ONE-FIFTH OF AMERICA:
A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO AMERICA'S FIRST SUBURBS
DATA REPORT

METROPOLITAN POLICY PROGRAM
THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

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A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO AMERICA'S FIRST SUBURBS
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A Discussion Paper Prepared for the
The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program

February 2006

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program would like to thank The Ford Foundation for their support of our work on the challenges and opportunities in America's first suburbs. Brookings also wishes to thank the Fannie Mae Foundation, The George Gund Foundation, the Heinz Endowments, The Joyce Foundation, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation for their support of our work on metropolitan trends.

Many individuals provided very valuable review and important comments at various points throughout the course of this work. We especially wish to thank Tom Bier, Christy Brennan, Anthony Downs, Kimberly Gibson, Damon Jones, William Lucy, Myron Orfield, Janet Pack, and Barry Seymour.

Final responsibility for this project rest with the Brookings research team, which consisted of Robert Puentes and David Warren, with support from Alan Berube, Matthew Fellowes, William Frey, David Jackson, Bruce Katz, Amy Liu, Mark Muro, David Park, Audrey Singer, and Jennifer Vey.

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A NOTE ON THIS PAPER: This data report is a more detailed companion to a simultaneously published policy paper. Together they provide a holistic analysis of America's older, inner-ring, "first" suburbs and their unique set of challenges—such as concentrations of elderly and immigrant populations as well as outmoded housing and commercial buildings— which render them very different from the center city and fast growing newer places.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The profound demographic, market, and economic changes affecting the nation over the past several decades are well known. Over the last several years, the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program has pursued an ambitious research agenda designed to illustrate how urban and suburban America has changed in the last two decades, primarily building off the wealth of information from Census 2000. For example, we know that although central cities did make a comeback in the 1990s after years of steady decline, America's suburbs continue to dominate the landscape.

But what is clearly lacking from these broad trends is recognition of the wide variation between American suburbs. In particular, evidence about what is happening to older, inner-ring, "first suburbs" is largely anecdotal, or else empirically confined to individual places. There is a general understanding that these places look different from what many observers consider to be "traditional" suburbs, and there is an assumption that many are taking on characteristics and challenges normally associated with America's central cities.

While it is true several researchers have highlighted important metropolitan policies affecting first suburbs to go along with Brookings' multi-year effort in describing the experience of first suburbs in the Midwest, several elements are still lacking. Specifically, a practical definition and framework for identifying these places, a broad "one-stop" guide to key indicators, and comparative rankings that categorizes these places with their peers, as opposed to the insufficiently broad moniker of "suburbs".

Some analysis has been conducted on the county level around "urban" places such as Cook, Los Angeles, and King counties—however, the center cities in these places are generally included in such an analysis so the detail about the "suburban" parts of these counties is obscured by the large cities. Other work has been done on suburban counties like Baltimore, MD, Orange, CA and Nassau, NY but there has been no attempt to relate these places to a larger national discussion.

The purpose of this data report, therefore, is to promote a deeper quantitative understanding about America's first suburbs by creating a definition that helps identify these places, and presenting a wealth of demographic and economic data around a series of indicators. This effort is modeled after Brookings' Living Cities databooks: a detailed analysis of trends in 23 cities. But different from that and other work on metropolitan trends, this project endeavors to present data as far back as 1950 where possible. In this way, a more generational change is presented, illustrating that these places are substantially different than popular conception.

In short, we find that although first suburbs are indeed beginning to look more and more like cities in some respects and some places, this is by no means ubiquitous. In reality, this work makes it clear that America's first suburbs are beginning to actually become more separate from the center cities they sometimes surround, and the newer suburbs that sometimes surround them.

While they are distinctive from the nation, they are also often quite distinctive from each other. This analysis finds that there are clear differences between first suburbs that began developing over a century ago such as places in New England and other parts of the Northeast and Midwest. These first suburbs look very different from those that suburbanized around World War II.

But in the end, this analysis also shows that the gaps between first suburbs and the rest of the nation have closed since the 1950s. Population growth took place primarily in first suburbs fifty years ago. Now their growth lags the nation. First suburbs were once far less diverse than the nation, now they are more so. Homeownership used to be far more common in first suburbs than in the nation as a whole, now the rates are nearly identical. And while first suburbs still lead the nation in terms of housing value, educational attainment, and income, the gaps are indeed closing.

A summary of these trends can be found in an accompanying report along with a related policy discussion about first suburbs.

II. TRENDS BY INDICATOR

The information in this report seeks to understand changes in America's first suburbs over the past generation in an accessible, data rich format allowing for easy comparisons among first suburbs, and between first suburbs and primary cities, newer suburbs, and the nation as a whole.

To that end, the economic and demographic data herein is organized pertaining to ten sets of indicators: population, race and ethnicity, immigration, age, household type and size, housing, education, income and poverty, employment, and commuting. Each indicator contains three main findings. The first describes the trends as they relate to the first suburbs themselves and changes over time. The second compares the overall trend in first suburbs to that in other geography types (primary cities, newer suburbs, nation). The third illustrates the variation among first suburbs themselves.

A. Population

1. Overall, from 1950 to 2000 first suburbs grew twice as fast as the national rate—with most of this growth occurring several decades ago. Today, nearly one-in-five Americans now live in first suburbs, up from about one-in-eight in 1950.

Overall, the population of first suburbs rose 161.3 percent since 1950. Together, the first suburbs were home to 52,391,412 people in 2000—good for 18.6 percent of the nation's population. The share of the national population living in first suburbs increased steadily from 13.3 percent in 1950 with a rather dramatic spike from 1950 to 1970. But that growth tapered off and the share of Americans living in first suburbs is about the same now as it was in 1970.

Among the 22 states that have counties included in this analysis, almost a quarter of the total population of these states live in first suburbs—up from 18 percent in 1950. Within certain states, the first suburbs' share of the population is even greater. In 2000, seven states had at least one-third of their population residing in first suburbs, up from just four states in 1950. In Connecticut, first suburbs have consistently contained over half of the state's residents, and in 2000 that figure is approaching two-thirds.

Only three states—New Jersey, Virginia and Wisconsin—saw the percentage of their residents living in first suburbs decline over the last 50 years.[1]

These figures are impressive but adding the corresponding primary cities' population to the first suburbs' shows significantly larger percentages of the population living in these places. Nationally, 31.5 percent of the population lived in a first suburb or primary city in 2000. Thirteen states had more than one-third of their population residing in these places. In eight states that figure was over half.

2. Today first suburban growth lags the nation. The newer suburbs are growing at about twice the rate of the first suburbs.

Since 1950, first suburbs grew at nearly twice the U.S. average of 86 percent and much higher than the anemic growth of the corresponding primary cities which only grew by 5.3 percent over this period. But the majority of first suburban growth took place in the decades from 1950 to 1970. Both in terms of absolute and percent growth, aggregate trends show that when the nation grew from 1950–1970 that growth largely took place in the first suburbs.

By the end of the century, however, first suburban growth rates began to lag the national rate. The first decade where the first suburban growth rate dipped below the national rate was from 1970 to 1980: 8.9 and 11.4 percent, respectively. The primary cities declined by 7.0 percent during that time. Since 1980, the population of the newer suburbs grew twice as fast as the first suburbs.

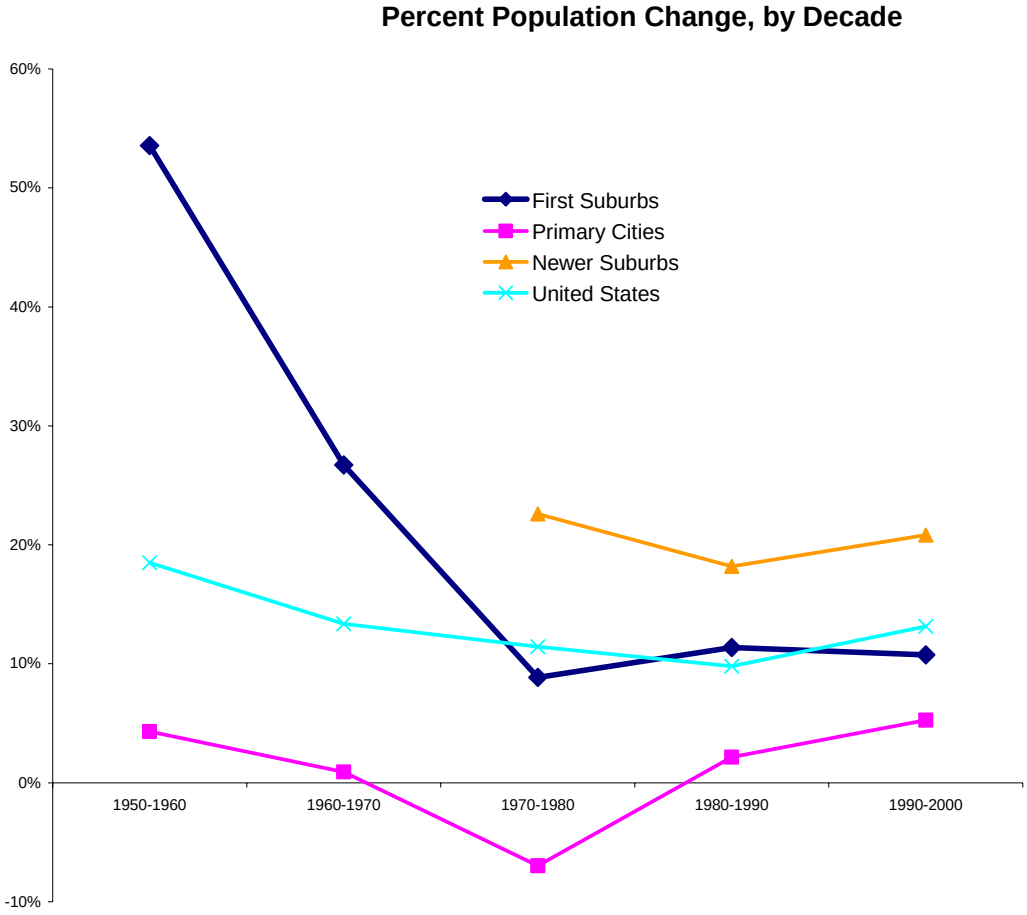
3. Individually, the population of first suburbs varies considerably and stark regional differences exist in terms of the rate of growth.

Los Angeles is, by far, the largest first suburb with 5.4 million residents in 2000—more than that of 32 states. Four other first suburbs—Orange, Cook, Dade, and Maricopa—have populations over 1.7 million. The only first suburbs with populations under 250,000 in 2000 were Trumbull, Arlington, Lackawanna, and Marion.

Los Angeles, in fact, has led the first suburbs in terms of population in every decade since 1950. In 1950, Los Angeles had 1.9 million first suburban residents—almost one million more than the second largest first suburb, Middlesex (MA). In 1950, only five other first suburbs had populations over 500,000: Cook, Allegheny, Nassau, Wayne, and Bergen.

The population shifts the nation has experienced since 1950 are clearly evident in the first suburbs. In 1950, Los Angeles was the only first suburb ranked in the top 10 in population that was not located in the Northeast or Midwest. By 2000, six of the top 10 first suburbs were located outside these regions. More recent figures reinforce the stark regional differences, with the Sunbelt dominating growth in the last three decades and population loss occurring in some Rust Belt and northeastern first suburbs. While 14 first suburbs grew by more than 50 percent since 1970, another 10 lost population during that time—all of these losses occurred in the Northeast and Midwest.

[1] Indiana's percent also declined due to the consolidation of most of Marion County into the city of Indianapolis in 1970.

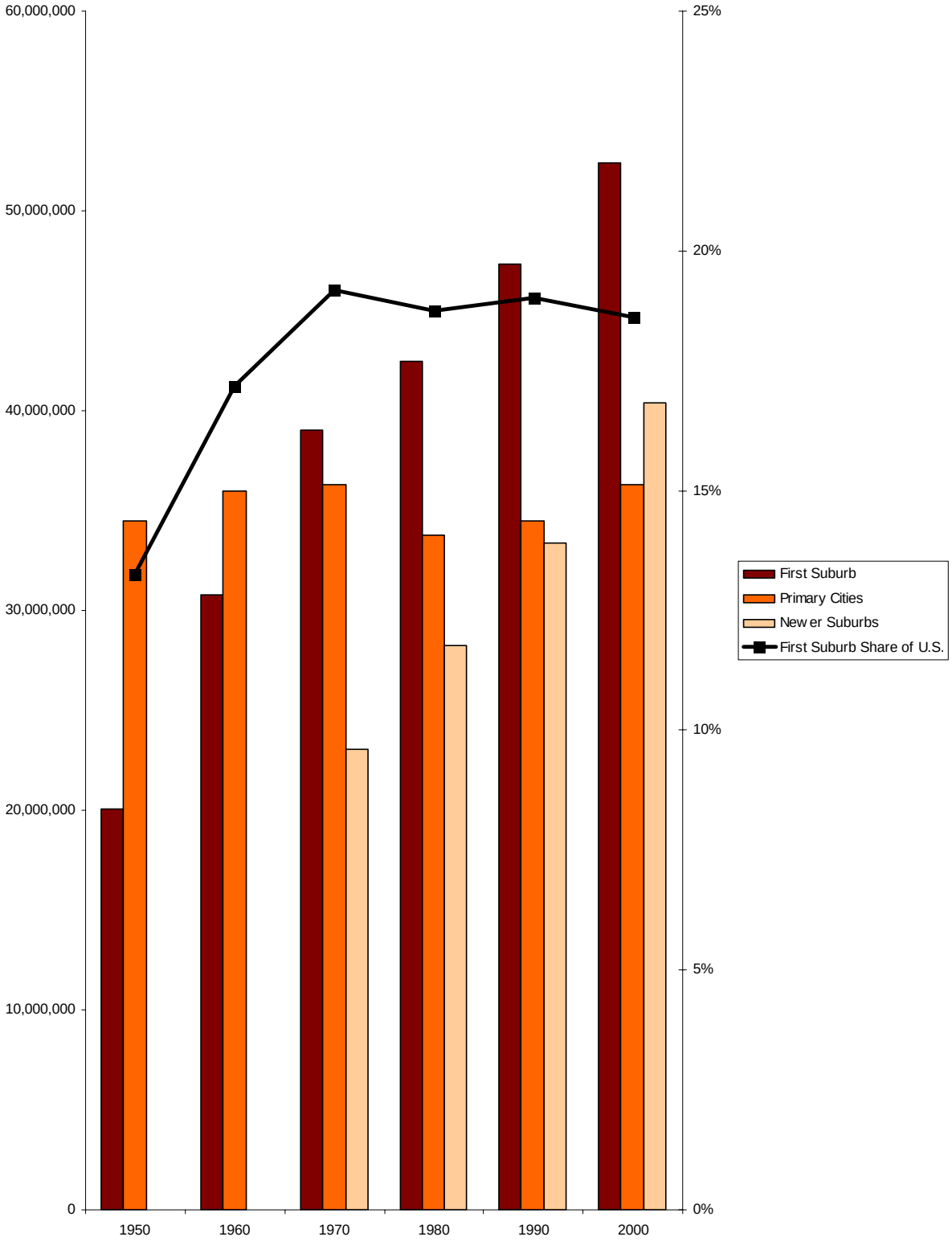

Percent Population Change, by Decade
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
-10%
1950-1960
1960-1970
1970-1980
1980-1990
1990-2000
First Suburbs
Primary Cities
Newer Suburbs
United States

