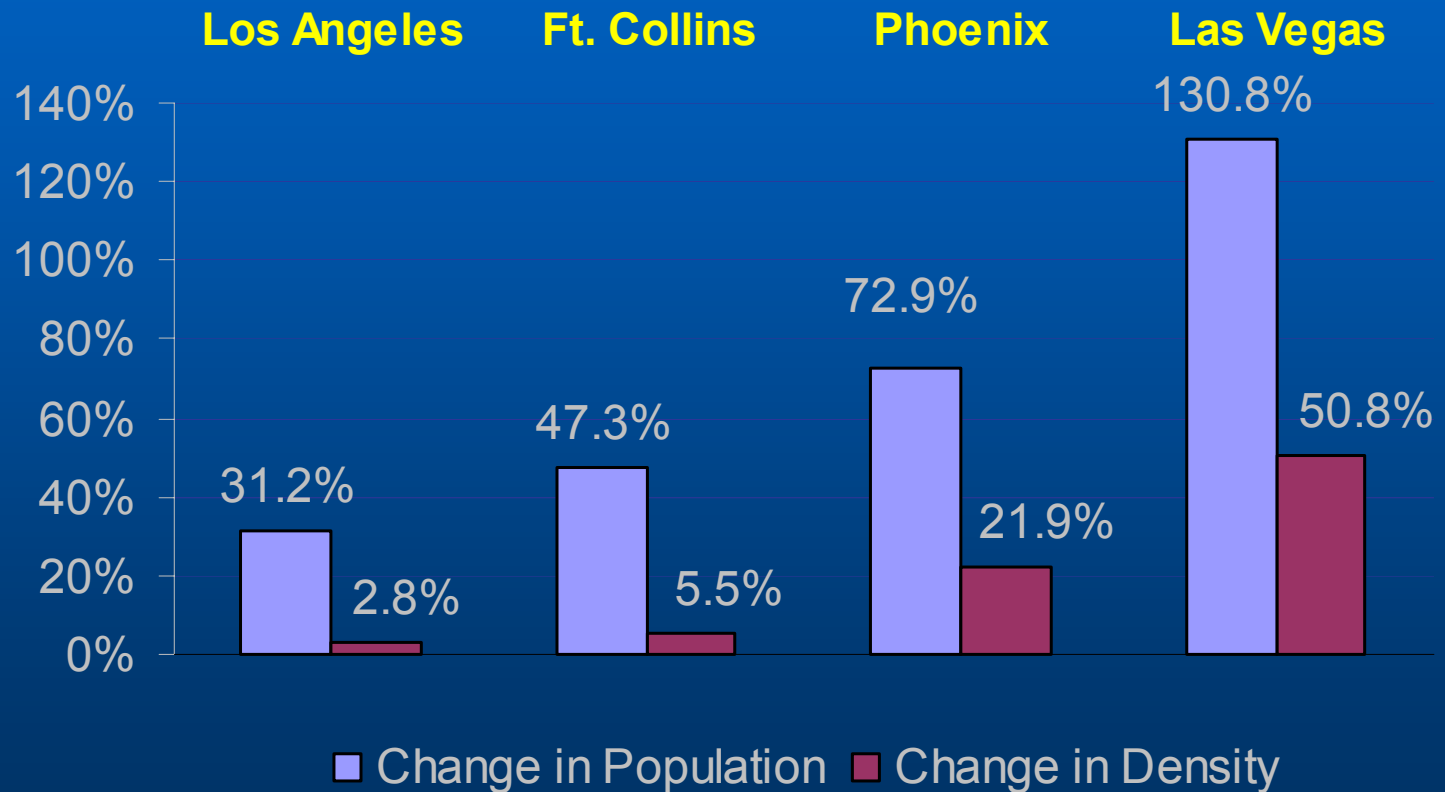




In the West, some metro areas are growing and densifying

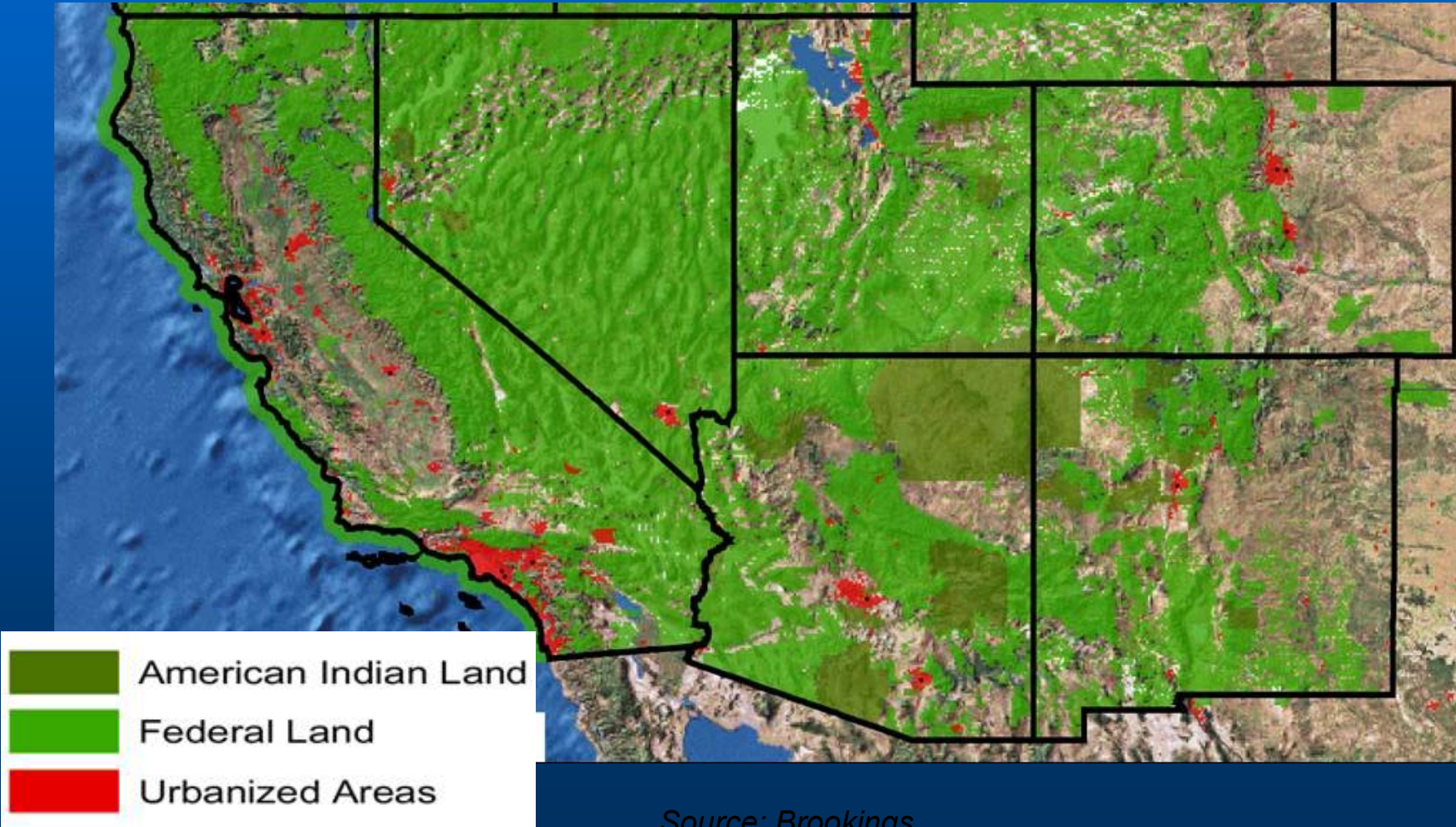
Change in population and density, by metropolitan area, 1982-1997

Source:
Fulton et al, 2001





Some metro areas in the Southwest are constrained by more than just topography. Other landholdings shape growth.






Source: Brookings
Institution



Growth in the Southwest is constrained by more than just topography. Other landholdings shape growth.



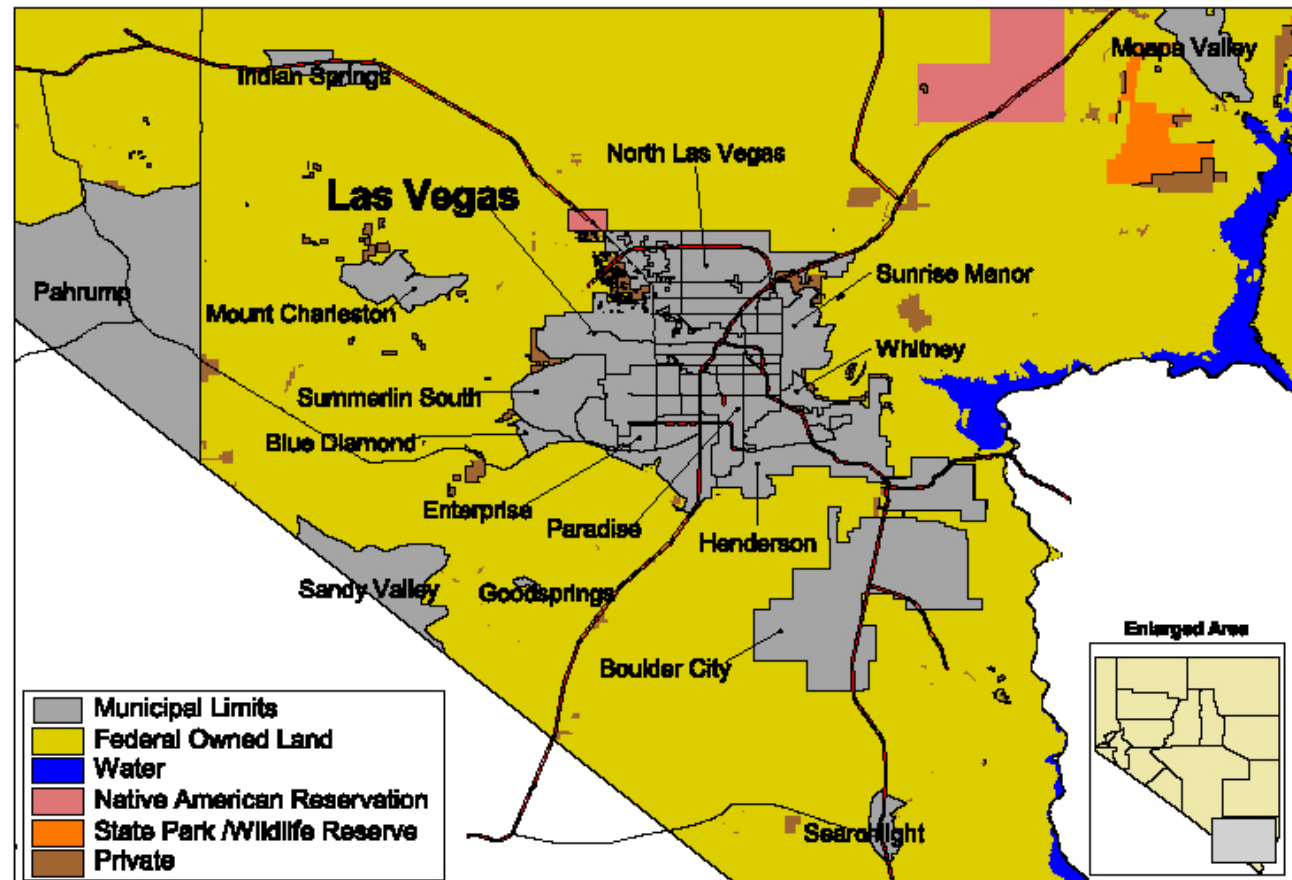
-  American Indian Land
-  Federal Land
-  Urbanized Areas



The Las Vegas metro is particularly constrained.

Land Ownership in the Las Vegas Region, 1998

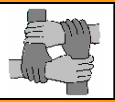
Source: Hollis and
Fulton, "Open
Space Protection,"
Brookings, 2002



II

What are the major trends affecting cities and suburbs?