Top and Bottom Ten First Suburbs Ranked by Population, 1950, 2000 and Percent Population Change, 1950–2000 and 1950–1970

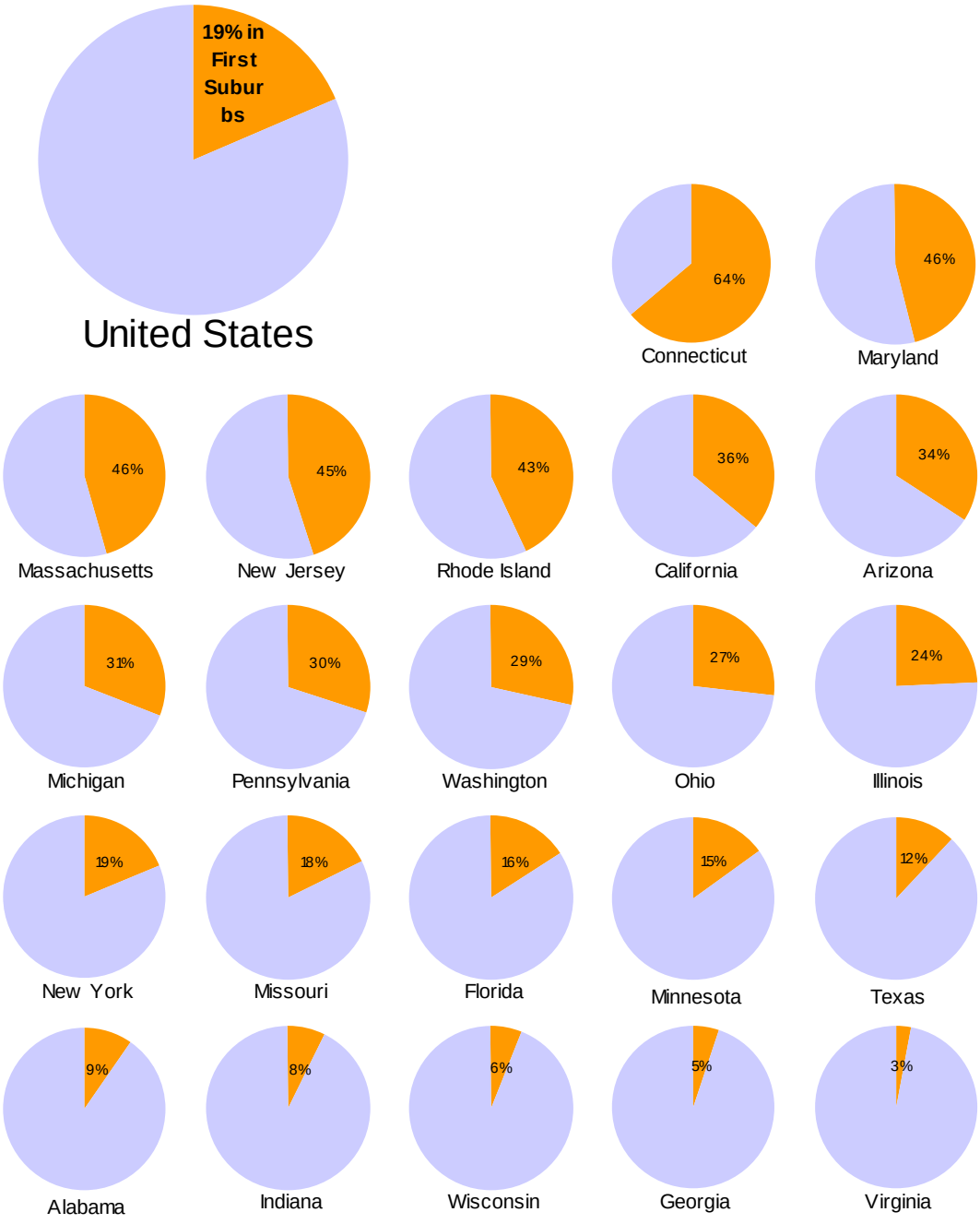
Rank	First Suburb	Population, 1950	First Suburb	Population, 2000	First Suburb	Change 1950–2000	First Suburb	Change 1950–1970
1	Los Angeles, CA	1,930,562	Los Angeles, CA	5,362,996	Orange, CA	1,216.4%	Orange, CA	556.9%
2	Middlesex, MA	943,829	Orange, CA	2,846,289	Maricopa, AZ	678.4%	Dade, FL	279.5%
3	Cook, IL	887,830	Cook, IL	2,480,725	Dade, FL	669.3%	Prince George's, MD	240.2%
4	Allegheny, PA	838,431	Dade, FL	1,890,892	San Diego, CA	615.1%	Hennepin, MN	239.5%
5	Nassau, NY	672,765	Maricopa, AZ	1,751,104	Harris, TX	587.3%	Macomb, MI	238.2%
6	Wayne, MI	585,667	San Diego, CA	1,590,433	Sacramento, CA	485.0%	Montgomery, MD	218.0%
7	Bergen, NJ	539,139	Harris TX	1,446,947	Dallas, TX	471.3%	San Diego, CA	197.2%
8	Cuyahoga, OH	474,724	Middlesex, MA	1,364,041	Hillsborough, FL	455.5%	Bucks, PA	187.0%
9	Westchester, NY	473,018	Nassau, NY	1,334,544	Montgomery, MD	431.2%	Sacramento, CA	170.2%
10	Essex, NJ	467,173	Oakland, MI	1,194,156	Hennepin, MN	373.7%	Monroe, NY	167.9%
	First Suburbs	20,052,031	First Suburbs	52,391,412	First Suburbs	161.3%	First Suburbs	94.6%
	Primary Cities	34,480,881	Primary Cities	36,300,693	Primary Cities	5.3%	Primary Cities	5.2%
	Newer Suburbs*	23,053,490	Newer Suburbs	40,357,944	Newer Suburbs	75.1%	Newer Suburbs	n/a
	United States	151,325,798	United States	281,421,906	United States	86.0%	United States	34.3%
55	Sacramento, CA	139,568	Onondaga, NY	311,030	Union, NJ	40.9%	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	36.7%
56	Burlington, NJ	135,910	Hampden, MA	304,146	Arlington, VA	39.9%	Worcester, MA	34.6%
57	Arlington, VA	135,449	Stark, OH	297,292	Providence, RI	37.3%	Allegheny, PA	29.4%
58	Summit, OH	135,427	Berks, PA	292,431	Delaware, PA	33.0%	Arlington, VA	28.7%
59	Pierce, WA	132,203	Madison, IL	258,941	St. Clair, IL	24.3%	Providence, RI	22.9%
60	Lackawanna, PA	131,860	St. Clair, IL	256,082	Allegheny, PA	13.0%	Essex, NJ	17.2%
61	Franklin, OH	127,509	Trumbull, OH	225,116	Essex, NJ	11.3%	Hudson, NJ	0.1%
62	Hillsborough, FL	125,213	Arlington, VA	189,453	Hudson, NJ	5.9%	Lackawanna, PA	-1.0%
63	Marion, IN	124,604	Lackawanna, PA	136,880	Lackawanna, PA	3.8%	Fulton, GA	-30.4%
64	Onondaga, NY	121,136	Marion, IN	78,584	Marion, IN	-36.9%	Marion, IN	-61.7%

* Calculations for the Newer Suburbs are from 1970

Population Growth by Geographic Type and First Suburban Share of U.S. population, 1950–2000



Percent of State's Population Living in a First Suburb, 2000



Percent of State's Population Living in a First Suburb, 1950–2000, Ranked by First Suburb Share, 2000

Rank	States With First Suburbs	Number of First Suburban Counties	First Suburb Share 2000	Numerical Change, 1950–2000	Percentage Point Change, 1950–2000	First Suburb Plus Primary City Share 2000
1	Connecticut	3	**64.0%**	1,089,787	9.7%	**75.3%**
2	Maryland	3	45.9%	1,800,292	**19.0%**	58.2%
3	Massachusetts	4	45.6%	1,012,186	5.4%	61.6%
4	New Jersey	7	44.9%	1,560,659	-1.0%	53.4%
5	Rhode Island	1	42.7%	121,685	1.5%	59.3%
6	California	6	36.2%	**9,278,505**	8.0%	57.1%
7	Arizona	1	34.1%	1,526,152	4.1%	59.9%
8	Michigan	3	31.1%	1,925,568	12.8%	40.7%
9	Pennsylvania	7	29.9%	1,423,414	8.6%	47.7%
10	Washington	2	28.5%	1,283,320	11.8%	41.4%
11	Ohio	7	26.7%	1,596,837	8.7%	44.9%
11	Illinois	3	24.1%	1,719,616	9.5%	47.4%
13	New York	5	18.7%	1,804,965	6.9%	65.4%
14	Missouri	1	18.2%	609,966	7.9%	24.4%
15	Florida	2	16.2%	2,215,372	2.8%	20.3%
16	Minnesota	1	14.9%	578,721	9.7%	22.7%
17	Texas	2	11.9%	2,086,391	6.8%	26.9%
18	Alabama	1	9.4%	186,336	1.8%	14.9%
19	Indiana	2	7.6%	101,557	-1.5%	22.1%
20	Wisconsin	1	6.4%	109,535	-0.4%	17.5%
21	Georgia	1	4.9%	240,709	0.3%	10.0%
22	Virginia	1	2.7%	54,004	-1.4%	2.7%

B. Race and Ethnicity

1. While in 1980 racial and ethnic minorities made up a smaller share of first suburban population than U.S. population generally, the opposite was true by 2000.

Recent data from the U.S. Census clearly shows major racial and ethnic demographic changes throughout the U.S. Minorities—now led by Hispanics—account for nearly one-third of the nation's population, up from a quarter in 1990. And America's largest cities are "majority-minority" with more non-whites than whites (Berube, 2003). Racial and ethnic diversity also rose substantially in suburban America in recent years, making up a quarter of all suburban populations (Frey, 2003).

Isolating first suburbs shows this trend is even starker in these places. As a whole first suburbs went from being less diverse than the nation in 1980 to more diverse by 2000. In 1980, 16.4 percent of first suburban residents were non-white and by 2000, that number increased to 33.4 percent (compared to 20.4 and 30.9 percent nationwide). Over 20 percent of the nation's non-white residents now live in first suburbs.

There were 35.5 million white residents in first suburbs in 1980.[2] By 2000 that number shrunk to 34.9 million—a 1.7 percent decline.[3] Their share dropped from 83.6 percent of the first suburban population in 1980 to 76.2 in 1990 to 66.6 in 2000.

From 1980 to 2000, the nation added 7.8 million black residents—a 30.0 percent increase. First suburbs accounted for 27.8 percent of this net increase (2.2 million). The share of first suburban residents who are black increased from 6.4 to 9.3 percent during this time.

About one-quarter of the nation's Hispanic residents now live in first suburbs – up from about one-fifth in 1980. Over 5 million more Hispanic residents live in first suburbs in 2000 than in 1980. The percentage of Asians residing in first suburbs also rose dramatically. In 1980, 24.2 percent of the Asian/Pacific Islander population of the U.S. lived in first suburbs. By 2000, 30.7 percent did.

2. From 1980 to 2000, the first suburbs outpaced the nation in the increase in the share of black, Hispanic, and Asian residents, as well as the decrease in white residents.

The change among specific racial groups in first suburbs generally mirrors that for the nation. Whites are decreasing as a share of the overall population, while blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are increasing—albeit at somewhat different rates. However, the changes in first suburbs are some of the most dramatic.

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[2] In this section, all races and ethnicities other than Hispanic refer to the non-Hispanic population. Therefore, "whites" refer to non-Hispanic whites. This is true for all but the 1980 Asian and Pacific Islander figures, for which disaggregation could not be accomplished.

[3] In 2000, Census allowed respondents to classify themselves as more than one race. In our report, these individuals are part of the "Non-Hispanic Other" category. Because of this change in Census' racial classification, it is possible that some non-Hispanic white individuals from 1990 chose to identify themselves as being part of two or more races in 2000. This may have reduced the decrease in the non-Hispanic white population observed in the first suburbs, however it is likely not a major factor. See Berube, 2003.