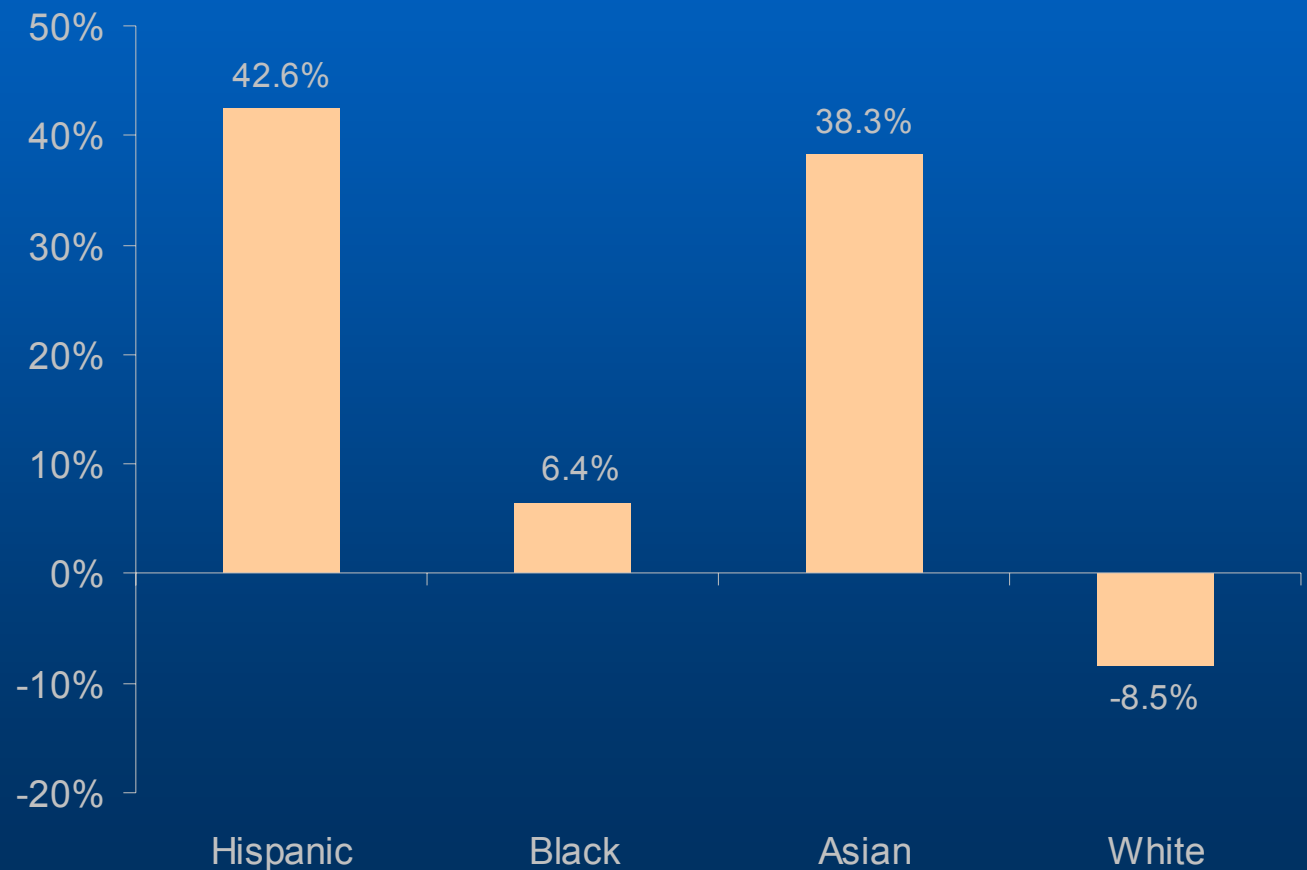
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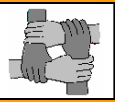


Central city growth in the 1990s was fueled by Asians and Hispanics

Population growth,
100 largest cities
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau



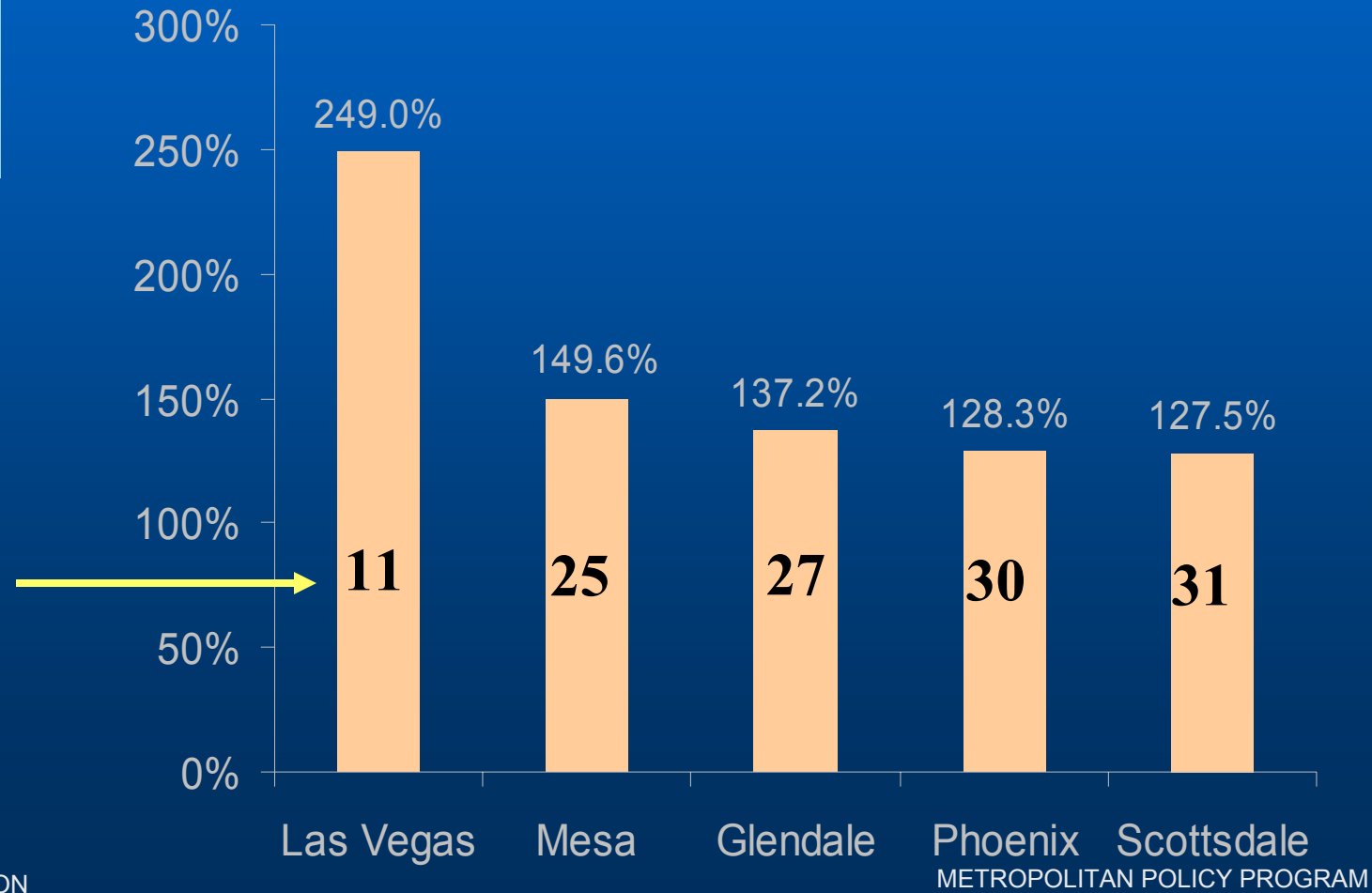


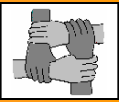
Hispanic growth in several Arizona cities ranked very high nationally

Hispanic or Latino
population change,
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

Rank among
top 100 cities



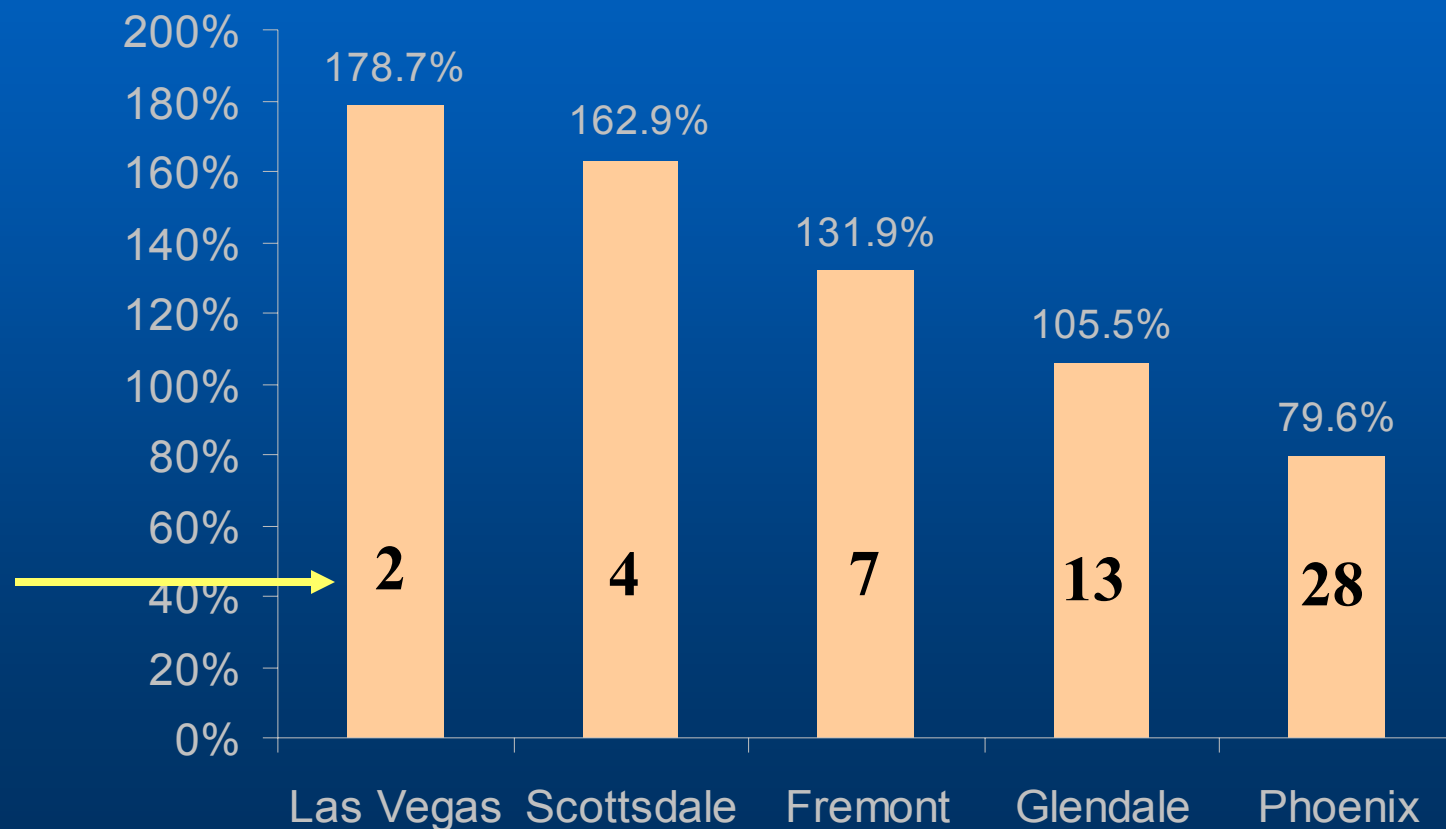


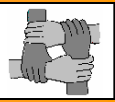
Asian growth is also very high in some places

Asian/Pacific
Islander population
change, cities, 1990-
2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

Rank among
top 100 cities

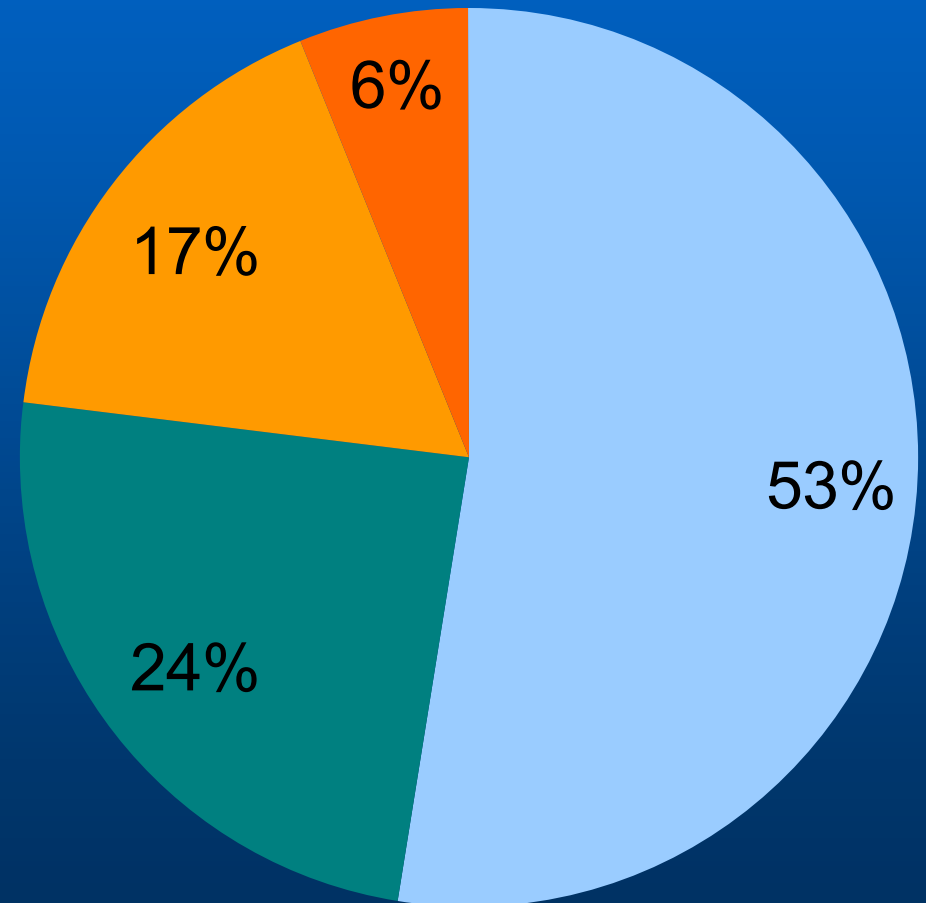
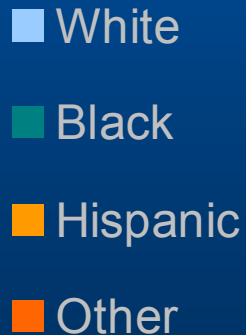


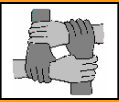


In aggregate, the racial makeup of the 100 largest cities has shifted....