The share of the white population in first suburbs dropped about twice as fast as the national share since 1980. During the same time, the share of the black first suburban population increased faster that that for newer suburbs, the nation, and also the primary cities whose share declined. The increase in the share of Asians in first suburbs doubled the national rate and was equal with that in the primary cities.

The only deviation from these trends is with respect to the Hispanic population which increased its share in first suburbs since 1980 (by 8.3 percentage points) but not as much as in primary cities (10.9 percentage points). However, in absolute numbers, first suburbs and primary cities had about the same number of Hispanic residents in 2000. And the rate of increase in first suburbs was still much higher than the national rate.

From 1980 to 2000, blacks and Asians were each responsible for about a quarter of the population growth in first suburbs with Hispanics making up the other half.

3. The first suburbs with heavy concentrations of white residents are all in the Northeast and Midwest. Blacks are somewhat more evenly distributed while California's first suburbs dominate the list in terms of their Hispanic and Asian populations. Also, most first suburbs have smaller overall minority population shares than their respective primary cities, although several now have larger Hispanic and Asian shares.

In 2000, every one of the 31 first suburbs with the highest white population shares was located in the Northeast and Midwest. The top seven first suburbs on this measure all have white populations over 93 percent and are all located in Ohio, Pennsylvania, or Upstate New York.

But even in these cases, every first suburb's share of white residential population decreased from 1980 to 2000. Dade, Prince George's, and Dallas experienced the largest drops while Stark, Onondaga, Berks, Erie, and Trumbull saw the smallest and maintained white population shares at or above 90 percent.

From 1980 to 2000 almost every first suburb's residential share of blacks increased—albeit sometimes anemically or else from a very small base. Los Angeles and San Mateo are the only first suburbs that saw their shares decrease. In 1980, only nine first suburbs had a higher percentage of their population composed of blacks than the national average (11.5 percent). By 2000, 16 did. Since 1980, Prince George's has far outpaced the nation and other first suburbs as a home for black residents.

The Hispanic population of all first suburbs is concentrated in 3 places: Los Angeles, Orange, and Dade house over half of the total first suburban Hispanic residents. Nevertheless, from 1980 to 2000, the share of Hispanic residents increased in every first suburb. Eight saw their shares increase by more than 10 percentage points. California's first suburbs dominate the list in terms of their Hispanic populations. In 1980, five of the top seven first suburbs ranked by Hispanic population shares were in California. The other two were Dade and Hudson. In 2000 Dade (55.7 percent), Hudson (47.2 percent), Los Angeles (44.0 percent), Orange (30.8 percent), San Diego (27.7 percent), and Harris (26.9 percent) all had Hispanic population shares over 25 percent.

Ohio and Pennsylvania's first suburbs rank conspicuously low on the share of their population that is Hispanic. In 1980, only one of the 14 first suburbs in these states had a Hispanic share higher than one percent—and that was Bucks at 1.2 percent. By 2000, four of Pennsylvania first suburbs' Hispanic population climbed above 2 percent but all seven of Ohio's remained below.

These places also rank low in terms of Asian population. But so do some southern first suburbs of Hillsborough, Jefferson, and Dade. The highest percentages are found almost exclusively in the California, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C. area first suburbs. And half of the Asian population in the first suburbs can be found in the top five places: Alameda, San Mateo, Orange, Los Angeles, and Cook. In 2000, 15 percent of all Asians in the U.S. lived in these five first suburbs.

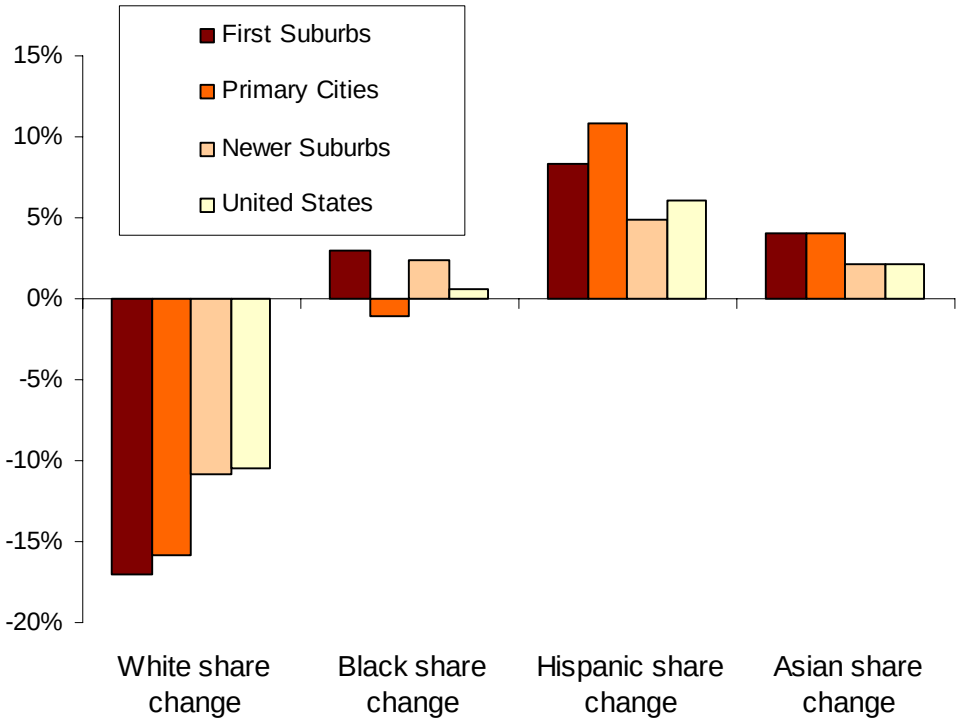
In 1980, in none of the 64 first suburbs was the percent of the white population lower than in the primary city. The only first suburbs that come close are Lackawanna and its city, Scranton (99.2 and 97.9 percent); and Westchester and Yonkers (81.1 and 78.8 percent). In 2000 one first suburb did have a lower percentage of white residents than the primary city: Prince George's (24.3 percent) and Washington, DC (27.8 percent).

In terms of the black population, the first suburb/primary city differences are essentially the reverse of whites. Only Westchester/Yonkers had a higher percentage of blacks in the first suburb than in the primary city in 1980: 12.3 percent versus 10.2 percent. The largest discrepancies were found in the Detroit, Washington, and St. Louis metropolitan areas with all three of Detroit's first suburbs showing a difference of 56 percentage points or greater compared to the primary city. In 2000, two first suburbs had a higher share of blacks than their cities: Prince George's (2.7 percentage points greater than Washington) and Union (2.0 percentage points greater than Elizabeth). The difference between shares in the primary city versus the first suburb increased to over 70 percentage points in the Detroit suburbs: Oakland, Wayne, and Macomb as well as Lake, outside Gary.

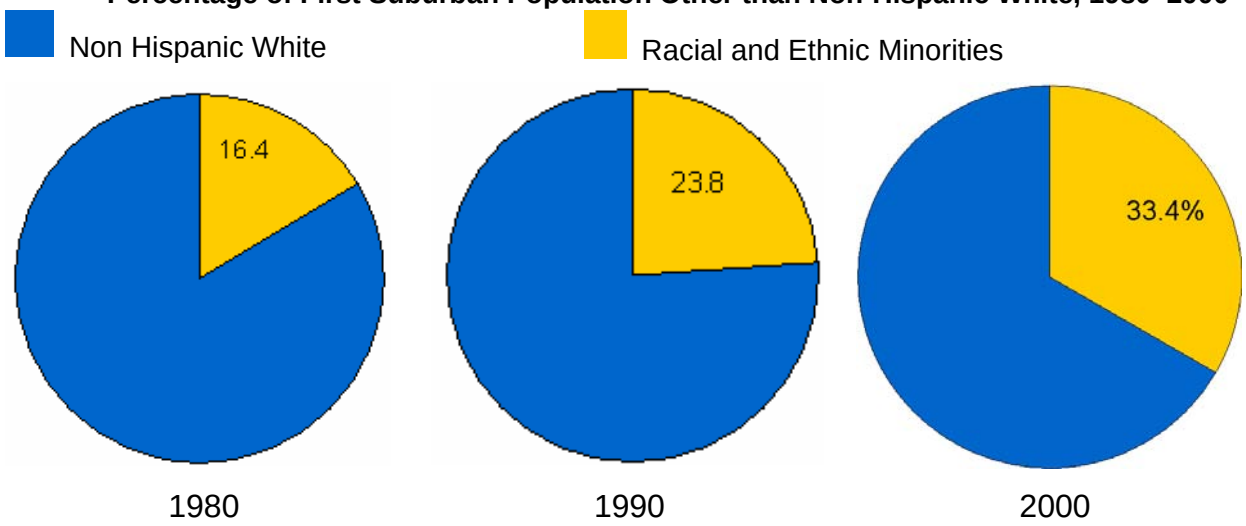
The share of Hispanic residents in Hudson was 12.4 percentage points greater than its primary city (Jersey City) in 1980. Nine other first suburbs also had a higher share of Hispanic residents than the primary city but only Alameda's was also over 5 percentage point difference. By 2000, eleven first suburbs shares were higher with Hudson, Arlington, Lake, and San Mateo all over 5 percentage points.

In 1980, only the Washington, D.C. first suburbs had Asian shares more than 1 percentage point higher than the primary city. But by 2000, 23 did with Montgomery, Alameda, and Arlington all over 6 percentage points greater.

Change in Share of Population by Race/Ethnicity, 1980–2000



Percentage of First Suburban Population Other than Non-Hispanic White, 1980–2000



Percentage of Population that is Non-Hispanic White, Ranked by Change in Share 1980–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Non-Hispanic white Population, 1980	Share, 1980	Non-Hispanic white Population, 2000	Share, 2000	Percent Change, 1980–2000	Percentage Point Change in Share 1980–2000
1	Stark, OH	271,643	95.6%	279,357	94.0%	2.8%	-1.7%
2	Trumbull, OH	224,592	92.9%	201,953	89.7%	-10.1%	-3.1%
3	Onondaga, NY	284,989	97.0%	291,671	93.8%	2.3%	-3.2%
4	Erie, NY	637,337	96.9%	616,026	93.7%	-3.3%	-3.2%
5	Berks, PA	229,887	98.3%	277,987	95.1%	20.9%	-3.3%
	First Suburbs	35,504,426	83.6%	34,886,430	66.6%	-1.7%	**-17.0%**
	Primary Cities	18,463,747	54.7%	14,105,603	38.9%	-23.6%	-15.8%
	Newer Suburbs	25,389,607	**89.8%**	31,884,588	**79.0%**	**25.6%**	-10.8%
	United States	180,256,366	79.6%	194,552,774	69.1%	7.9%	-10.4%
60	Orange, CA	1,510,698	78.2%	1,458,978	51.3%	-3.4%	-26.9%
61	Alameda, CA	491,327	74.1%	440,451	46.8%	-10.4%	-27.4%
62	Dade, FL	687,194	53.7%	422,875	22.4%	-38.5%	-31.4%
63	Dallas, TX	575,254	88.2%	572,540	55.6%	-0.5%	-32.6%
64	Prince George's, MD	383,215	57.6%	194,836	24.3%	-49.2%	-33.3%

Percentage of Population that is Non-Hispanic Black, Ranked by Change in Share 1980–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Non-Hispanic black Population, 1980	Share, 1980	Non-Hispanic black Population, 2000	Share, 2000	Percent change 1980–2000	Percentage Point Change in share 1980–2000
1	Prince George's, MD	246,084	36.9%	498,301	62.2%	102.5%	25.2%
2	Fulton, GA	20,517	12.4%	106,956	26.8%	421.3%	14.3%
3	Baltimore, MD	53,598	8.2%	150,456	19.9%	180.7%	11.8%
4	Essex, NJ	123,468	23.6%	177,800	34.2%	44.0%	10.5%
5	Dallas, TX	21,772	3.3%	140,892	13.7%	547.1%	10.3%
	First Suburbs	2,718,113	6.4%	4,898,562	9.3%	80.2%	**3.0%**
	Primary Cities	9,674,825	**28.7%**	10,001,033	**27.5%**	3.4%	-1.1%
	Newer Suburbs	1,643,109	5.8%	3,314,434	8.2%	**101.7%**	2.4%
	United States	26,104,173	11.5%	33,947,837	12.1%	30.0%	0.5%
60	Stark, OH	8,862	3.1%	10,164	3.4%	14.7%	0.3%
61	Orange, CA	24,411	1.3%	42,639	1.5%	74.7%	0.2%
62	Arlington, VA	13,852	9.1%	17,244	9.1%	24.5%	0.0%
63	Los Angeles, CA	390,603	9.4%	432,650	8.1%	10.8%	-1.3%
64	San Mateo, CA	34,730	5.9%	23,778	3.4%	-31.5%	-2.6%

Percentage of Population that is Hispanic, Ranked by Change in Share, 1980–2000

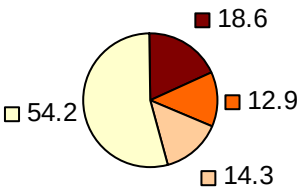
Rank	First Suburb	Hispanic Population, 1980	Share, 1980	Hispanic Population, 2000	Share, 2000	Percent change, 1980–2000	Percentage Point Change in share 1980–2000
1	Dade, FL	386,957	30.3%	1,053,386	55.7%	172.2%	25.5%
2	Dallas, TX	43,478	6.7%	240,142	23.3%	452.3%	16.6%
3	Hudson, NJ	103,491	31.0%	174,171	47.2%	68.3%	16.2%
4	Harris, TX	87,746	10.8%	388,886	26.9%	343.2%	16.1%
5	Orange, CA	286,339	14.8%	875,579	30.8%	205.8%	15.9%
	First Suburbs	3,135,825	7.4%	8,218,286	15.7%	162.1%	8.3%
	Primary Cities	4,301,941	**12.7%**	8,568,435	**23.6%**	99.2%	**10.9%**
	Newer Suburbs	842,210	3.0%	3,171,378	7.9%	**276.6%**	4.9%
	United States	14,608,673	6.4%	35,305,818	12.5%	141.7%	6.1%
60	Onondaga, NY	1,911	0.7%	3,407	1.1%	78.3%	0.4%
61	Summit, OH	1,198	0.4%	2,268	0.7%	89.3%	0.3%
62	Trumbull, OH	1,374	0.6%	1,794	0.8%	30.6%	0.2%
63	Allegheny, PA	4,979	0.5%	6,741	0.7%	35.4%	0.2%
64	Stark, OH	2,136	0.8%	2,486	0.8%	16.4%	0.1%

Percentage of Population that is Asian/Pacific Islander, Ranked by Change in Share, 1980–2000

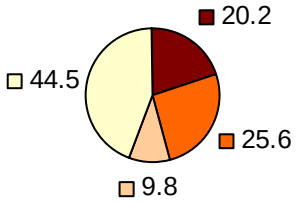
Rank	First Suburb	Asian Population, 1980	Share, 1980	Asian Population, 2000	Share, 2000	Percent change, 1980–2000	Percentage Point Change in Share 1980–2000
1	Alameda, CA	49,661	7.5%	222,011	23.6%	347.1%	16.1%
2	Middlesex, NJ	12,275	2.1%	103,994	13.9%	747.2%	11.8%
3	San Mateo, CA	56,305	9.6%	149,425	21.1%	165.4%	11.5%
4	Orange, CA	86,893	4.5%	391,896	13.8%	351.0%	9.3%
5	Bergen, CA	19,723	2.3%	94,116	10.6%	377.2%	8.3%
	First Suburbs	847,721	2.0%	3,219,267	6.1%	279.8%	4.1%
	Primary Cities	989,251	2.9%	2,550,668	7.0%	157.8%	4.1%
	Newer Suburbs	240,307	0.9%	1,228,254	3.0%	411.1%	2.1%
	United States	3,500,439	1.5%	10,476,678	3.7%	199.3%	2.2%
60	Berks, PA	884	0.4%	2,523	0.9%	185.4%	0.5%
61	St. Clair, IL	1,302	0.5%	2,362	0.9%	81.4%	0.4%
62	Stark, OH	802	0.3%	1,817	0.6%	126.6%	0.3%
63	Madison, IL	740	0.3%	1,565	0.6%	111.5%	0.3%
64	Trumbull, OH	806	0.3%	1,018	0.5%	26.3%	0.1%

Share of Racial/Ethnic Population Living in Specified Geography Type, 2000

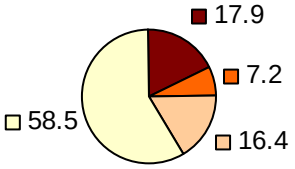
Total Population



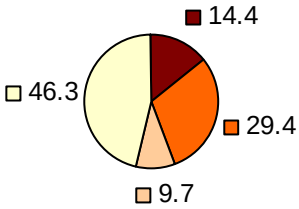
Non-White Population



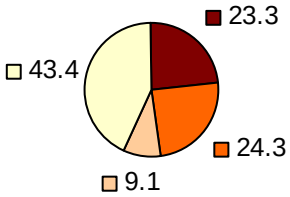
White Population



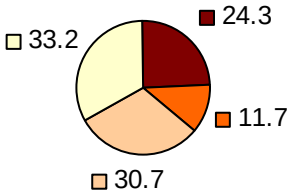
Black Population



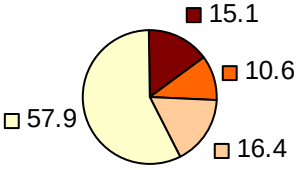
Hispanic Population

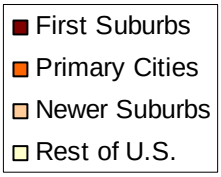


Asian Population



Other Population





C. Immigration

1. More and more, first suburbs are becoming destination points for immigrants to this country. In 2000, almost 29 percent of America's foreign born lived in first suburbs.

In 1950, the 10.3 million people that constituted the foreign-born population in the U.S. made up less than 7 percent of the total population. In 2000, there were 31.1 million foreign born, more than 11 percent of the total. That later figure has not been as high since the 1920s. And although immigrants to this country are historically linked with large central cities, by 2000 more metropolitan area immigrants lived in suburbs (Singer, 2005).

Nearly 70 percent of those suburban foreign-born residents are in first suburbs. First suburbs contained almost 29 percent of the nation's foreign-born population in 2000, up from 26 percent in 1970. Over 30 percent of the 21.5 million immigrants that came to this country from 1970 to 2000 settled in first suburbs.

2. First suburbs now have more immigrants than their primary cities, although the cities still lead in percent terms.

In sharp contrast to the first suburbs, the percentage of the nation's immigrants living in primary cities declined sharply from 1970 to 2000. The primary cities of the first suburbs went from having about 38 percent of the nation's foreign born to 28 percent during the same period. As a result, first suburbs now have more foreign-born residents (9.0 million) than their primary cities do (8.6 million). In 2000, thirteen of these cities had lower percentages of foreign born than their corresponding first suburbs. The newer suburbs contain just over 12 percent of the nation's foreign-born population.

3. First suburbs with large percentages of foreign born in 2000 are clustered in California, as well as the New York, Washington, and Miami metropolitan areas. The percentages of foreign-born residents in individual first suburbs track closely with the percentages in their corresponding primary cities.

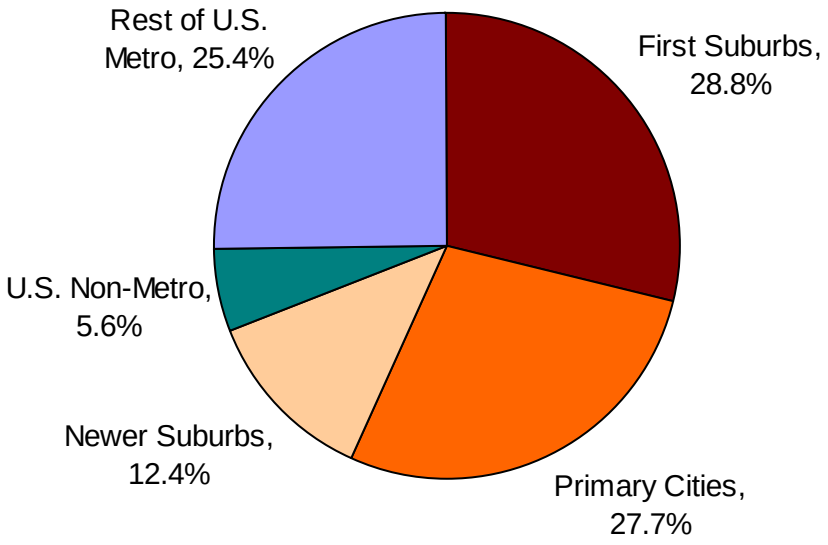
Dade had the highest percentage of its population foreign born in 2000 at nearly half. Hudson, Los Angeles, and San Mateo were the only other first suburbs with percentages at or over one-third. Fulton experienced, by far, the greatest percentage change in foreign born from 1970 to 2000. But it also started from a very small base. Of all the first suburbs, only Marion had a smaller number of foreign-born residents in 1970 (623) than Fulton (960). But by 2000, Fulton had more (51,267) than 27 other first suburbs.

In terms of absolute gains, no first suburb was even close to Los Angeles' increase of 1.46 million foreign-born residents from 1970 to 2000. Dade and Orange were the only two with increases over 320,000. These three places together made up one-third of the increase in foreign-born residents in first suburbs from 1970 to 2000.

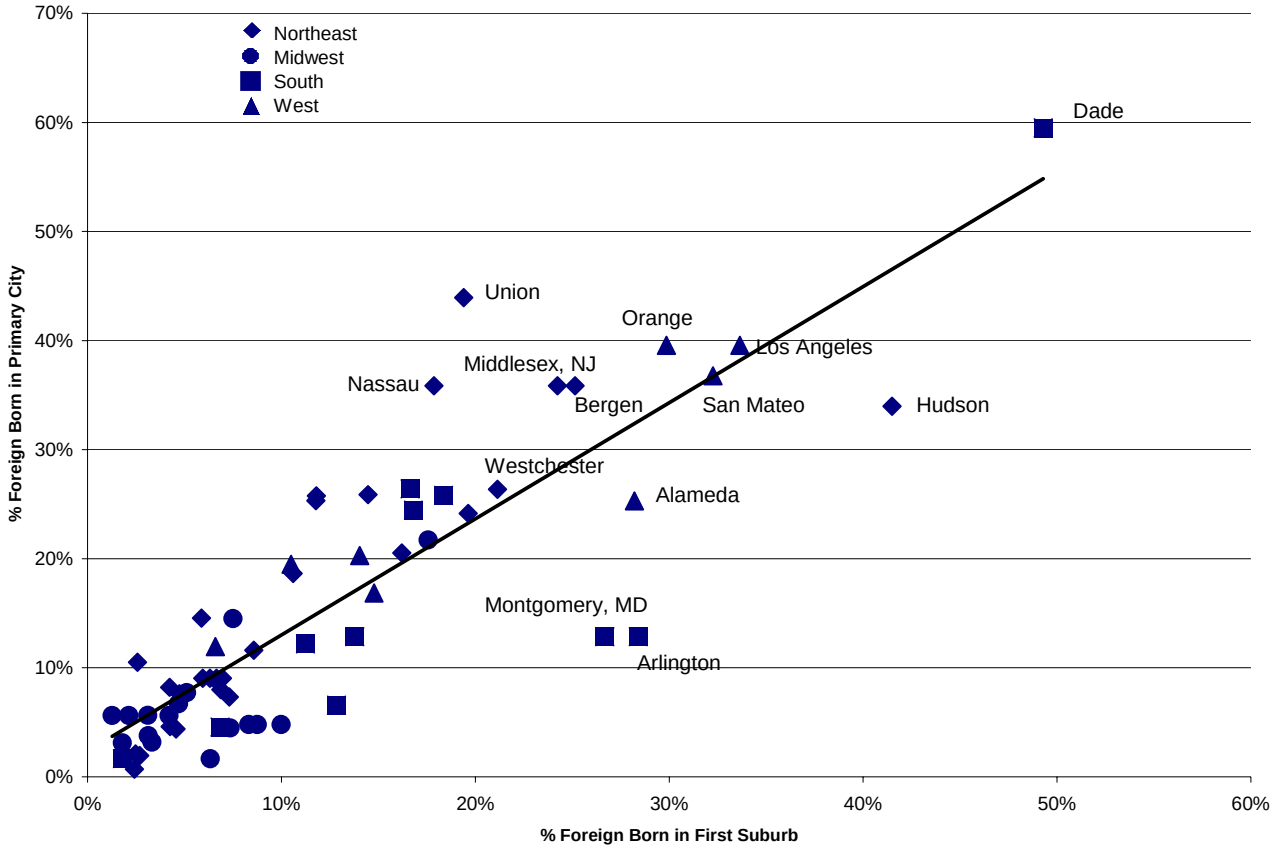
Six first suburbs actually lost foreign-born residents from 1970 to 2000. Three of the losses in first suburbs came in places with very small bases—but the losses in Cuyahoga, Erie, and Allegheny are notable. Allegheny alone lost 12,140 foreign-born residents from 1970 to 2000.

Generally, when a first suburb has a high percentage of foreign born, the primary city does as well. Conversely, when the figures are low for the first suburb, they are low for the city. In only eight cases did a primary city have a foreign-born population share more than 10 percentage points higher than its corresponding first suburb. Conversely, Washington, DC was the only primary city whose foreign-born share was at least 10 percentage points lower than that in its first suburbs (Arlington and Montgomery,MD).

U.S. Foreign Born by Geographic Area, 2000



Foreign Born in First Suburb and Corresponding Primary City, 2000



Percent Foreign Born, Ranked by Percentage Change 1970–2000

Rank	First Suburb	1970	2000	Percent Foreign born, 2000	Percent Change, 1970–2000	Percent Change in Corresponding Primary City, 1970–2000
1	Fulton, GA	960	51,267	12.8%	5,240.3%	397.4%
2	Dallas, TX	5,314	173,138	16.8%	3,158.2%	1,634.8%
3	Harris, TX	8,171	240,443	16.6%	2,842.7%	1,320.1%
4	Hillsborough, FL	5,373	78,124	11.2%	1,354.0%	133.0%
5	Maricopa, AZ	13,775	183,915	10.5%	1,235.1%	1,147.4%
	First Suburbs	2,465,573	8,966,882	17.1%	**263.7%**	--
	Primary Cities	3,623,931	8,629,646	23.8%	138.1%	--
	Newer Suburbs	917,561	3,870,882	9.6%	208.2%	--
	United States	9,619,302	31,107,889	11.0%	223.4%	--
60	Madison, IL	3,430	3,286	1.3%	-4.2%	32.9%
61	Erie, NY	32,369	30,030	4.6%	-7.2%	-61.4%
62	Allegheny, PA	41,532	29,392	3.1%	-29.2%	-35.7%
63	Trumbull, OH	7,808	4,089	1.8%	-47.6%	-81.0%
64	Lackawanna, PA	5,260	2,458	1.8%	-53.3%	-42.5%

D. Age

1. The elderly population in first suburbs increased at a rate double the overall first suburban population. Since 1970, the total number of children in first suburbs barely grew at all.