Share of
population by race
and ethnicity,
1990

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau



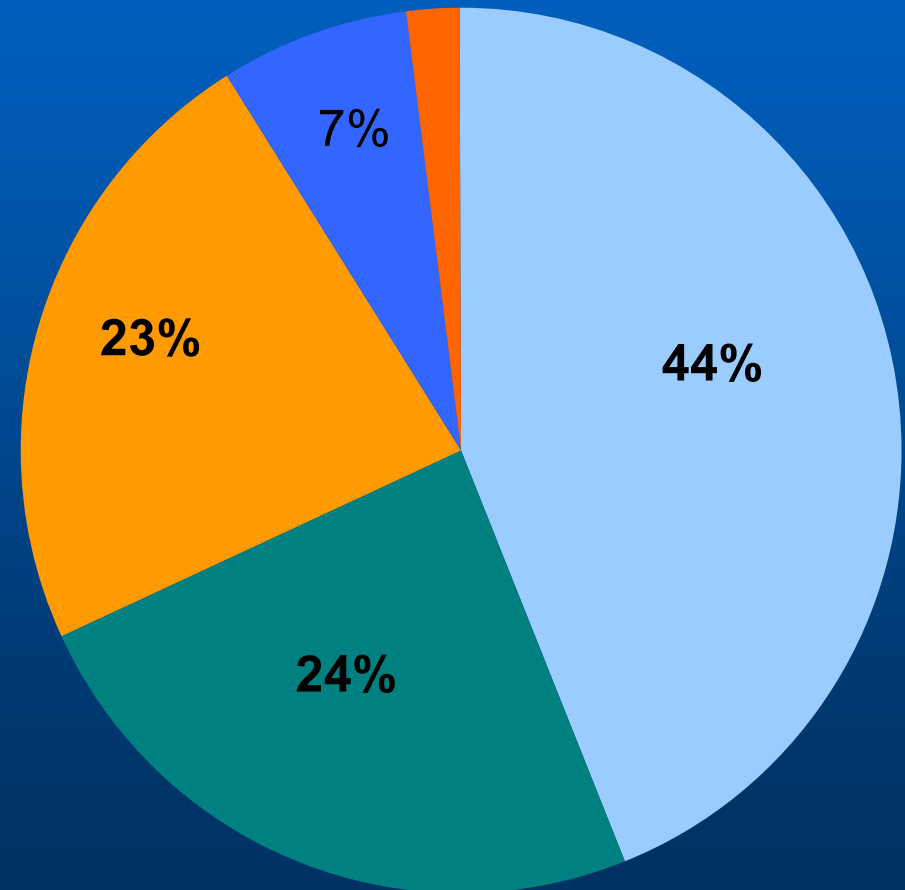


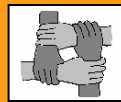
In 2000, the top hundred cities became majority minority

Share of
population by race
and ethnicity,
2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian
- Multi-racial



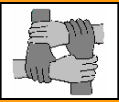


Five large cities in the Southwest went from majority white to majority minority in the 1990s

<u>City</u>	White Share		<u>Decline</u>
	1990	2000	
Anaheim	56.6	35.9	20.8
Riverside	61.3	45.6	15.7
Sacramento	53.4	40.5	12.8
San Diego	58.7	49.4	9.3
Albuquerque	58.3	49.9	8.4

Change in white
share, 1990-2000

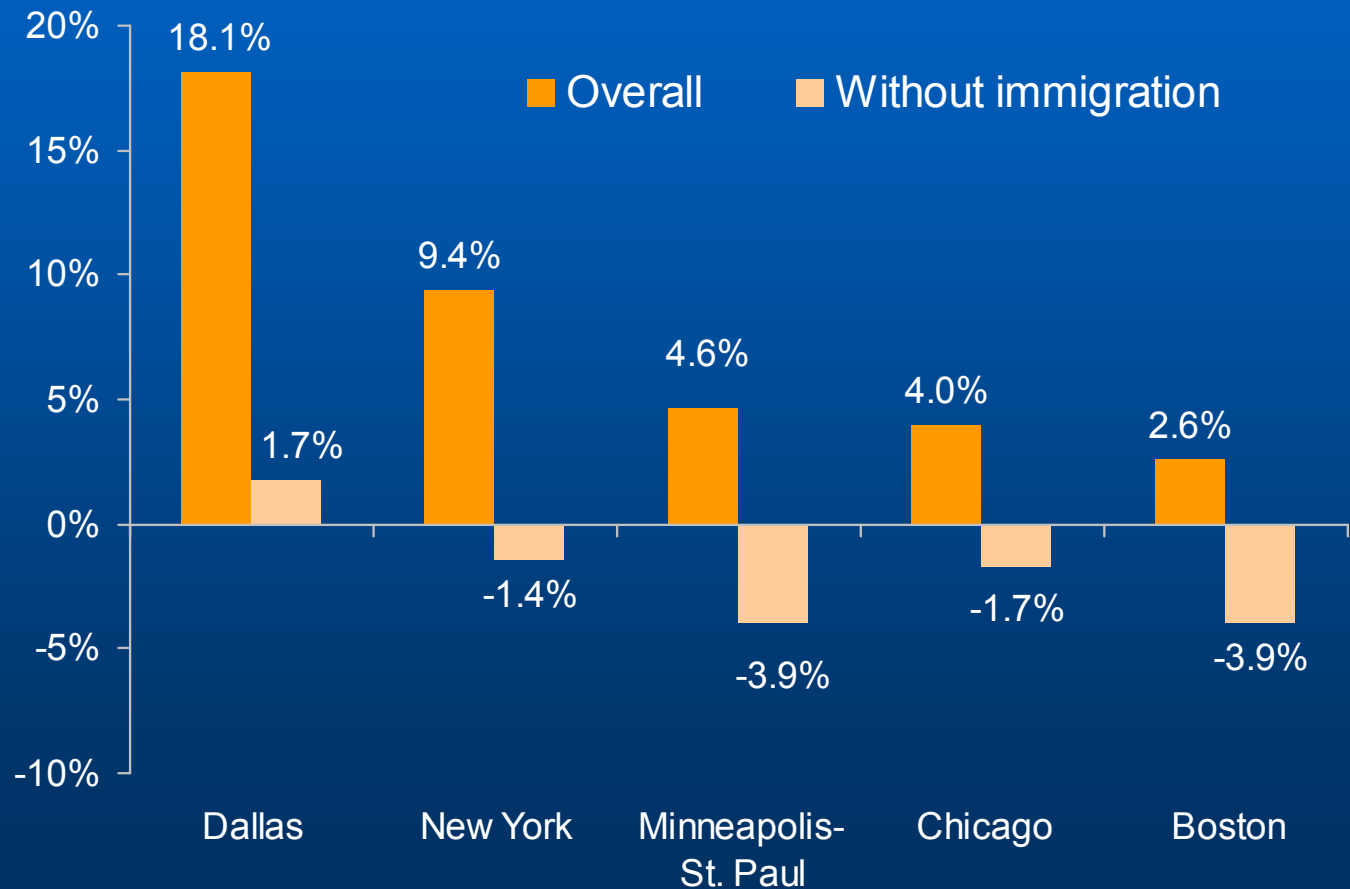
Source: Berube, "Racial and Ethnic Change In the
Nation's Largest Cities," Brookings, 2003

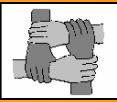


If not for immigration, several of the nation's largest cities would not have grown during the 1990s

Population growth
with and without
foreign-born,
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

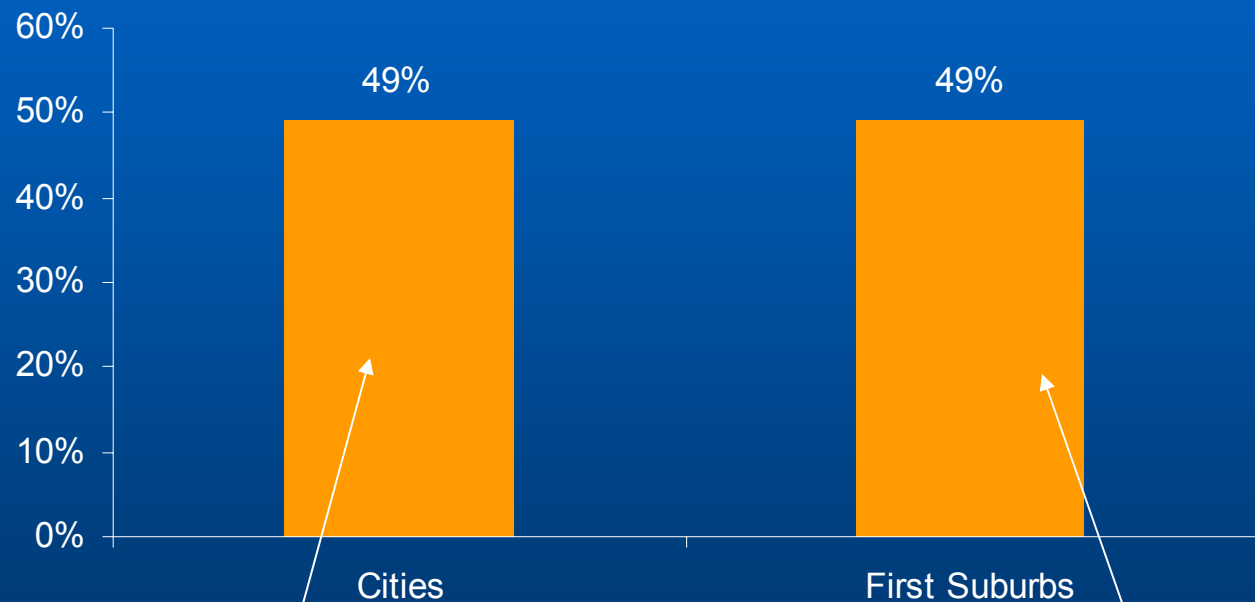




In the 1990s, immigration increased by 49% in both cities *and* First Suburbs

Percent change in foreign born population in cities and First Suburbs, 1990-2000

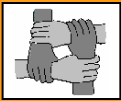
Source:
U.S. Census Bureau



Phoenix	203.9
Sacramento	63.4
San Diego	35.4
Los Angeles	14.1

Less than
US average

Maricopa	161.9
Sacramento	114.9
San Diego	48.5
Los Angeles	24.1

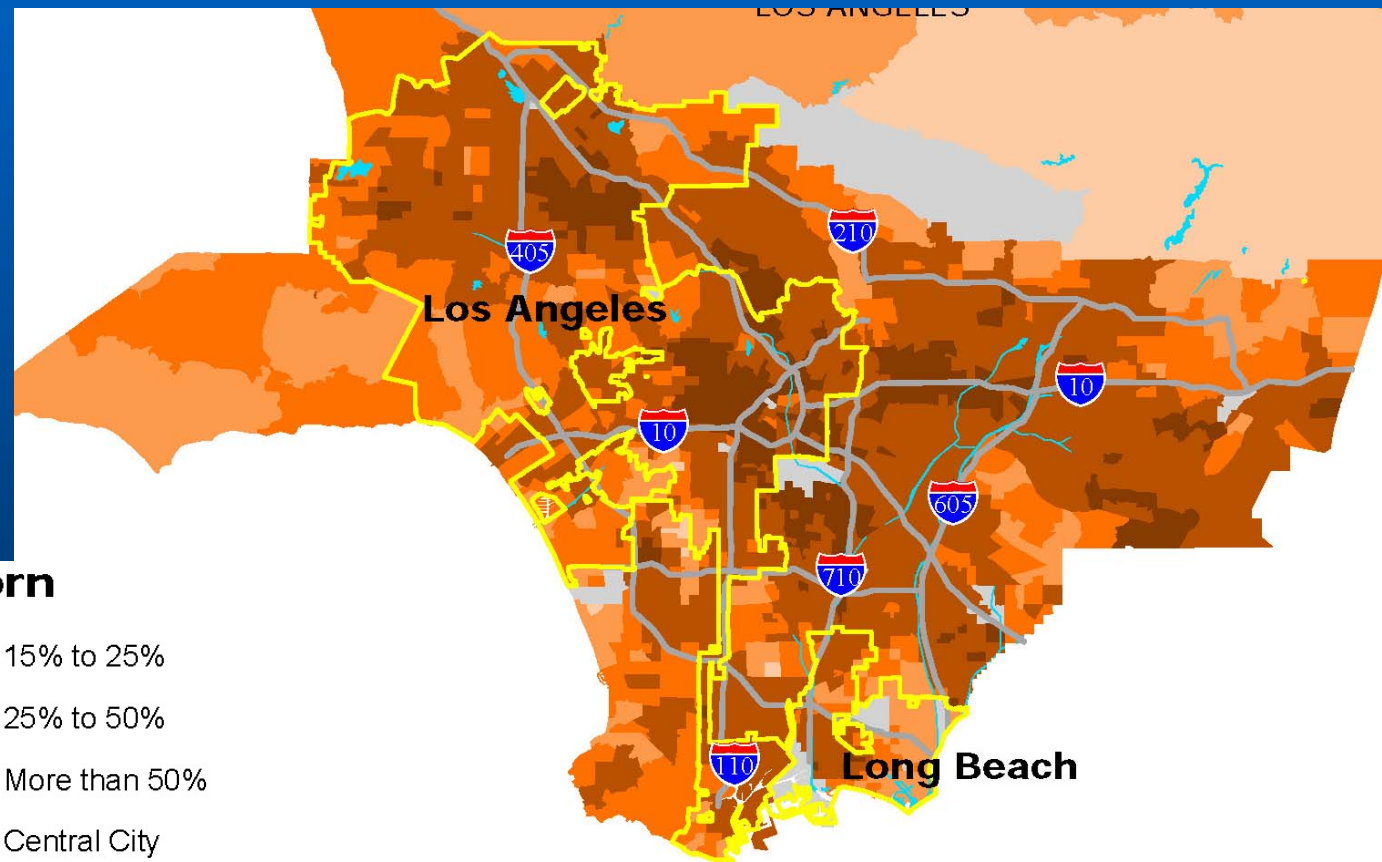
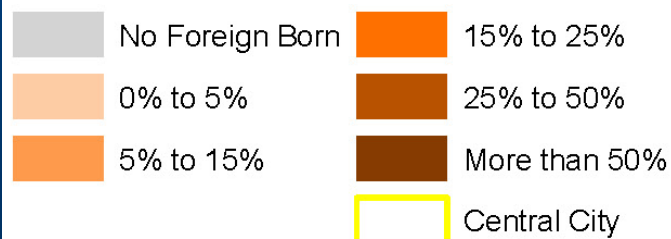


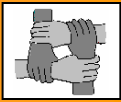
In many metro areas, the focus of immigration is shifting from the central city to the suburbs

Los Angeles metro area, share foreign-born by census tract, 2000

Source: Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways," Brookings, 2004

Percent Foreign Born



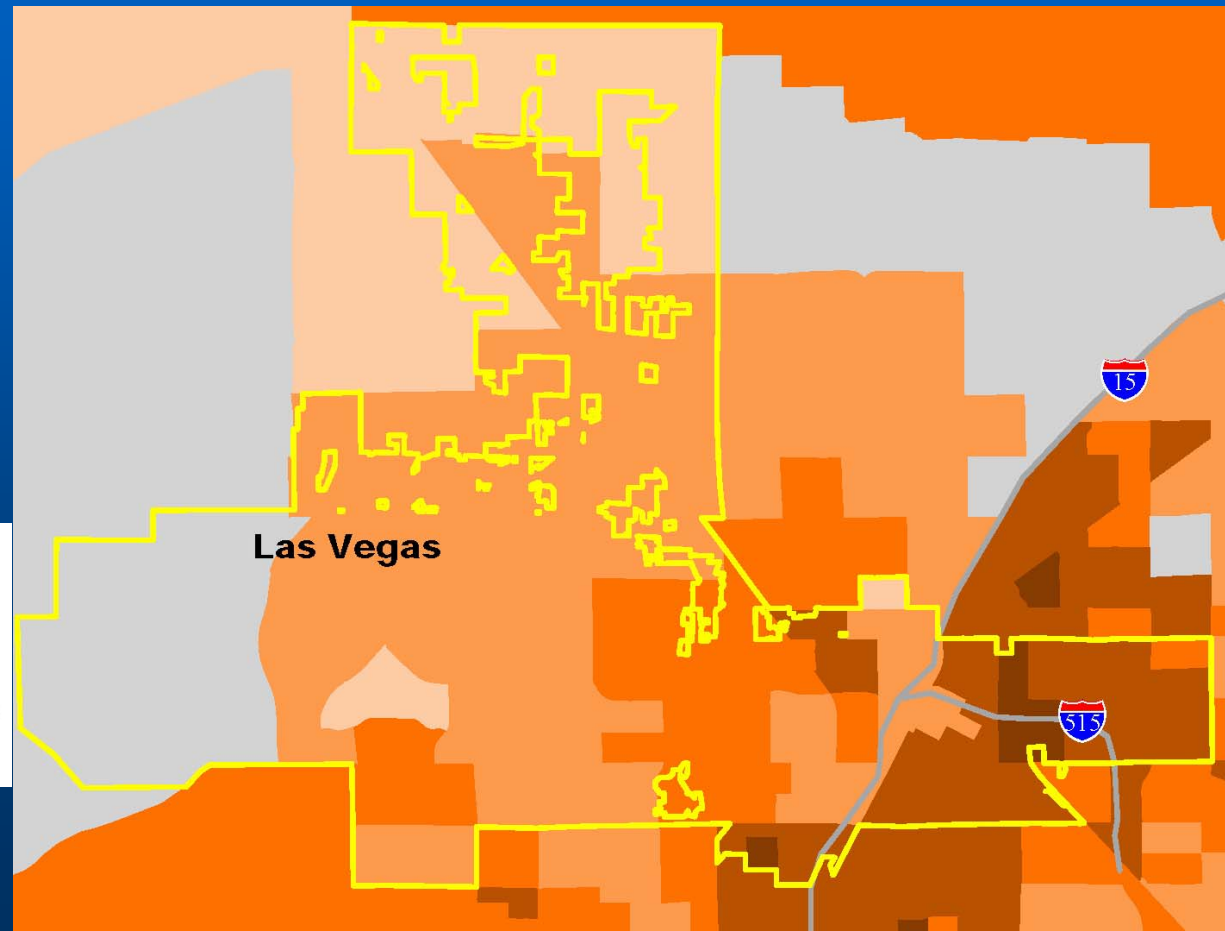
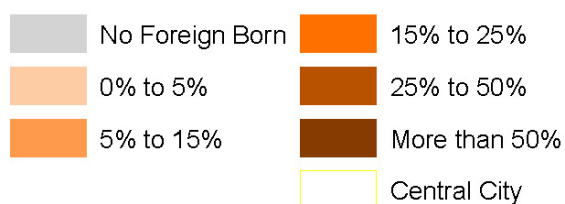


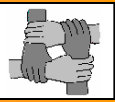
In many metro areas, the focus of immigration is shifting from the central city to the suburbs

Las Vegas metro area, share foreign-born by census tract, 2000

Source: Singer, "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways," Brookings, 2004

Percent Foreign Born

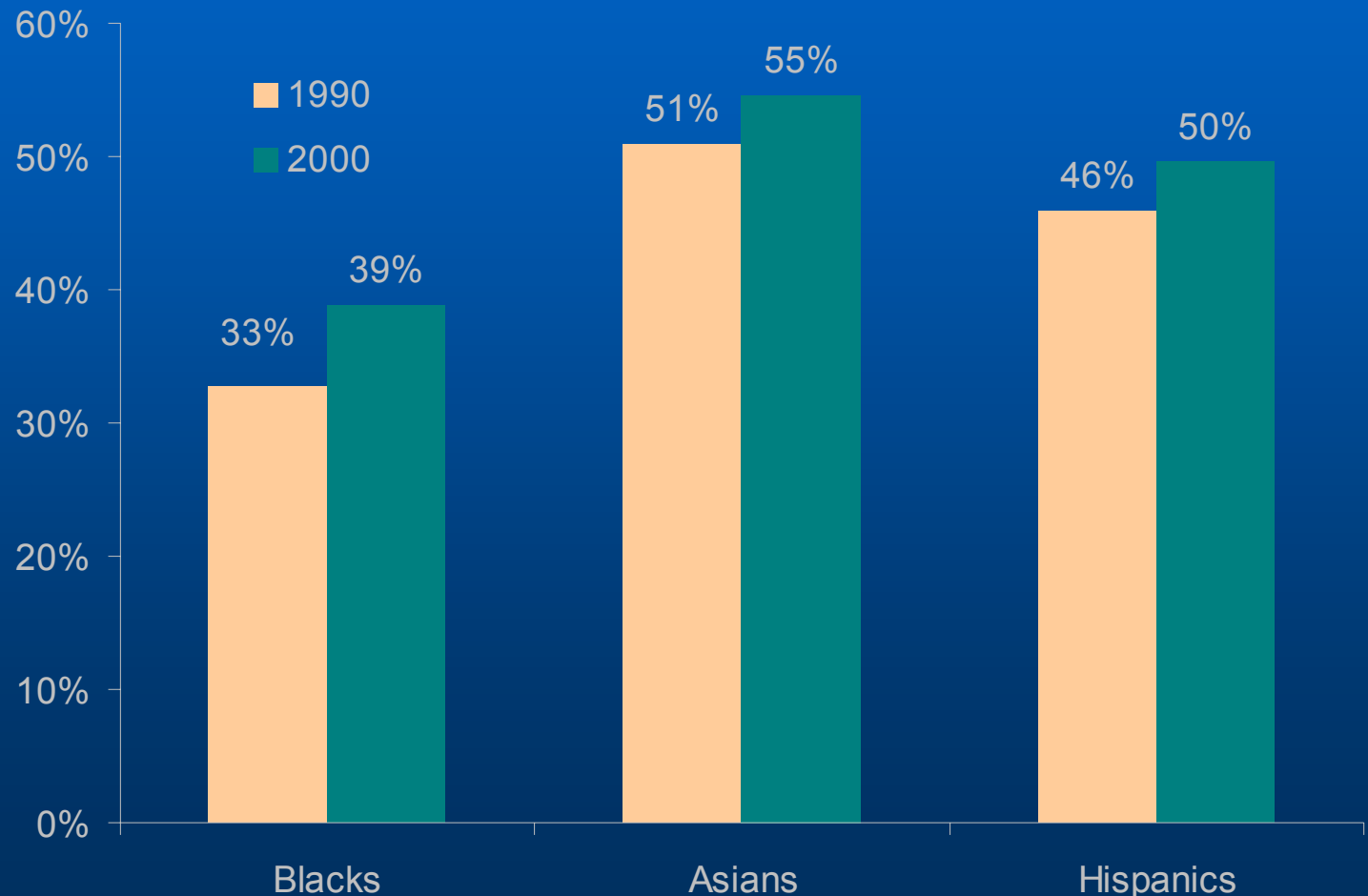


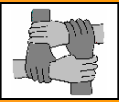


The percent of each racial/ethnic group living in the suburbs increased substantially

Share of
population by race
and ethnicity,
1990

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

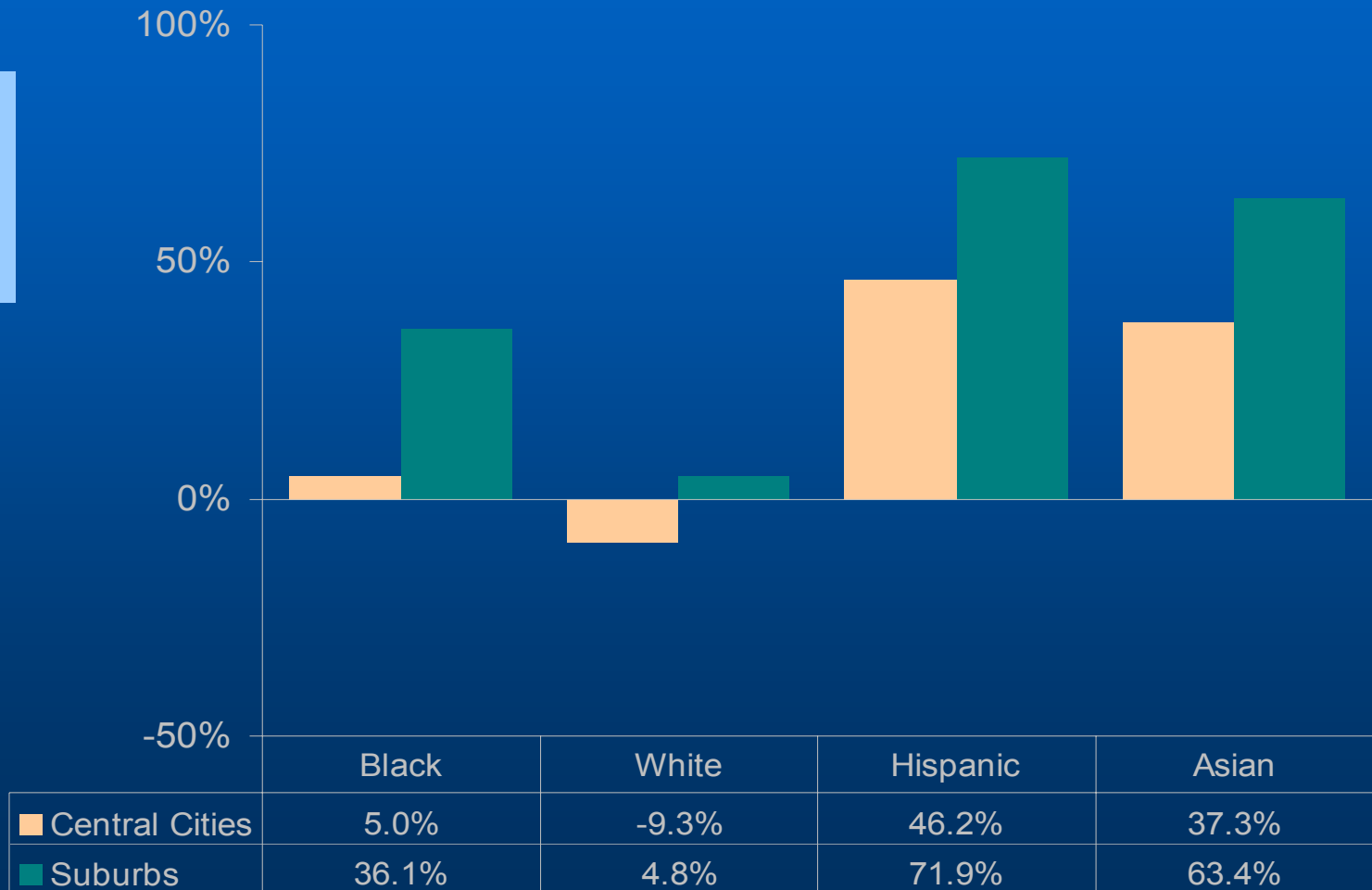


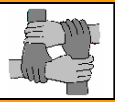


In addition, every minority group grew at faster rates in the suburbs than in central cities