While much has been written about the graying of the population in recent years, this trend is especially acute in first suburbs. There are 5 million more elderly residents over 65 in first suburbs than there were in 1950 and 3.5 million more than in 1970. 12.5 percent of the residents in first suburbs were elderly in 2000 compared to just 7.7 percent in 1970.

From 1950 to 2000, the population over 65 increased in first suburbs twice as fast as the population as a whole (341.7 percent vs. 185.2 percent). But like overall population trends in first suburbs, that increase has slowed down considerably in the past 20 years. From 1980–2000 the change in the first suburban elderly population was only slightly higher than the national average.

The comparisons for children under 15 tell a different story. Combined, first suburbs have just 190,000 more children than they did 30 years ago.[4] And, over the same period, the number of children in primary cities declined by 1.2 million. The vast majority of the net increase in children nationally (2.4 million) since 1970 took place in the newer suburbs (2.2 million).

2. The percent of the elderly in first suburbs is increasing faster than the national rate. The percent of children is growing slower.

Nationally, the elderly population increased by 185.2 percent from 1950–2000 and by twice that in first suburbs. At the same time, the elderly population in primary cities increased only by 44.3 percent. The percentage of the population in 2000 that is elderly is higher in first suburbs than in primary cities, newer suburbs, and the nation as a whole.

In 2000, the percentage of the population under the age of 15 was almost identical for first suburbs (21.5), their primary cities (21.3) and the nation (21.4). However, while the national population of children increased by 4 percent since 1970, it declined in the primary cities (-13.1 percent) and increased only slightly in first suburbs (1.7 percent).

3. Individually, only 17 first suburbs saw an increase in the number of residents under age 15 from 1970 to 2000. But every first suburb saw some increase in the elderly population.

The percentage of residents age 65 and older increased in every first suburb from 1950 to 2000. Given the long time frame, and significant increases in Americans' life expectancy over this period, this is not overly surprising. But during the same time period, 17 of the corresponding primary cities lost elderly residents. In fact, every first suburb gained elderly residents faster than their primary cities (except Marion). In examining the

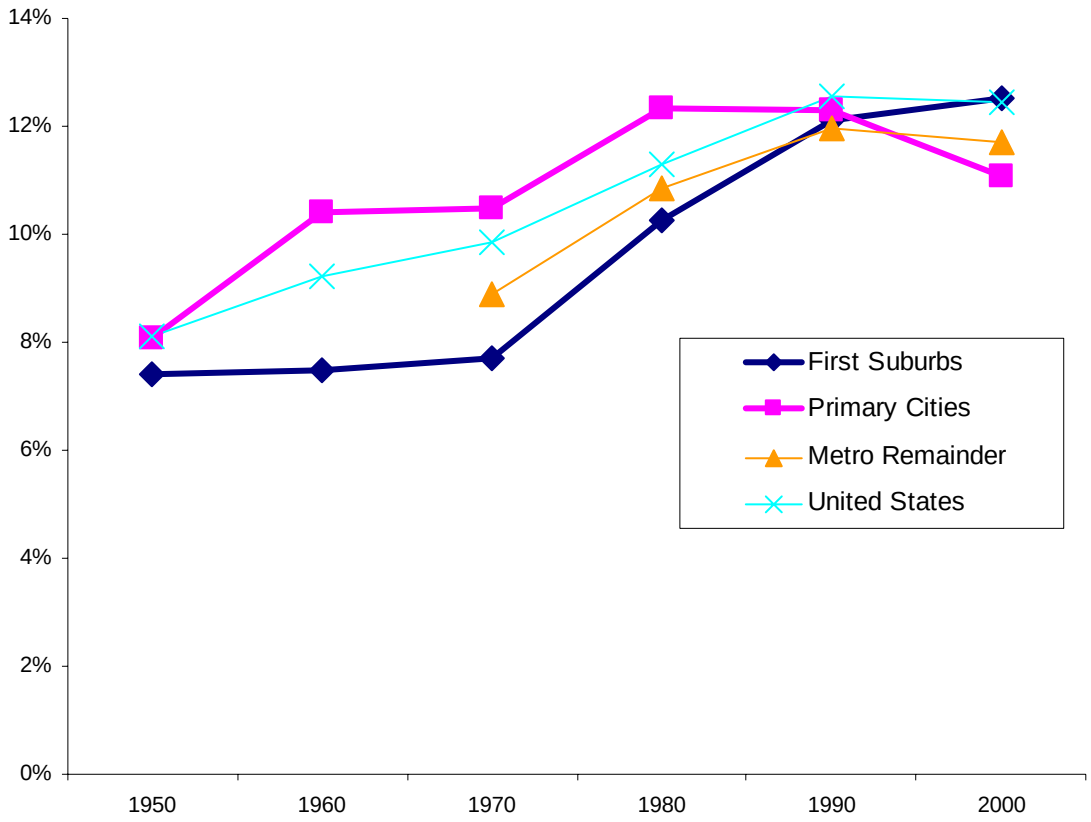
[4] For the age indicator, the discussion of the elderly population presents data as far back as 1950. The data for children only goes as far back as 1970.

actual numeric change of elderly residents from decade-to-decade, the only time individual first suburbs lost elderly residents was from 1990 to 2000 in Arlington, Essex, and Union.[5]

By 2000, the first suburbs with the highest percentages of elderly population were located exclusively in slow-growing places in the Northeast and Midwest. In total, 43 first suburbs had higher percentages of elderly than the national average. Only 3 of these—Maricopa, Jefferson and San Mateo—were located outside of the Northeast and Midwest. In 1950, only 17 first suburbs had elderly rates higher than the national average. From 1950–1960, 15 first suburbs gained elderly residents at a slower rate than the average for the primary cities. But from 1990–2000 only Arlington did.

Not coincidentally, the 10 first suburbs with the highest child growth rates from 1970–2000 were also the top ten in terms of overall population growth during that time. Six of the ten slowest growing in terms of children are also the slowest growing overall.

Percent of the Population that is Elderly (65 and older), by decade, 1950–2000



[5] Fulton lost 4,040 elderly residents from 1950 to 1960 after a large portion of it was annexed by Atlanta; and Marion also lost elderly from 1960-1970 after the merger.

Percent Population Age 65 and Older, by Select Decade, and Change 1950–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Percent, 1950	Rank	First Suburb	Percent, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percent Change, 1950–2000
1	Worcester, MA	9.9%	1	Lackawanna, PA	19.1%	1	Maricopa, AZ	2,066.5%
2	Norfolk, MA	9.8%	2	Allegheny, PA	18.3%	2	Dade, FL	1,342.7%
3	Middlesex, MA	9.7%	3	Cuyahoga, OH	17.2%	3	Orange, CA	1,237.4%
4	Orange, CA	9.7%	4	Erie, NY	17.0%	4	Macomb, MI	1,130.0%
5	Essex, NJ	9.2%	5	Milwaukee, WI	16.5%	5	Sacramento, CA	1,064.5%
	First Suburbs	7.4%		First Suburbs	12.5%		First Suburbs	**341.7%**
	Primary Cities	8.1%		Primary Cities	11.1%		Primary Cities	44.3%
	Newer Suburbs*	8.9%		Newer Suburbs	11.7%		Newer Suburbs	131.1%
	United States	**8.1%**		United States	**12.4%**		United States	185.2%
60	Macomb, MI	4.7%	60	Arlington, , VA	9.4%	60	St. Clair, IL	107.3%
61	Fulton, GA	4.6%	61	Prince George's, MD	7.7%	61	Middlesex, MA	94.1%
62	Arlington, VA	4.0%	62	Dallas, TX	7.4%	62	Hudson, NJ	68.2%
63	Prince George's, MD	4.0%	63	Fulton, GA	7.1%	63	Essex, NJ	60.4%
64	Harris, TX	3.9%	64	Harris, TX	6.1%	64	Marion, IN	28.8%

* Calculation for the Newer Suburbs is from 1970

Population Age 15 and Younger, Ranked by Change 1970–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Population Under Age 15, 1970	Population Under Age 15, 2000	Percent Population Under Age 15, 1970	Percent Population Under Age 15, 2000	Percent Change 1970–2000
1	Maricopa, AZ	111,997	376,898	29.0%	21.5%	236.5%
2	Fulton, GA	29,500	89,991	26.7%	22.5%	205.1%
3	Hillsborough, FL	63,138	149,442	29.7%	21.5%	136.7%
4	Harris, TX	164,492	373,836	32.3%	25.8%	127.3%
5	San Diego, CA	175,324	361,729	26.5%	22.7%	106.3%
	First Suburbs	11,074,966	11,266,109	28.4%	21.5%	1.7%
	Primary Cities	8,894,247	7,726,245	24.5%	21.3%	-13.1%
	Newer Suburbs	6,648,875	8,809,217	28.8%	**21.8%**	**32.5%**
	United States	57,900,052	60,253,375	28.5%	21.4%	4.1%
60	Wayne, MI	352,400	237,217	30.5%	21.4%	-32.7%
61	Trumbull, OH	67,978	45,175	29.2%	20.1%	-33.5%
62	Milwaukee, WI	95,063	62,799	28.2%	18.3%	-33.9%
63	Erie, NY	193,140	126,551	29.7%	19.2%	-34.5%
64	Allegheny, PA	290,150	177,636	26.7%	18.8%	-38.8%

E. Household Type and Size

1. From 1980 to 2000, the increase in traditional married households with children in first suburbs was less than the increase in female –headed households with children. And the number of so-called non-family households is now greater than any other type.

One of the more widely announced findings from Census 2000 was the decline of the traditional "nuclear" household (that is, married couples with children). Nationally, married-couple households declined from more than three out of every four households (78.2 percent) in 1950 to just over one-half (51.7 percent) in 2000. Married couples with children have decreased from 43.0 percent in 1950 to 23.5 percent in 2000(Hobbs and Stoops, 2002).

Like the rest of the country, the percentages of all households that are made up of married couples with children are decreasing in first suburbs: from 32.1 percent in 1980 to 27.3 percent in 1990 to 26.6 percent in 2000. In terms of absolute change, however, the number of married with children households in first suburbs increased, rising from 4.8 million in 1980 to 5.1 million in 2000.

By far, the largest numerical increase in first suburbs in terms of family type was in so-called "non-families." Non-family households are those maintained by one person living alone or with non-relatives only. First suburbs gained 2 million of these households from 1980–2000. The number of non-family households in first suburbs is now greater than any other household type. The largest percent change from 1980 to 2000 was in households of single males with children but overall figures are very small. More importantly, from 1980 to 2000 first suburbs gained more single female headed households with children (374,476) than married with children households (332,415).

Related to the discussion about household type is that of household size. Throughout the U.S., more households contained one person living alone than contained a married couple with children in 2000 and in first suburbs the average household size has fallen from 3.52 in 1950, to 3.23 in 1970, to 2.73 in 2000.

2. The changes in first suburban households are generally consistent with national trends but with some important differences.

In terms of the change in married couples with children households, the first suburbs rate of increase since 1980 is faster than the primary city rate but less than the nation and the newer suburbs. The first suburbs' rate of absolute change, however, outpaced the national rate as well as the primary cities' rate (which actually declined in numeric terms during that time.) The newer suburbs rate, however, was more than double the first suburbs'.

But in general, the percentage of first suburban households that are married couples with children has always been higher than that in the rest of the nation. The overall change in percentage terms of female-headed households was slightly less than the U.S. average but much higher than the change in the primary cities and the newer suburbs.

Only in 1950 was the average household size in first suburbs less than the national figure. The average household size in 2000 of 2.73 exceeded that of primary cities (2.63), newer suburbs (2.70), and the United States (2.67).[6]

3. Although some first suburbs are experiencing declines in married couple-with-children households, many are still home to a large number of these families. But Los Angeles was the only first suburb where average household size did not decline since 1950.

From 1980 to 2000, the change in the share of households that are married-with-children declined faster than the national rate in 38 first suburbs. Only Arlington saw any increase in the percentage of households that were married with children and that increase was less than one percent (and in 2000 Arlington still lagged every other first suburb in its share of households of this type).

In 2000, the only first suburb that had a higher percentage of female-headed households with children than the primary city average was Prince George's. But 17 others were above the average for the nation. On the other side of the Potomac from Prince George's, Arlington consistently ranked last among all first suburbs in terms of female-headed households. Arlington also had the highest share of non-family households in each decade, while Nassau always had the lowest.