Population growth
by race and
ethnicity,
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau

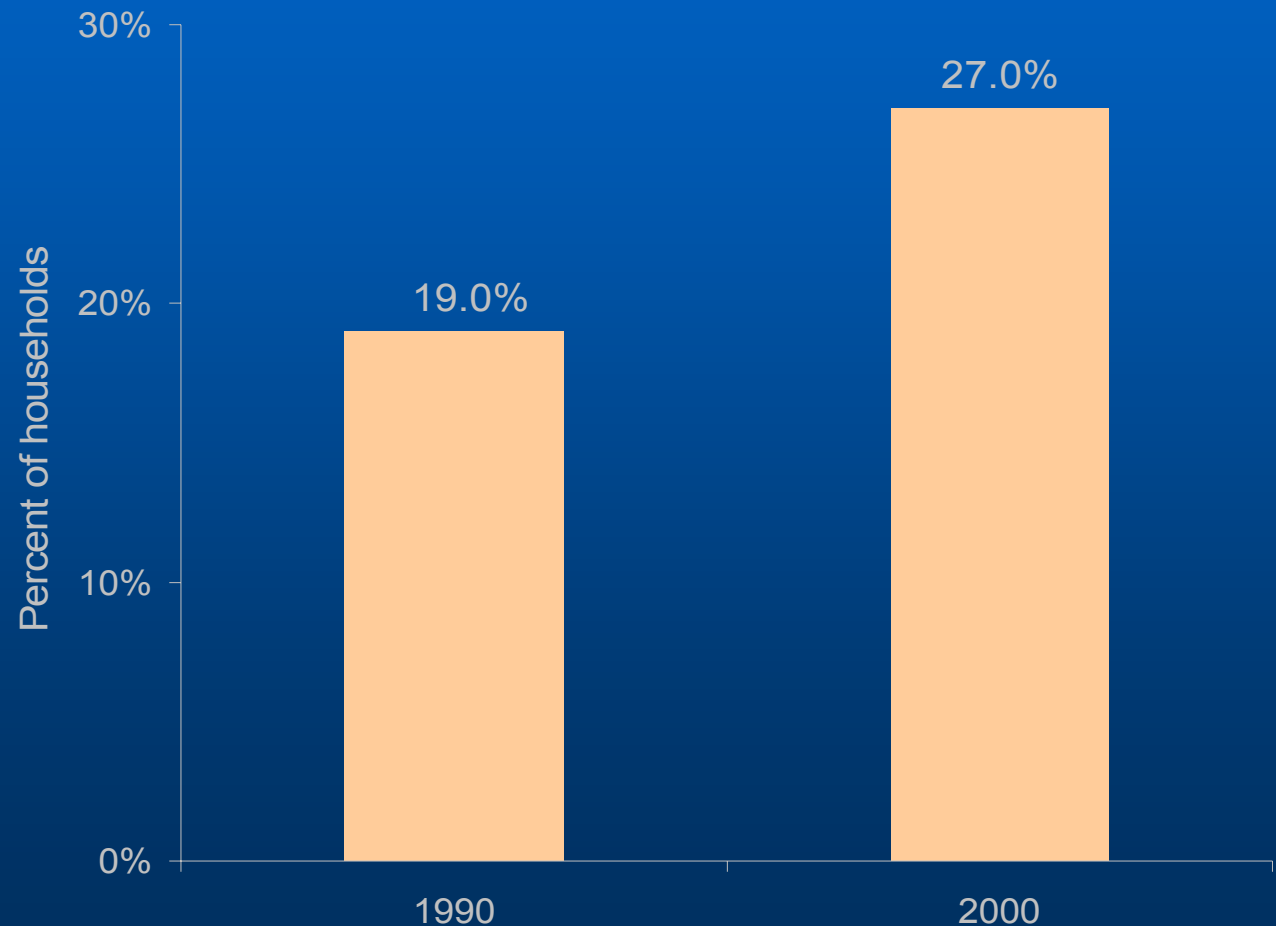


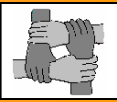


Now more than 1 in 4 suburban households are minority

Minority share of
population,
1990-2000

Source:
U.S. Census Bureau



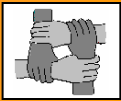


The Southwest dominates the list of the top metro areas ranked by Suburban minority shares

Rank	Metro Area	Suburban Minority Share
1	McAllen, TX	92.2%
2	El Paso, TX	89.6%
3	Honolulu, HI	79.0%
4	Miami, FL PMSA	78.5%
5	Los Angeles, CA PMSA	68.8%
6	Jersey City, NJ PMSA	62.5%
7	Albuquerque, NM	55.9%
8	Fresno, CA	54.7%
9	Riverside, CA PMSA	53.0%
10	Bakersfield, CA	51.5%
11	Oakland, CA PMSA	47.6%
12	Ventura, CA PMSA	45.0%
13	San Jose, CA PMSA	44.3%
14	San Francisco, CA PMSA	42.7%
15	Stockton, CA	42.1%

Highest suburban minority, 2000

Source: Frey, "Melting Pot Suburbs," Brookings, 2003

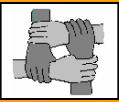


In many Southwest metro areas minorities are as distributed between cities and suburbs as whites are

Rank	Metro Area	Suburban Minority Share
1	McAllen, TX	-18
2	El Paso, TX	-8
3	Ventura, CA PMSA	-6
4	Albuquerque, NM	-5
5	Monmouth, NJ PMSA	-3
6	Bakersfield, CA	-2
7	Riverside, CA PMSA	-1
8	Los Angeles, CA PMSA	0
9	Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	0
10	Colorado Springs, CO	3
11	Honolulu, HI	4
12	Miami, FL PMSA	4
13	West Palm Beach, FL	4
14	Jersey City, NJ PMSA	5
15	Las Vegas, NV	7

Lowest city-suburb
dissimilarity, 2000

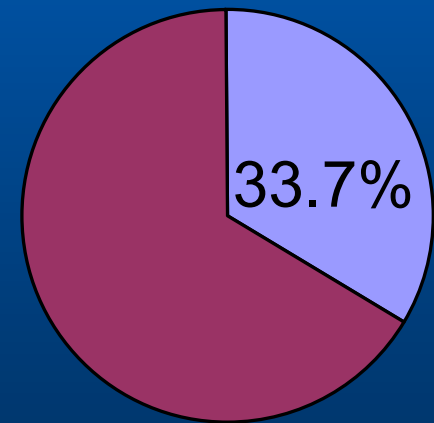
Source: Frey, "Melting Pot Suburbs," Brookings, 2003



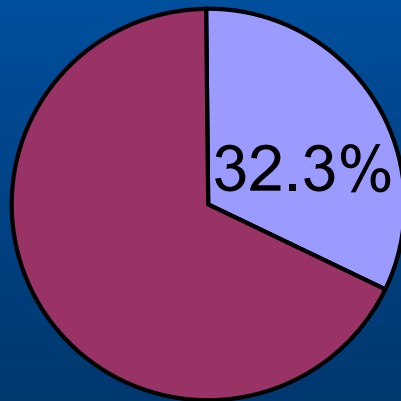
In the Los Angeles and San Mateo county suburbs, foreign born residents now make up one-third of the population

Percent Foreign
Born, 2000

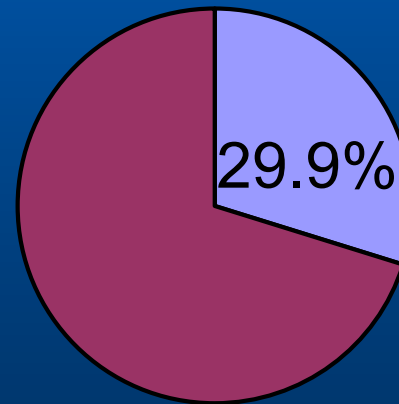
Source: Brookings Analysis of U.S.
Census Bureau data



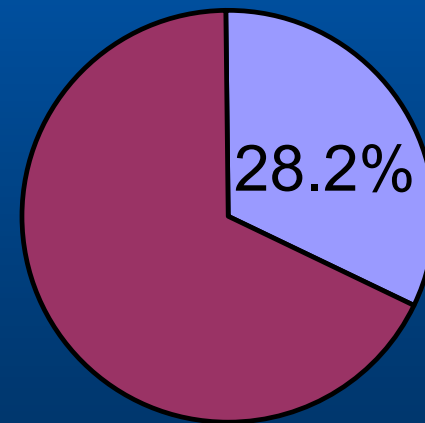
Los Angeles



San Mateo



Orange

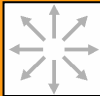


Alameda

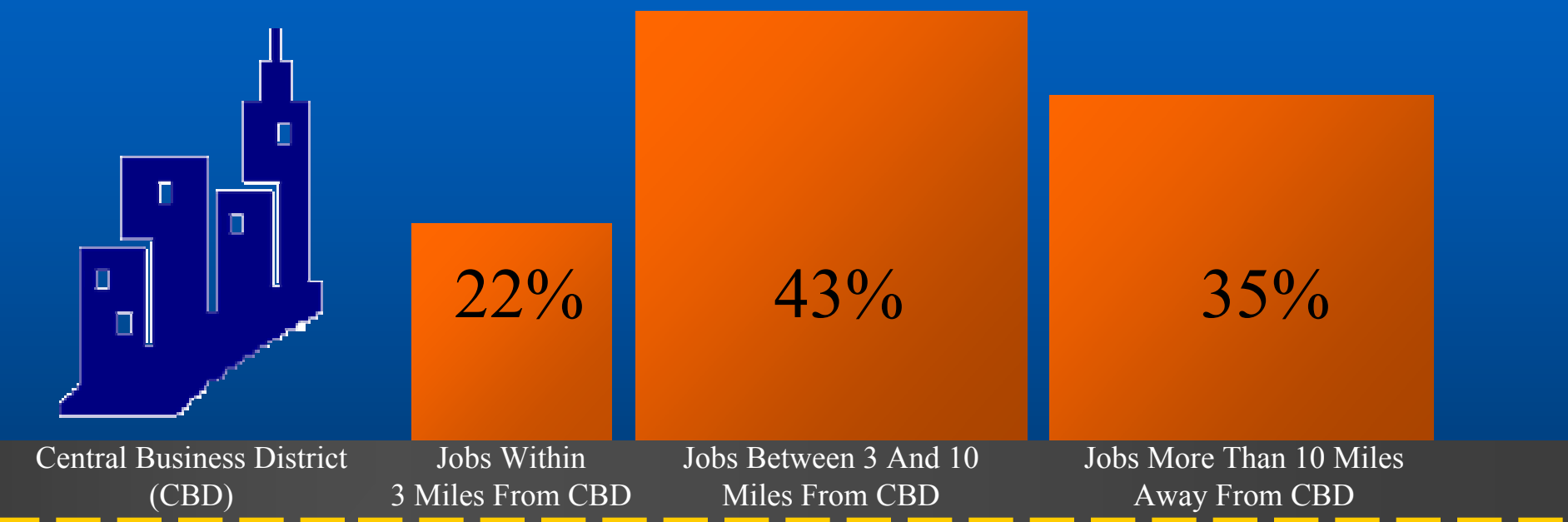
II

What are the major trends affecting cities and suburbs?

1. Cities are growing, but metros are still sprawling
2. Regional variation is substantial
3. Cities and suburbs are becoming more diverse
4. The geography of work is changing
5. The geography of poverty is changing



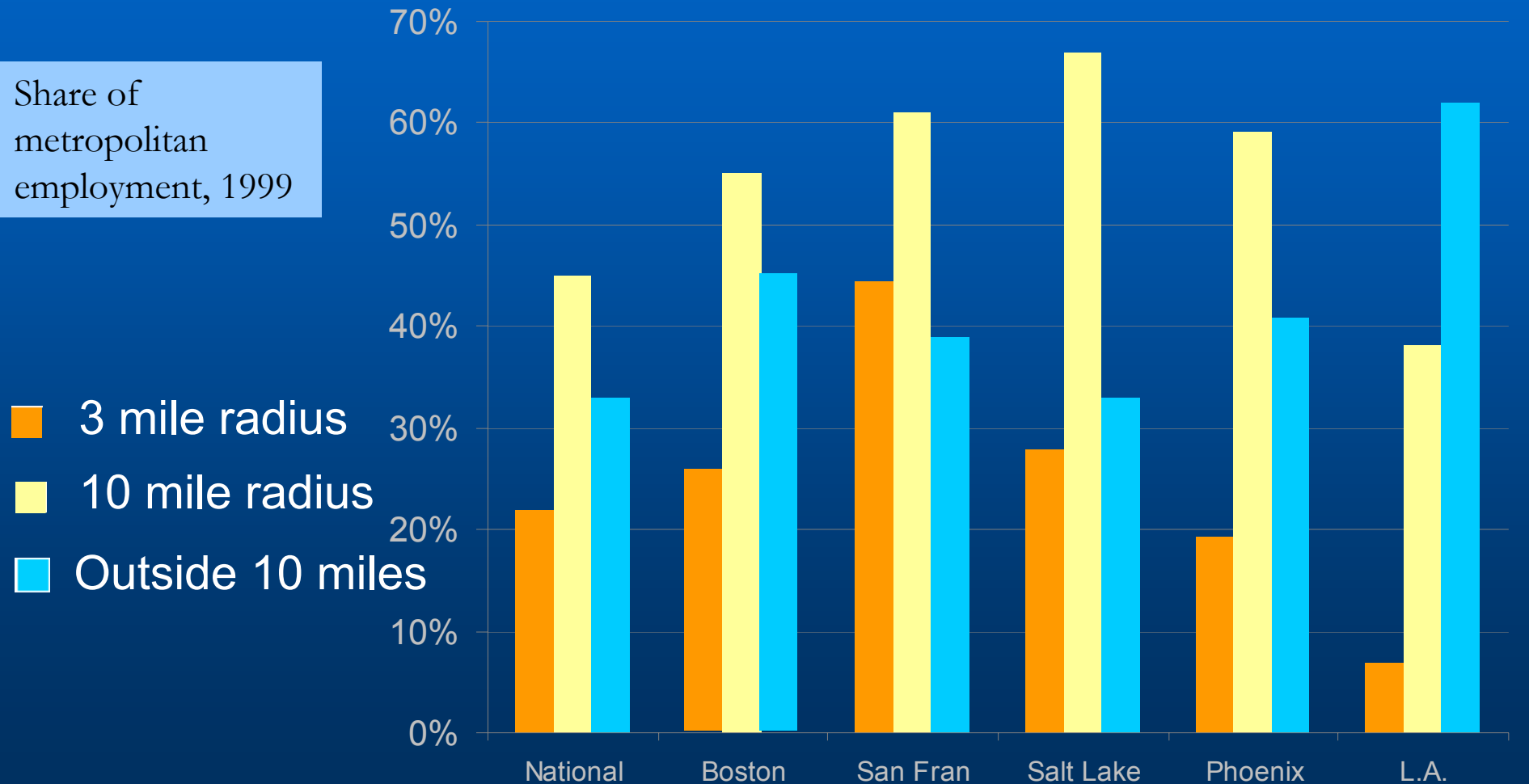
Nationally, 78 percent of jobs are found over 3 miles outside the central business district; one-third are located over 10 miles away



Source: Glaeser, Kahn, and Chu, "Job Sprawl: Employment Location in U.S. Metropolitan Areas," 2001



But the level of employment decentralization varies widely across metropolitan areas.



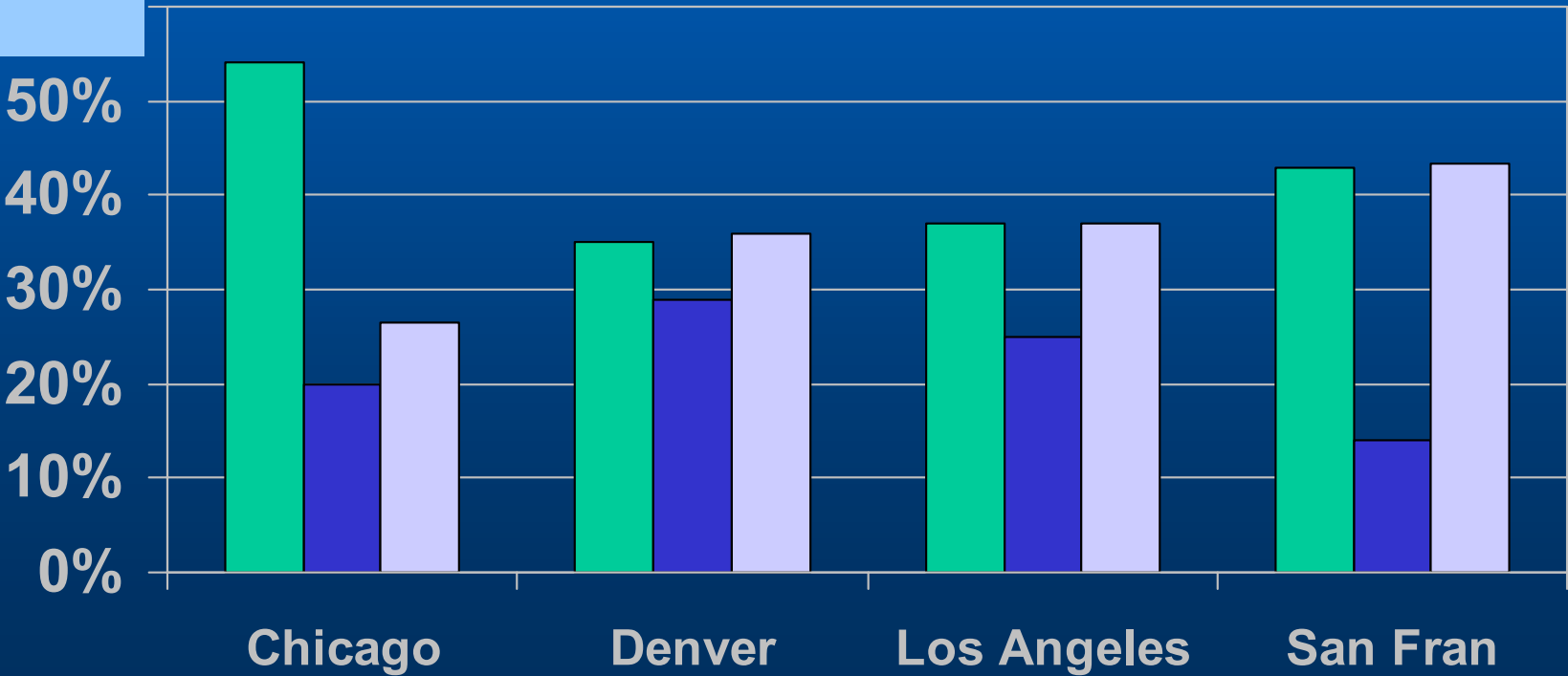


In many metros, an exit ramp economy dominates office development.

Share of
metropolitan office
space (SQ FT),
1999

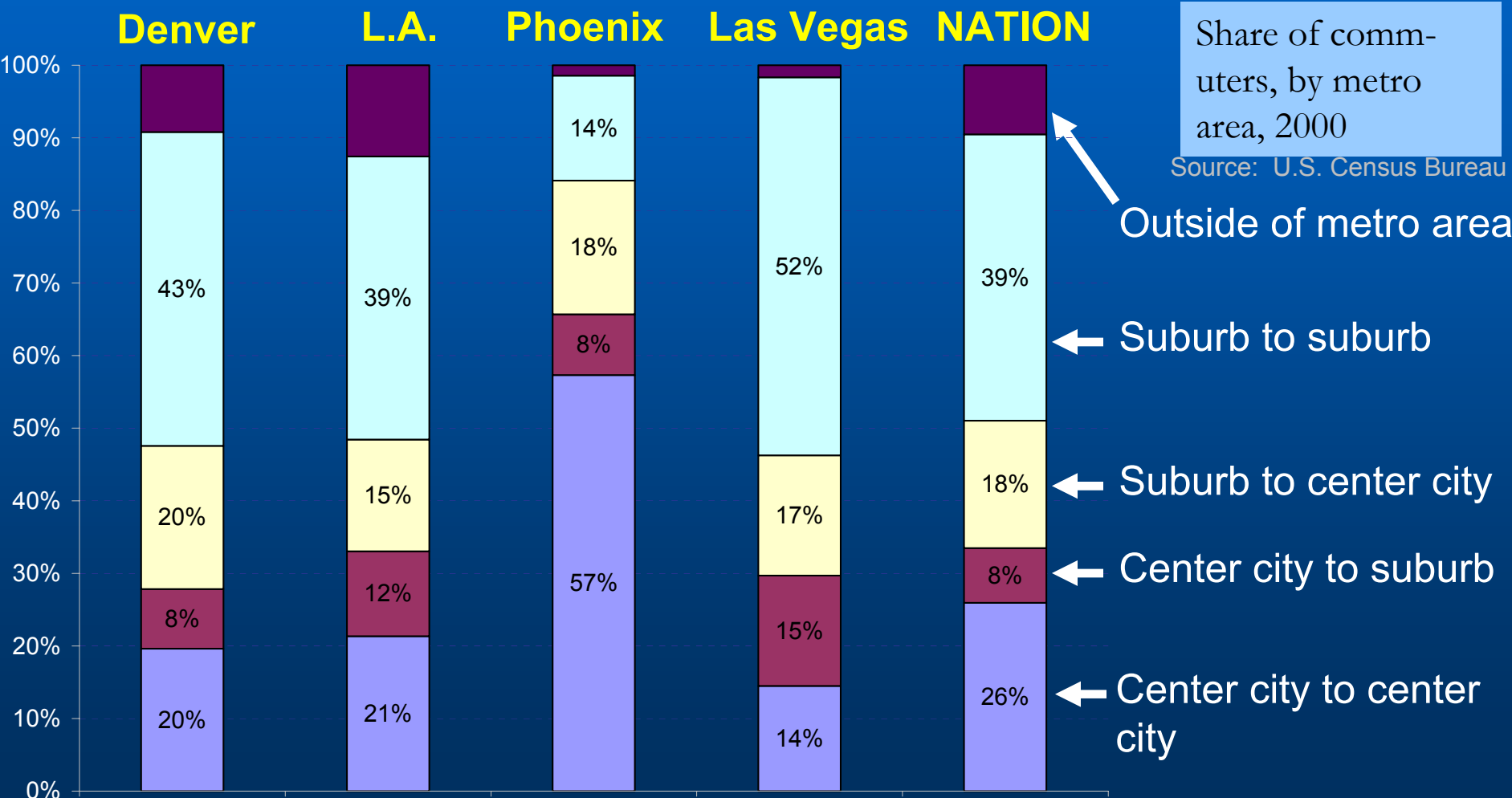
Source: Lang,
Edgeless Cities, 2003.

- In Central Business District
- Edge cities
- Edgeless space





Consequently, the highest share of most Southwestern metropolitan commutes begin and end within suburbs



Share of commuters, by metro area, 2000
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Outside of metro area

Suburb to suburb

Suburb to center city

Center city to suburb

Center city to center city

II

What are the major trends affecting metropolitan areas?

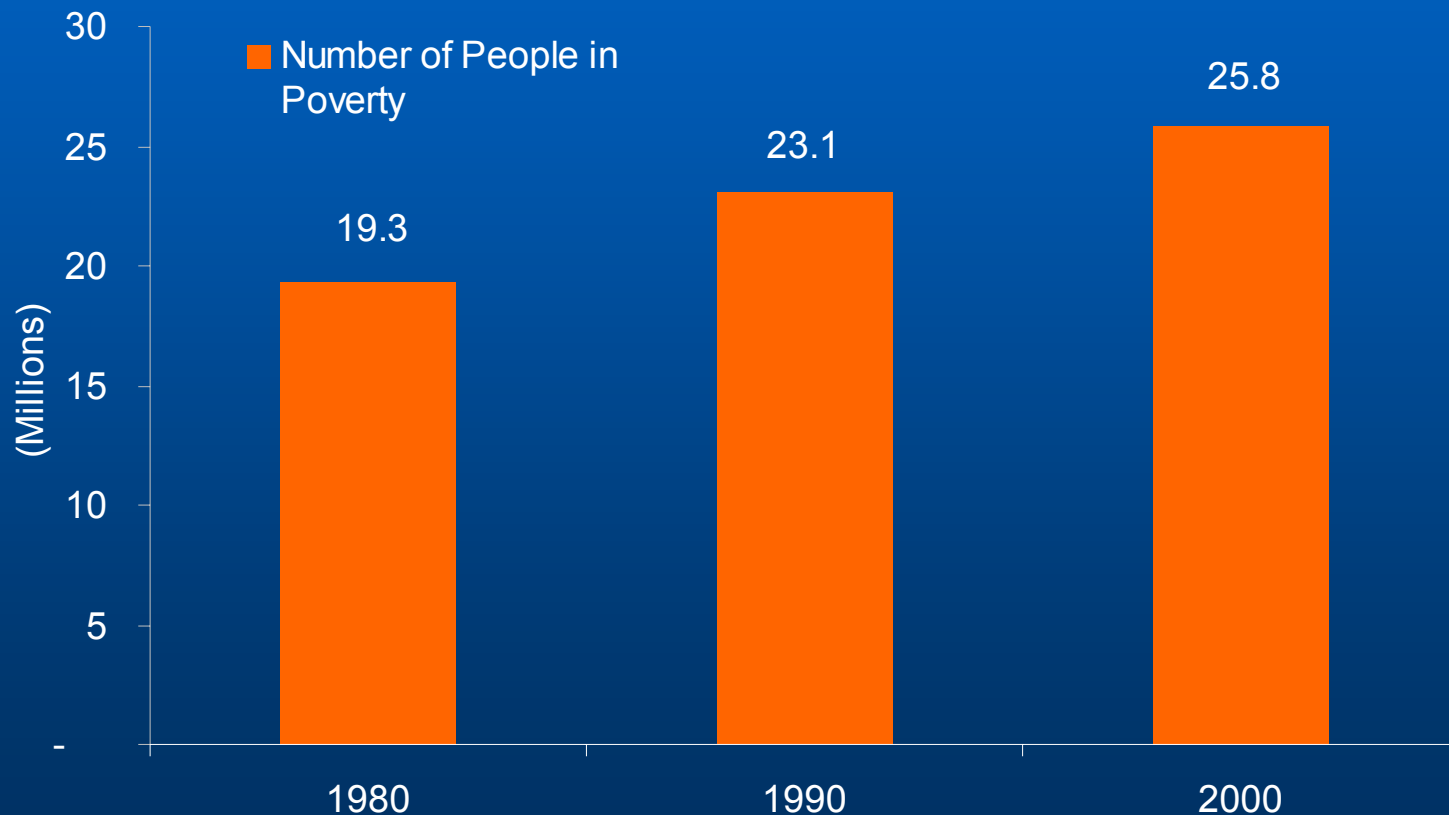
1. Cities are growing, but metros are still sprawling
2. Cities and suburbs are becoming more diverse
3. The economy continues to restructure
4. The geography of work is changing
5. The geography of poverty is changing