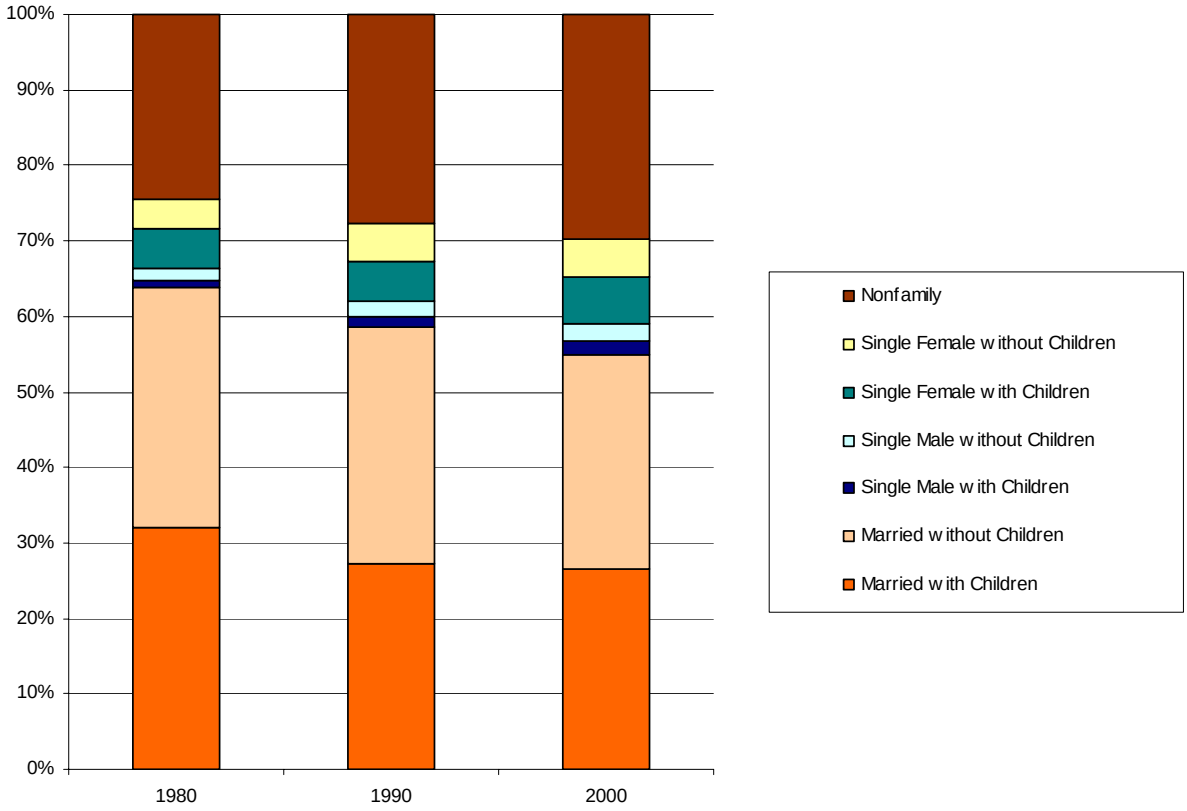
In 1950, 27 of the first suburbs had an average household size higher than the national average. By 2000, that number had slipped to 23. Only one first suburb's average household size increased between 1950 and 2000 with Los Angeles going from 3.15 to 3.16. Interestingly, Los Angeles, Orange, and Dade—which were ranked at the very bottom of all first suburbs in terms of household size in the 1950s—were ranked at the very top by 2000. This is not because their household size increased but, rather, their average size did not change much over those fifty years, unlike their first suburban counterparts. In fact, five of the top six first suburbs with the lowest changes in household size since 1950 are in California, owing to the larger households maintained by their significant immigrant populations. The greatest changes were in first suburbs that had very large households in 1950—such as Pierce, Burlington, and Fulton.

[6] Due to limitations in 1950 and 1960 data, a modified calculation for average household size was used to ensure consistent comparisons from decade to decade. Here, average household size is the total population divided by the number of occupied housing units.

First Suburban Households that are Married Couples with Children, 1980–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Percent change, 1980–2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change in Share, 1980–2000	Rank	First Suburb	2000
1	Maricopa, AZ	108.9%	1	Arlington, VA	0.7%	1	Harris, TX	35.7%
2	Fulton, GA	108.1%	2	Los Angeles, CA	-0.2%	2	Dallas, TX	31.4%
3	San Diego, CA	47.3%	3	San Mateo, CA	-0.4%	3	Nassau, NY	30.8%
4	Hillsborough, FL	44.2%	4	Dade, FL	-0.6%	4	Bucks, PA	30.0%
5	Harris, TX	43.9%	5	Orange, CA	-0.9%	5	Orange, CA	30.0%
	First Suburbs	7.0%		First Suburbs	-5.5%		First Suburbs	**26.6%**
	Primary Cities	-7.9%		Primary Cities	-2.8%		Primary Cities	17.7%
	Newer Suburbs	**17.0%**		Newer Suburbs	**-8.3%**		Newer Suburbs	**26.9%**
	United States	3.6%		United States	-6.5%		United States	24.3%
60	Montgomery, OH	-20.2%	60	Onondaga, NY	-10.9%	60	Allegheny, PA	21.6%
61	Lake, IN	-20.2%	61	Stark, OH	-11.1%	61	Providence, RI	21.5%
62	St. Clair, IL	-21.6%	62	Montgomery, OH	-11.5%	62	Cuyahoga, OH	21.3%
63	Allegheny, PA	-23.3%	63	Trumbull, OH	-12.6%	63	Hudson, NJ	20.0%
64	Trumbull, OH	-33.0%	64	Macomb, MI	-12.9%	64	Arlington, VA	15.5%

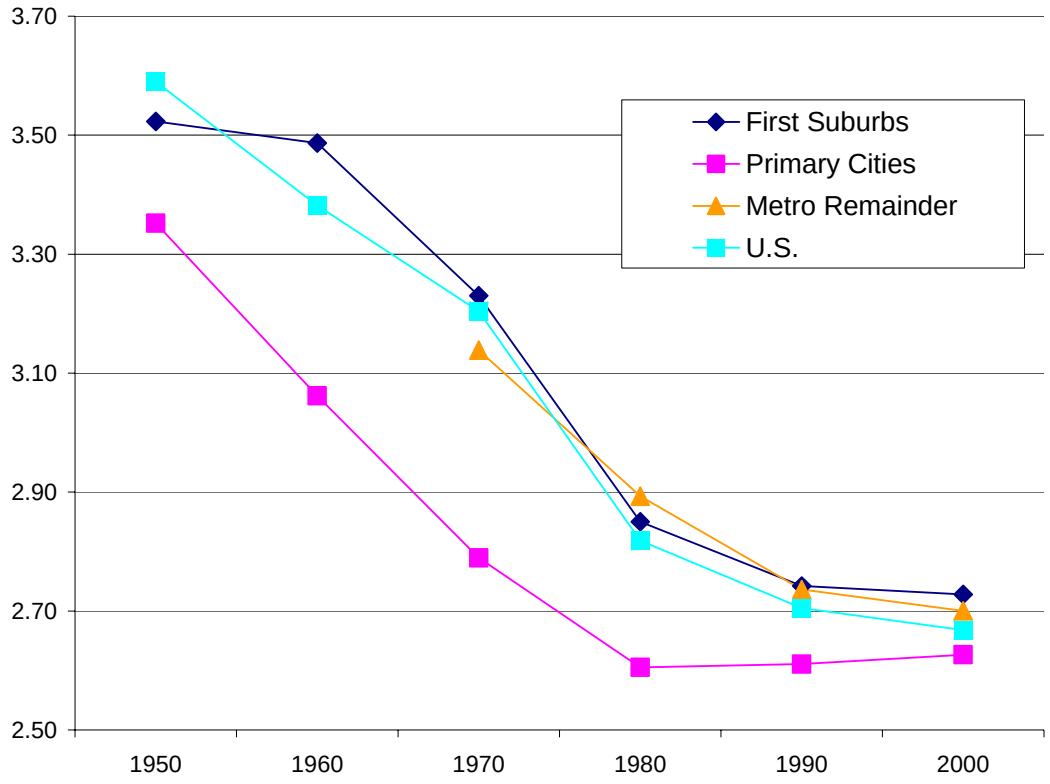
Household Types, First Suburbs, 1980–2000



Female Headed Households with Children, 1980–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Percent Change, 1980–2000	Rank	First Suburb	**Percentage Point** Change in Share, 1980–2000	Rank	First Suburb	2000
1	Maricopa, AZ	200.0%	1	Dade, FL	2.9%	1	Prince George's	11.4%
2	Harris, TX	188.4%	2	Harris, TX	2.7%	2	St. Clair, IL	10.0%
3	Fulton, GA	176.8%	3	Prince George's, MD	2.3%	3	Dade, FL	8.9%
4	Hillsborough, FL	170.7%	3	Marion, IN	2.3%	4	Marion, IN	8.1%
5	Pierce, WA	118.7%	5	St. Louis, MO	2.1%	4	Essex, NJ	8.1%
	First Suburbs	46.9%		First Suburbs	**0.8%**		First Suburbs	6.1%
	Primary Cities	12.6%		Primary Cities	0.6%		Primary Cities	**10.1%**
	Newer Suburbs	**59.0%**		Newer Suburbs	0.2%		Newer Suburbs	6.0%
	United States	49.4%		United States	0.9%		United States	7.0%
60	St. Clair, IL	6.3%	60	San Mateo, CA	-0.4%	60	Nassau, NY	4.0%
61	Westchester, NY	6.2%	60	Macomb, MI	-0.4%	60	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	4.0%
62	San Mateo, CA	4.7%	60	Middlesex, MA	-0.4%	60	Bergen, NJ	3.8%
63	Nassau, NY	1.3%	63	Alameda, CA	-0.5%	63	Berks, PA	3.4%
64	Arlington, VA	0.8%	64	Arlington, VA	-0.6%	64	Arlington, VA	3.1%

Average Household Size, 1950–2000



Household Size, 1950–2000

Rank	First Suburb	1950	Rank	First Suburb	2000	Rank	First Suburb	Change, 1950–2000
1	Pierce, WA	4.28	1	Los Angeles, CA	3.16	1	Los Angeles, CA	.02
2	Fulton, GA	4.18	2	Orange, CA	3.04	2	Orange, CA	-.07
3	Burlington, NJ	4.13	2	Nassau, NY	2.98	3	Dade, FL	-.29
4	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	3.86	2	Harris, TX	2.97	4	Alameda, CA	-.46
5	Jefferson, AL	3.83	5	Dade, FL	2.94	5	San Mateo, CA	-.52
	First Suburbs	3.52		First Suburbs	**2.73**		First Suburbs	-.80
	Primary Cities	3.35		Primary Cities	2.63		Primary Cities	-.73
	Newer Suburbs*	3.14		Newer Suburbs	2.70		Newer Suburbs	-.44
	United States	**3.59**		United States	2.67		United States	**-.92**
60	San Mateo, CA	3.30	60	Montgomery. OH	2.43	60	Jefferson, AL	-1.28
60	King, WA	3.25	60	Allegheny, PA	2.41	60	Milwaukee, WI	-1.33
62	Dade, FL	3.23	60	Cuyahoga, OH	2.40	62	Burlington, NJ	-1.39
62	Los Angeles, CA	3.15	60	Milwaukee, WI	2.36	63	Pierce, WA	-1.53
64	Orange, CA	3.12	64	Arlington, VA	2.19	64	Fulton, GA	-1.57

* Calculations for the Newer Suburbs are from 1970

F. Housing

1. The homeownership rate and average home value in first suburbs has always been high. Most of these homes were built between 1950 and 1980.

In 2000, homeownership in the U.S. was at its highest rate ever. Helped along by tremendously low interest rates, it is one of the bright spots in the nation's economy with homeownership rates for Hispanics and blacks also increasing to their highest levels ever (Cisneros and Katz, 2004). Nowhere are these trends more pronounced than in America's first suburbs.

The homeownership rate for the first suburbs averaged 67.8 percent in 2000 and, in the aggregate, has changed very little since 1950 when it was at 64.3 percent. Most of the increases in first suburban homeownership since 1950 came several decades ago. The change in homeownership from 1950 to 1970 was 3.7 percentage points. From 1970 to 1990 the rate of homeownership *dropped* slightly (by 1.5 percentage points) but recently the rate increased again: by 1.4 percentage points from 1990–2000.

The three decades from 1950 to 1980 also constitute the dominant period of housing construction in first suburbs which is when more than half of the total units were built. Of the current housing stock in first suburbs, more than half was built during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Combined with housing already on the ground in 1950, nearly three-quarters (72.2 percent) of the first suburban housing stock in 2000 was built before 1980

In terms of housing prices, the average first suburban house in the year 2000 was valued at $206,728—double what it was in 1970 (in year 2000 dollars). These high prices affected renters as well. Between 1970 and 2000, the share of first suburban renters facing high rent burdens (paying more than 35 percent of their incomes on rent) increased from 23.2 percent to 30.9 percent.

2. The homeownership rate in first suburbs rose three times slower than it did throughout the nation since 1950, trailing even the primary cities. Housing values are still higher in first suburbs than they are elsewhere, but that rate of increase is also relatively slow.

The first suburban homeownership rate of 67.8 percent in 2000 was slightly higher than the national rate of 66.2 percent but much lower than the rate in the newer suburbs (73.4 percent). But the national rate in 1950 was 55.0 percent so the change over the last 50 years was much more dramatic nationally.

In 2000, the average housing value in first suburbs was 36.1 percent higher than the U.S. average, 10.6 percent higher than primary cities, and 19.5 percent higher than the newer suburbs. This generally mirrors the trends over the last thirty years when first suburban housing was 47 percent more expensive than the national average.

Given that, when factoring for inflation the housing value growth for first suburbs lagged the primary cities and the national average from 1970–2000. Although the real value doubled in first suburbs over the last 30 years (102 percent) it rose 172 percent in cities, and 118 percent nationally.

Real rents rose 11.7 percent to $704 since 1970, compared to 26.6 percent in primary cities, 29.1 percent in the newer suburbs, and 22.2 percent for the nation. Part of the reason for this, clearly, is that the higher rents in first suburbs in 1970 (about 25 percent higher than the national average) caused a slower rise. By 2000, first suburban rents were only about 14.5 percent higher on average.

The increase in the share of renters experiencing high rent burdens in first suburbs (7.8 percentage points) was equal to the increase in primary cities but higher than the national increase (6.6 percentage points), and that occurring in the newer suburbs (6.7 percentage points). Overall though, a smaller percentage of first suburban renters have faced these burdens than in the primary cities and the nation generally in every decade since 1970.

3. Housing trends for first suburbs vary by geographic region. First suburbs in the South and West have considerably lower homeownership rates than the Northeast and Midwest.

On one hand, 13 first suburbs had extremely high homeownership rates—over 75 percent—in 2000. Only four first suburbs' homeownership rates trailed the national rate by more than 10 percentage points in 2000: Essex, Hudson, Los Angeles, and Arlington. On the other, twenty first suburbs did experience a drop in homeownership rates since 1950. In 1950, only eight had a homeownership rate lower than the national average, by 2000, eighteen did.