The number of poor people in U.S. metropolitan areas is large and has been increasing for the past two decades

Number of poor residents (US Metropolitan Areas), 1980-2000

Source:
"Concentrated Poverty:
A Change in Course,"
Kingsley and Pettit,
2003

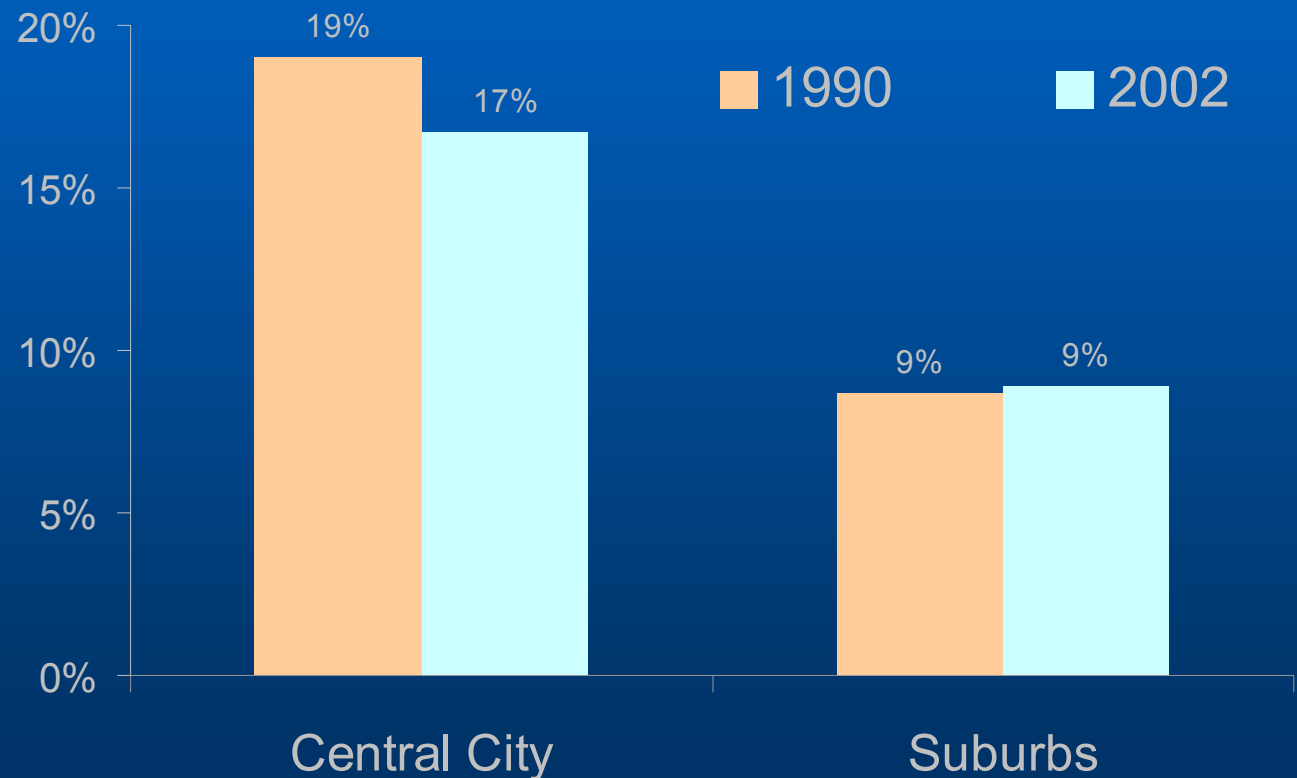




Poverty rates in central cities have declined over the 1990s, while poverty rates in the suburbs have increased slightly

Poverty rates for central cities and suburbs, 1990-2001

Source:
Current Population Survey,
2002





During the 1990s, the cities with the greatest poverty rate increases were largely located in the Southwest and Northeast

Rank	Metro Area	Poverty rate increase	
		All ages	Under 18
1	Providence, RI-MA NECMA	5.1	6.0
2	Syracuse, NY	4.6	2.2
3	Riverside, CA PMSA	4.2	3.6
4	Allentown, PA	4.2	5.5
5	Albany, NY	3.8	4.3
6	Los Angeles, CA PMSA	3.6	3.2
7	Honolulu, HI	3.4	3.5
11	Bakersfield, CA	3.0	2.8
12	Stockton, CA	2.8	0.9
13	Sacramento, CA PMSA	2.8	1.3
14	Philadelphia, PA PMSA	2.6	1.3
15	Orange County, CA PMSA	2.4	3.1
16	Rochester, NY	2.4	-0.5
17	Ventura, CA PMSA	2.3	2.6

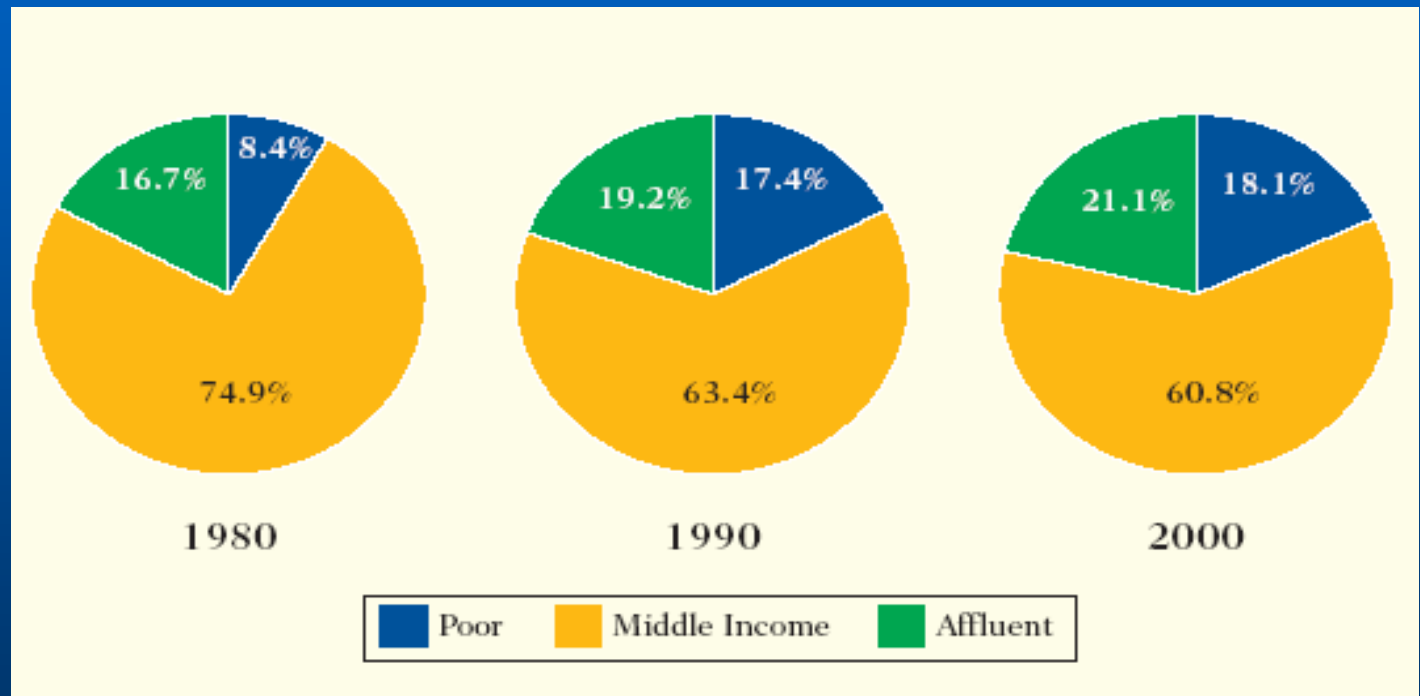
Poverty rate
increase by
metropolitan area,
1990-2000

Source: Berube and Frey,
"A Decade of Mixed
Blessings," Brookings 2002.



The share of suburban residents living in poor suburbs has increased by almost 10% in the last two decades

Share of residents living in poor, middle income, and affluent suburbs, 1980-2000



Source: Swanstrom, et al, "Pulling Apart: Economic Segregation in Major Metropolitan Areas," Brookings, 2004

Poor Suburb = Suburbs with per capita incomes less than 75% of its metro area

Affluent Suburb = Suburbs with per capita incomes over 125% of its metro area



The metro areas with the widest gaps between rich and poor suburbs are booming areas in the Southwest

Ratio of the per capita income of the suburb in the 5th percentile to the suburb at the 95th Percentile, 2000, by Metro Area

Rank	Metropolitan Area	Index
1	West Palm Beach, FL	9.915
2	Phoenix, AZ-NV	6.677
3	Los Angeles, CA PMSA	6.272
4	Miami, FL PMSA	6.010
5	Houston, TX PMSA	4.901
6	San Francisco, CA PMSA	4.725
7	Cleveland, OH PMSA	4.520
8	Denver, CO PMSA	4.508
9	New York, NY PMSA	4.412
10	San Diego, CA	4.364

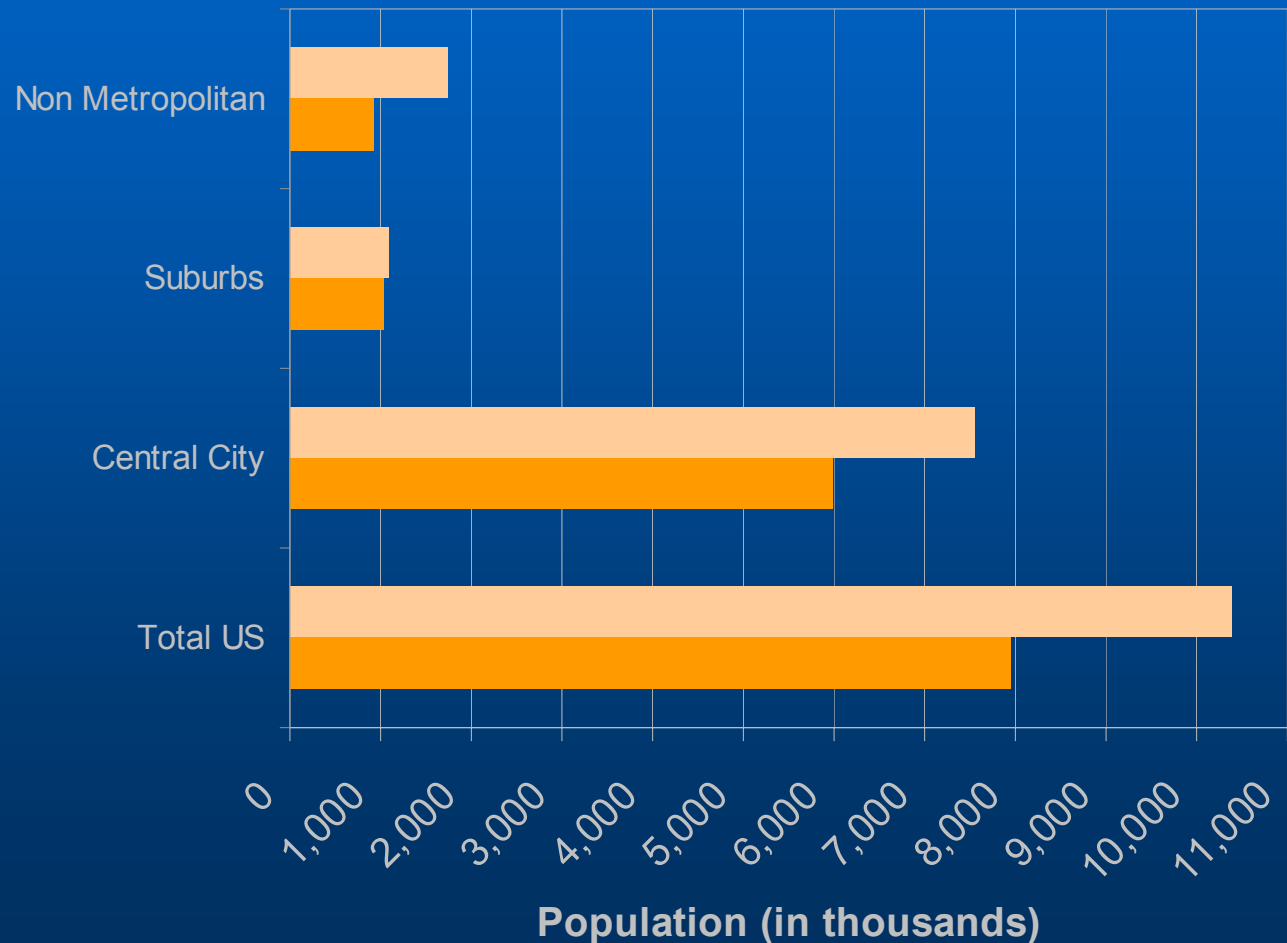
Source: Swanstrom, et al, "Pulling Apart: Economic Segregation in Major Metropolitan Areas," Brookings, 2004



But the number of people living in high poverty neighborhoods declined during the 1990s

Population of high-poverty neighborhoods by location, 1990-2000

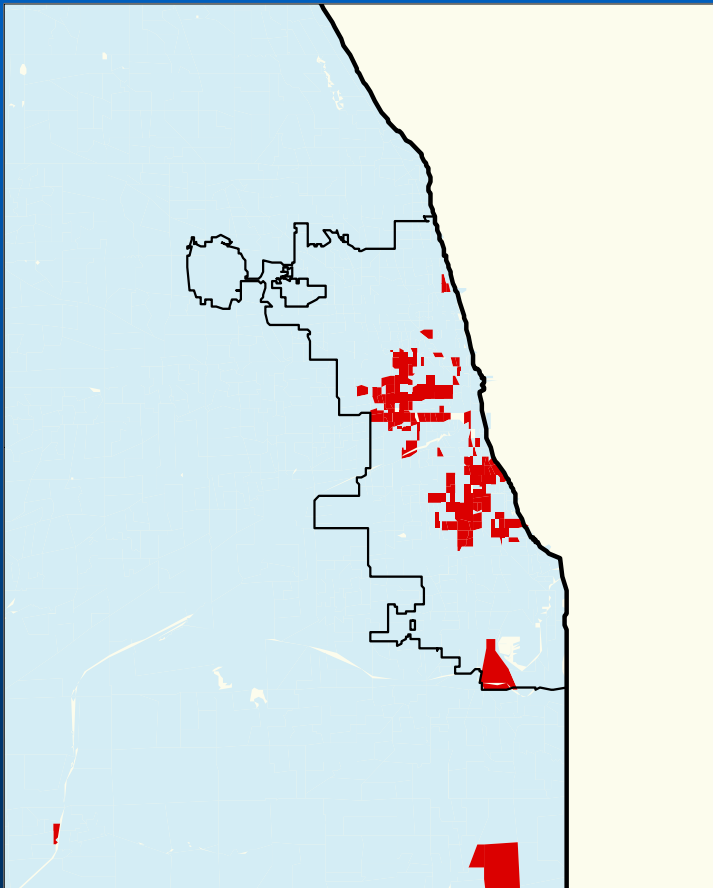
Source: Paul Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems: The Dramatic Decline of Concentrated Poverty in the 1990s" 2003



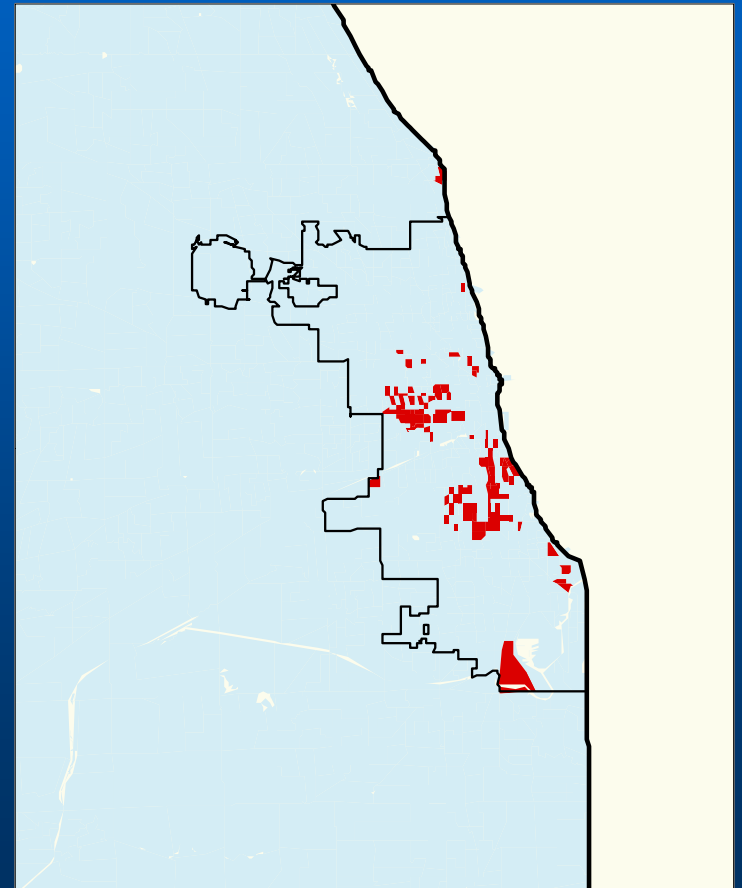
2000 1990



During the 1990s, number of high-poverty tracts in Chicago dropped from 187 to 114, and there were 179,000 fewer people living in high poverty areas



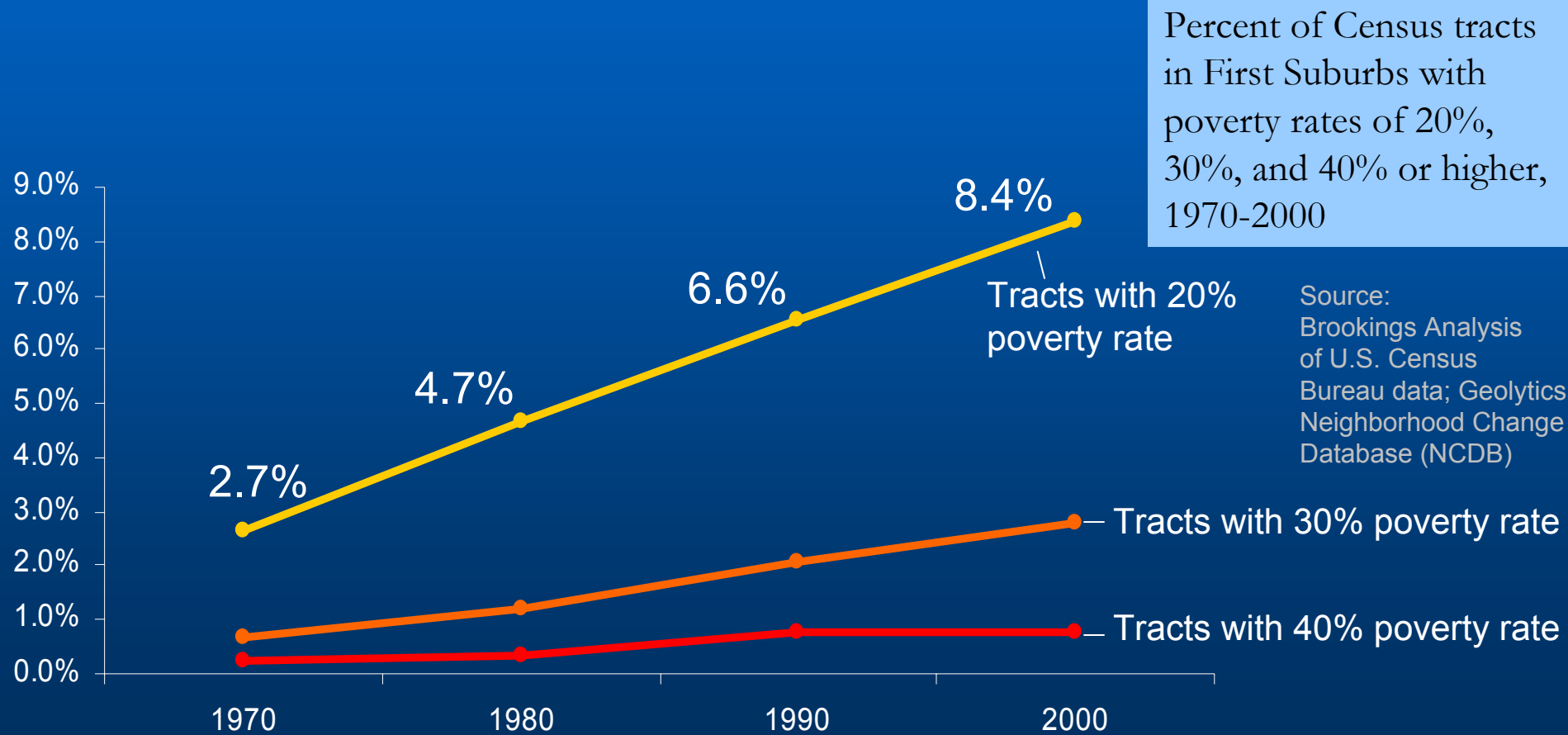
1990



2000



But neighborhoods of concentrated poverty have been increasing in First Suburbs





Texas and the Midwest dominate the list of top 15 metro areas by decrease in concentrated poverty.





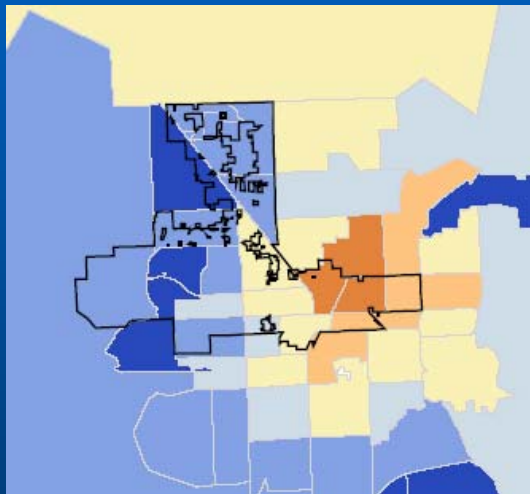
While California and the Northeast dominate the list of metro areas with increases.



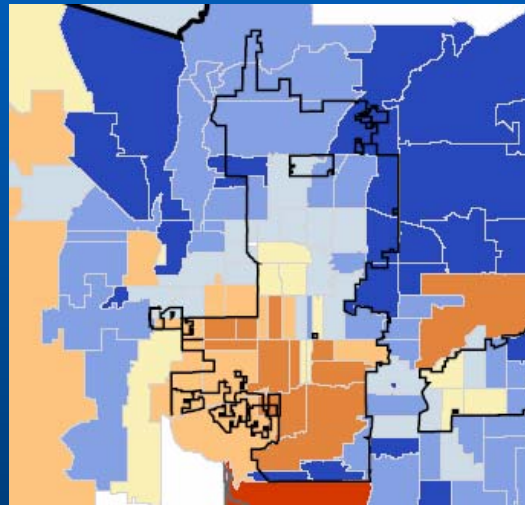


These trends are also evident when examining the spatial variations of the working poor:

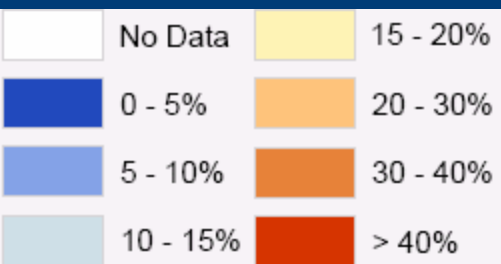
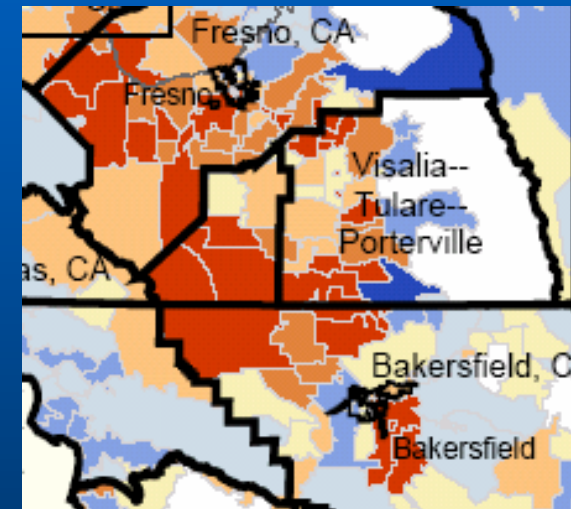
Las Vegas



Phoenix

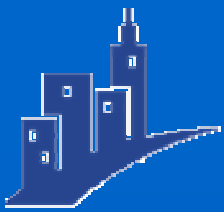


Central Calif.




EITC recipients as a
percentage of total returns
by zip code, 2001

Source: Berube, "The "State"
of Low-Wage Workers,"
Brookings, 2004.



Redefining Metropolitan America: Key Trends and Implications for the Southwest

- The rate of metropolitan growth in the Southwest is as fast as anywhere in the nation.
- Yet that growth is constrained by geological, topographical, and political barriers.
- The Southwest is experiencing fast, diverse suburban growth.
- Southwest metropolitan areas have large percentages of traditional families, the elderly, and Hispanic residents.
- But the Southwest is also experiencing some troubling increases in poverty, although regional variations do exist.



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Losing Ground: Income and Poverty in Upstate New York

In recent decades Upstate New York has transitioned from a stable middle-income region to one with serious income and economic problems. This paper, the fourth in a Metropolitan Policy Program series on the region, examines these trends in detail and proposes a number of policy responses.

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

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West Michigan: Building a Competitive Future

This powerpoint by Robert Puentes was presented at a summit in Grand Rapids, MI focusing on how that region can meet the economic development goals of West Michigan by fostering regional cooperation, collaboration, and communication.

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