Of the 14 first suburbs that experienced large increases in the rate of homeownership since 1950 (that is, greater than 10 percentage points), only two (Maricopa and Worcester) saw any significant increase since 1990. And their increases since 1990 were only 5.3 and 3.3 percentage points respectively. Both Harris and Marion's rate increased by more than 6 percentage points since 1990 but their overall changes since 1950 are still negative.

Every first suburb in California saw a drop in its homeownership rate since 1950—except Alameda which remained stagnant. These places did not start with a high rate to begin with and every one trailed the national

rate in 2000. Only two Northeastern first suburbs' (Camden and Monroe) rates declined since 1950. In 2000 only one of the top 25 first suburbs in terms of homeownership rates (Jefferson) was in the South or West.

Not surprisingly, there is a stark difference in the age of the housing stock between the regions. Of the 18 first suburbs with more than half of their existing housing stock built before 1960, only one (Arlington) is in the South and none are in the West. By the same token, Burlington is the only Northeastern first suburb with less than the national average of pre-1960s housing stock.

The increase in housing values outpaced the national average in 19 first suburbs. Here there were wide varieties not just between the regions but even within states. New Jersey, New York, California, and Pennsylvania each had first suburbs near the top and also near the bottom ranked by real percent increase. All of Ohio's first suburbs saw increases less than the national average. No first suburb saw a decline in real housing values but three in New York (Erie, Onondaga, and Monroe) and two in Ohio (Cuyahoga, and Montgomery) experienced increases less than 33 percent.

In 2000, several first suburbs had some of the highest housing values in the nation. San Mateo, for example, had an average home value of nearly $540,000—two-and-a-half times the national average. Five other first suburbs: Fairfield, Westchester, Nassau in the New York metropolitan area and Alameda and Orange in California had housing values more than double. However, 24 other first suburbs had housing values under the national average. Some, like Madison and St. Clair, both on the Illinois side of St. Louis, are well below.

When accounting for inflation, 13 first suburbs saw a decrease in average rents since 1970 while 11 others saw increases of more than one-third. Naturally, those first suburbs that saw large increases in housing values also saw high increases in rents, and vice versa. But there were some anomalies: Lackawanna saw a 187.3 percent increase in housing values from 1970 to 2000 but only 17.2 percent increase in rents. Likewise, Berks' housing values increased by 115.5 percent but rents dropped more than any other first suburb: -26.8 percent (Berks had the third highest first suburban rent in 1970).

Although rents may be declining in real terms in first suburbs, the number of households with high rent burdens is still a concern in several places. Dade has led all first suburbs since 1970 in terms of the percent of households that are rent burdened. Each decade, Dade was the only first suburb where the percent of households with high rent burdens was over 40 percent.[7] Since 1990, though, Dade also experienced the smallest increase in those households. Only St. Clair saw a decline in the percent of rent burdened households.

[7] See Sohmer, 2004 explaining that high rent burdens in the Miami metropolitan area are function of both high housing costs and low household incomes.

Homeownership Rate, 1950, 2000 and Change

Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 1950	Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1950–2000
1	Hennepin, MN	85.1%	1	Nassau, NY	80.3%	1	Jefferson, AL	17.5%
2	Monroe, NY	82.3%	2	Berks, PA	80.2%	2	Hampden, MA	16.3%
3	Macomb, MI	81.0%	3	Macomb, MI	78.9%	3	Worcester, MA	15.6%
4	Marion, IN	79.5%	4	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	78.1%	4	Westchester, NY	15.3%
5	Oakland, MI	77.8%	5	Summit, OH	77.9%	5	Lackawanna, PA	13.9%
	First Suburbs	64.2%		First Suburbs	67.8%		First Suburbs	3.6%
	Primary Cities	37.9%		Primary Cities	42.6%		Primary Cities	4.7%
	Newer Suburbs*	66.6%		Newer Suburbs	73.4%		Newer Suburbs	6.7%
	United States	55.0%		United States	66.2%		United States	11.2%
60	Lackawanna, PA	50.1%	60	Providence, RI	59.7%	60	Sacramento, CA	-7.9%
61	Westchester, NY	49.6%	60	Essex, NJ	56.0%	61	King, WA	-9.5%
62	Providence, RI	48.5%	61	Los Angeles, CA	55.5%	62	San Mateo, CA	-10.8%
63	Arlington, VA	42.2%	63	Arlington, VA	43.3%	63	Hennepin, MN	-10.8%
64	Hudson, NJ	28.9%	63	Hudson, NJ	32.2%	64	Marion, IN	-12.8%

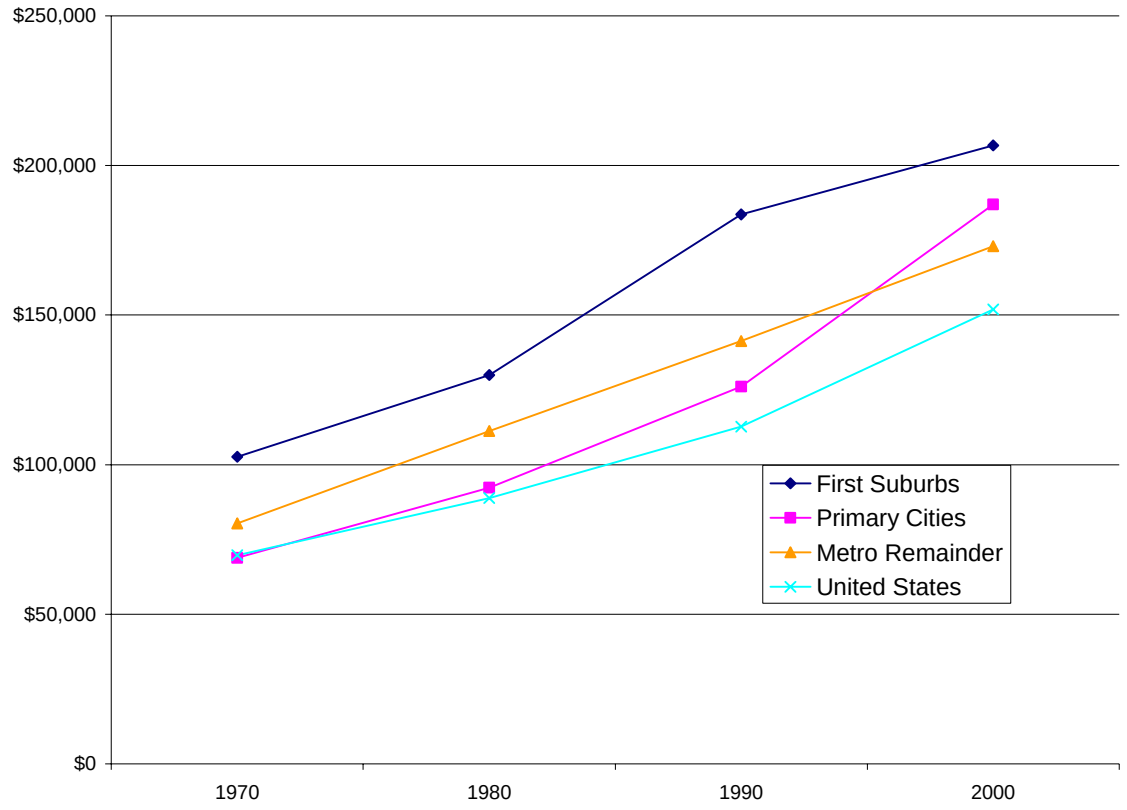
* Calculations for the Newer Suburbs are from 1970

Percentage of Housing Stock in First Suburbs Built Before 1960 (in rank order), 2000

More than 50% of Units Built Before 1960	Between 35% and 50% of Units Built Before 1960	Less than 35% of Units Built Before 1960
Nassau, NY	Trumbull, OH	Marion, IN
Union, NJ	Worcester, MA	Oakland, MI
Essex, NJ	New Haven, CT	Franklin, OH
Delaware, PA	Fairfield, CT	Macomb, MI
Hudson, NJ	Lake, IN	Burlington, NJ
Westchester, NY	Madison, IL	Hennepin, MN
Bergen, NJ	San Mateo, CA	Jefferson, AL
Allegheny, PA	Hartford, CT	Prince George's, MD
Middlesex, MA	Montgomery, PA	Montgomery, MD
Providence, RI	Alameda, CA	Dade, FL
Norfolk, MA	Los Angeles, CA	Sacramento, CA
Lackawanna, PA	Berks, PA	King, WA
Cuyahoga, OH	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	Pierce, WA
Hampden, MA	Stark, OH	Orange, CA
Erie, NY	St. Clair, IL	San Diego, CA
Wayne, MI	Hamilton, OH	Dallas, TX
Milwaukee, WI	Onondaga, NY	Harris, TX
Arlington, VA	Camden, NJ	Hillsborough, FL
	Cook, IL	Fulton, GA
	Summit, OH	Maricopa, AZ
	Baltimore, MD	
	Middlesex, NJ	
	St. Louis, MO	
	Bucks, PA	
	Monroe, NY	
	Montgomery, OH	

First Suburb Average: 38.0%	Primary City Average: **58.7%**	Newer Suburbs Average: 27.1%	U.S. Average: 35.0%

Average Real Housing Value



Average Real Housing Value, 1970, 2000 and Change (Adjusted to 2000 dollars)

Rank	First Suburb	Value, 1970	Rank	First Suburb	Value, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Change, 1970–2000
1	Fairfield, CT	$155,863	1	San Mateo, CA	$539,066	1	Hudson, NJ	395.6%
2	Westchester, NY	$153,267	2	Fairfield, CT	$395,651	2	San Mateo, CA	280.3%
3	Montgomery, MD	$151,270	3	Westchester, NY	$386,805	3	Alameda, CA	207.8%
4	San Mateo, CA	$141,757	4	Alameda, CA	$343,012	4	Middlesex, MA	203.7%
5	Nassau, NY	$137,741	5	Orange, CA	$305,693	5	Lackawanna, PA	187.3%
	First Suburbs	**$102,616**		First Suburbs	**$206,728**		First Suburbs	101.5%
	Primary Cities	$68,813		Primary Cities	$186,946		Primary Cities	**171.7%**
	Newer Suburbs	$80,392		Newer Suburbs	$173,011		Newer Suburbs	115.2%
	United States	$69,753		United States	$151,910		United States	117.8%
60	Berks, PA	$61,129	60	Allegheny, PA	$112,026	60	Erie, NY	33.5%
61	St. Clair, IL	$55,616	60	Onondaga, NY	$108,312	61	Cuyahoga, OH	32.9%
62	Hillsborough, FL	$54,984	61	Trumbull, OH	$97,962	62	Montgomery, OH	31.5%
63	Lackawanna, PA	$42,099	63	Madison, IL	$93,049	63	Onondaga, NY	30.1%
64	Hudson, NJ	$40,343	63	St. Clair, IL	$90,074	64	Monroe, NY	14.9%

Average Real Housing Value Category, by Category (in rank order), 2000

Greater than $200,000	Between $150,000 and $200,000	Lower than $150,000
San Mateo, CA	Hudson, NJ	Milwaukee, WI
Fairfield, CT	Bucks, PA	Macomb, MI
Westchester, NY	Hennepin, MN	Wayne, MI
Alameda, CA	Middlesex, NJ	Lehigh/Northampton, PA
Orange, CA	Worcester, MA	Hampden, MA
Nassau, NY	New Haven, CT	Jefferson, AL
Bergen, NJ	Pierce, WA	Providence, RI
Middlesex, MA	Franklin, OH	Camden, NJ
Norfolk, MA	Sacramento, CA	Berks, PA
Montgomery, MD	Hartford, CT	Monroe, NY
King, WA	Maricopa, AZ	Montgomery, OH
Arlington, VA	Baltimore, MD	Stark, OH
Essex, NJ	Burlington, NJ	Dallas, TX
Los Angeles, CA	Cuyahoga, OH	Lake, IN
San Diego, CA	St. Louis, MO	Marion, IN
Fulton, GA	Hamilton, OH	Lackawanna, PA
Union, NJ	Delaware, PA	Harris, TX
Oakland, MI	Prince George's, MD	Hillsborough, FL
Cook, IL	Summit, OH	Erie, NY
Montgomery, PA	Dade, FL	Allegheny, PA
		Onondaga, NY
		Trumbull, OH
		Madison, IL
		St. Clair, IL

First Suburbs Average: **$206,728**	Primary City Average: $186,946	Newer Suburbs: $173,011	U.S. Average: $151,910

Average Real Monthly Rent, 1970, 2000 and Change (Adjusted to 2000 dollars)

Rank	First Suburb	Real Rent, 1970	Rank	First Suburb	Real Rent, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percent Change 1970–2000
1	Nassau, NY	$797	1	San Mateo, CA	$1,201	1	Westchester, NY	59.3%
2	Montgomery, MD	$792	2	Westchester, NY	$1,118	2	San Mateo, CA	58.3%
3	Berks, PA	$778	3	Alameda, CA	$1,011	3	Alameda, CA	53.3%
4	Hennepin, MN	$770	4	Fairfield, CT	$993	4	Hudson, NJ	48.3%
5	Oakland, MI	$769	5	Arlington,, VA	$988	5	Arlington, VA	44.5%
	First Suburbs	**$630**		First Suburbs	**$704**		First Suburbs	11.7%
	Primary Cities	$536		Primary Cities	$678		Primary Cities	26.6%
	Newer Suburbs	$532		Newer Suburbs	$687		Newer Suburbs	**29.1%**
	United States	$503		United States	$615		United States	22.2%
60	Worcester, MA	$441	60	Stark, OH	$499	60	St. Louis, MO	-7.5%
61	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	$433	60	St. Clair, IL	$499	61	Cuyahoga, OH	-7.7%
62	Providence, RI	$406	62	Madison, IL	$472	62	Montgomery, OH	-7.8%
63	Jefferson, AL	$403	63	Trumbull, OH	$436	63	Macomb, MI	-12.0%
64	Lackawanna, PA	$354	64	Lackawanna, PA	$415	64	Berks, PA	-26.8%

Households Paying 35 Percent or More of Income on Rent, 1970, 2000 and Change

Rank	First Suburb	% Rent Burdened, 1970	Rank	First Suburb	% Rent Burdened, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change 1970–2000
1	Dade, FL	40.7%	1	Dade, FL	41.3%	1	Camden, NJ	15.9%
2	St. Clair, IL	33.0%	2	Los Angeles, CA	36.1%	2	Erie, NY	13.4%
3	Nassau, NY	30.8%	3	San Diego, CA	35.7%	3	Baltimore, MD	12.1%
4	San Diego, CA	29.2%	4	Nassau, NY	34.7%	4	Lake, IN	12.0%
5	Maricopa, AZ	27.9%	5	Orange, CA	34.6%	5	Trumbull, OH	11.7%
	First Suburbs	23.2%		First Suburbs	30.9%		First Suburbs	7.8%
	Primary Cities	27.1%		Primary Cities	34.9%		Primary Cities	7.8%
	Newer Suburbs	23.1%		Newer Suburbs	29.8%		Newer Suburbs	6.7%
	United States	25.3%		United States	31.9%		United States	6.6%
60	Montgomery, OH	16.3%	60	Stark, OH	25.0%	60	Hennepin, MN	3.0%
61	Lackawanna, PA	15.9%	60	Dallas, TX	25.0%	61	Oakland, MI	2.7%
62	Baltimore, MD	15.7%	62	Franklin, OH	24.9%	62	Norfolk, MA	1.6%
63	Berks, PA	14.2%	63	Berks, PA	24.8%	63	Dade, FL	0.6%
64	Camden, NJ	11.3%	64	Arlington, VA	24.0%	64	St. Clair, IL	-1.8%

G. Education Attainment

1. Educational attainment rates for first suburbs have always been high. However, there are stark racial variations.

Research by economist Edward Glaeser and others has shown that an already highly educated population tends to attract other talented workers with high levels of education (Glaeser, 1995 and 2000). This is evident in first suburbs.

In first suburbs, the percentage of adults age 25 and older who had completed high school was 63.6 percent in 1970. That figure rose steadily over the next thirty years and by 2000, 83.5 percent of first suburban residents had a high school diploma. Similar trends exist for bachelor's degree attainment rates which doubled from 14.5 percent in 1970 to 30.6 percent in 2000.

In first suburbs, Asian educational attainment levels were higher for each racial category in all years—except in 2000 when white high school attainment crept ahead. But some of these gaps are decreasing over time—the percentages of whites, blacks, and Asians who completed high school went from 74.8, 67.4, and 83.2 percent respectively in 1980 to 86.1, 81.8, and 84.9 percent in 2000. (The Asian rate actually changed very little during that time.) But other contrasts are much sharper: these same rates for Hispanics were only 50.6 in 1980 and 55.1 in 2000. Hispanic educational attainment lagged the other groups by a considerable margin in each year, reflecting in part the influence of recent immigration to first suburbs among Hispanic workers with lower education levels.

College degree attainment rates tell a similar story. Whites saw the largest change from 1980 to 2000 (11.1 percentage points) but their overall rate in 2000 (31.9) still trailed Asians (49.6) considerably. The change in rates for blacks and Asians were nearly identical (7.8 and 7.4 percentage points respectively). Hispanics saw the smallest increase during that time—only 2.5 percentage points—and in 2000 their rates remain very low (12.2).

2. The first suburbs have almost always outpaced their primary cities, the newer suburbs, and the nation in terms of educational attainment.

In each decade, first suburban populations had greater high school diploma and bachelor's degree attainment rates than those in the other geography types. However, the gap between first suburbs and the rest of the nation has gotten smaller over the last thirty years, and the percentage of adults in newer suburbs who completed high school is now higher than that in first suburbs. First suburbs still have higher college degree attainment rates, but since 1970 the increase in the newer suburbs (17.0 percentage points) was slightly higher than the first suburban and primary city increase (16.1 and 15.4 percentage points, respectively).

But there are racial variations here as well. Whites in first suburbs were more highly educated than those in other parts of the metropolitan area in 1970. But in 1990 and 2000, the high school completion rate for whites in newer suburbs exceeded the rate for the first suburbs—if only by a small amount. Since 1980, whites in primary cities have had higher college degree attainment rates than their counterparts in first suburbs, newer suburbs, and the nation generally.

Blacks in first suburbs, on the other hand, have always had higher attainment rates than blacks in other parts of the metropolitan area. The highest educational attainment levels for Asians were found in first suburbs in each decade—but for bachelor's degrees, the highest rates are in newer suburbs. Hispanic rates of high school completion and college degree attainment have been highest in newer suburbs in each decade.

3. Since 1970 no first suburb saw declines in educational attainment indicators for whites, but drops for Hispanics, blacks, and Asians were common.

In 2000, 49 of the 64 first suburbs have bachelor's degree attainment rates higher than the national average of 24.4 percent – up from 48 in 1970. Arlington (60.2), Montgomery (MD) (54.6), and Fulton (48.4) are more than double the national average. Only 12 first suburbs had a lower percentage of their adults complete a four-year college degree than their primary cities.

Those first suburbs with the largest changes in bachelor's rates since 1970 are not just those that started out with the lowest rates. Arlington, Fulton, and Fairfield all ranked in the top 5 in both 1970 and 2000 and also experienced the largest increases over that time. Conversely, St. Clair, Lake, and Trumbull all had low rates in both 1970 and 2000. But the opposite seems to hold true for high school completion rates. Madison, Berks, and, St. Clair each increased their rates the most since 1970 after starting out with rates among the lowest.

In 2000, 58 of the 64 first suburbs had higher percentages of adults completing high school than the national average – the same number of first suburbs as in 1970. And in 2000 only Providence, Los Angeles, Dade, and Hudson trailed the national average by more than one percentage point. Only three first suburbs—

San Diego, Middlesex (MA), and Hudson—have adult populations with a lower high school completion rate than their primary cities.

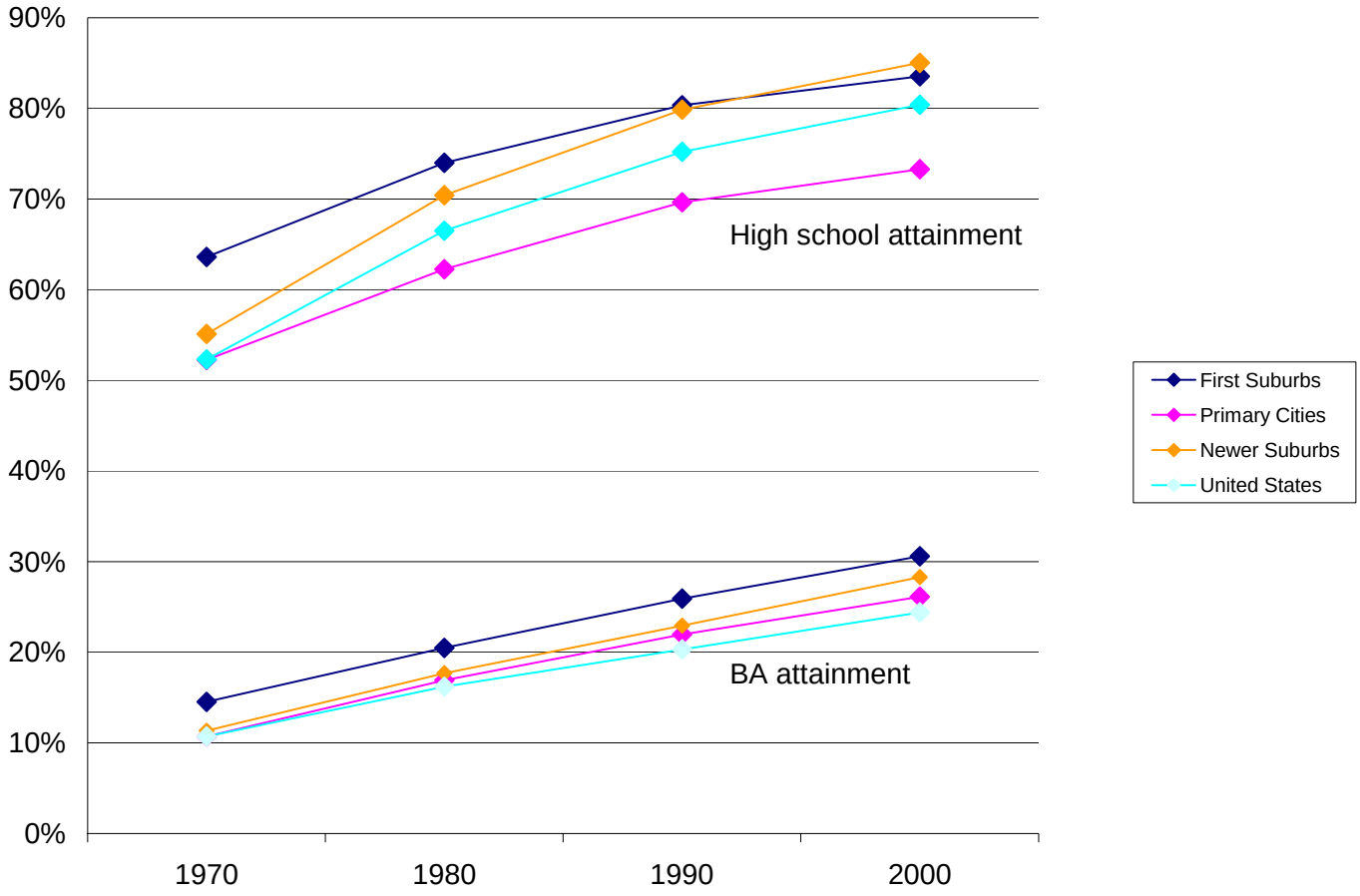
But these generally positive overall trends are not the same for blacks and Hispanics. No first suburb or primary city saw a decrease in the bachelor's degree attainment rate among white residents from 1980 to 2000. [8] However, eight first suburbs did see such a decrease among their black populations. Fourteen saw a drop in the rate for Hispanics and nine saw a drop in the rate for Asians.

Separating these figures by race in individual first suburbs reveal interesting trends. Fulton, for example, had the third highest share of its adults completing a college degree among all first suburbs in 2000 and, since 1980, the share of white and Asian residents with such degrees doubled. During that same time bachelor's degree attainment rates for Fulton's blacks and Hispanics fell by 15.9 and 7.3 percentage points, respectively. Fulton's overall college degree attainment rate increased by 19.5 percentage points from 1980 to 2000.

No first suburb and only one primary city (Miami) saw a decrease in the share of white residents who completed high school from 1980 to 2000. But in four first suburbs the corresponding rate for blacks declined from 1980 to 2000. Sixteen saw a drop in high school completion rates for Hispanic adults and eleven saw a drop in rates for Asian adults. These stark disparities are evident in Hennepin, which led all first suburbs with 93.4 percent of the population over 25 having a high school diploma in 2000, up from 86.5 percent in 1980. However, since 1980 the shares of black, Hispanic, and Asian adults who had completed high school declined by 2.7, 10.4, and 5.1 percentage points, respectively.

[8] Figures for Bachelor's and high school attainment by race are available only as far back as 1980.

High School Graduation Rates and BA Attainment Rates, 1970–2000



High School Completion Rates, Population 25 and Older, 1970–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 1970	Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1970–2000
1	Montgomery, MD	80.9%	1	Hennepin, MN	93.4%	1	St. Clair, IL	35.7%
2	Arlington, VA	79.1%	2	Fulton, GA	91.4%	2	Madison, IL	35.3%
3	Hennepin, MN	78.2%	3	Norfolk, MA	91.3%	3	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	33.7%
4	King, WA	74.2%	4	King, WA	90.7%	4	Berks, PA	33.0%
5	Norfolk, MA	74.1%	5	Montgomery, MD	90.3%	5	Lackawanna, PA	31.4%
	First Suburbs	**63.6%**		First Suburbs	83.5%		First Suburbs	19.9%
	Primary Cities	52.2%		Primary Cities	73.3%		Primary Cities	21.1%
	Newer Suburbs	55.1%		Newer Suburbs	**85.0%**		Newer Suburbs	**29.9%**
	United States	52.3%		United States	80.4%		United States	28.1%
60	Madison, IL	49.0%	60	Orange, CA	79.5%	60	Dade, FL	11.6%
61	Berks, PA	48.7%	61	Providence, RI	74.5%	61	Montgomery, MD	9.4%
62	Providence, RI	45.8%	62	Los Angeles, CA	72.0%	62	Arlington, VA	8.7%
63	St. Clair, IL	45.2%	63	Dade, FL	71.0%	63	Los Angeles, CA	8.0%
64	Hudson, NJ	40.8%	64	Hudson, NJ	69.4%	64	Orange, CA	7.5%

Bachelor's Degree Attainment Rates, Population 25 and Older, 1970–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 1970	Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1970–2000
1	Montgomery, MD	33.8%	1	Arlington, VA	60.2%	1	Arlington, VA	29.9%
2	Arlington, VA	30.4%	2	Montgomery, MD	54.6%	2	Fulton, GA	27.2%
3	Westchester, NY	24.7%	3	Fulton, GA	48.4%	3	Middlesex, MA	25.3%
4	Fairfield, CT	21.2%	4	Westchester, NY	45.1%	4	Norfolk, MA	24.6%
5	Fulton, GA	21.1%	5	Fairfield, CT	44.4%	5	Fairfield, CT	23.2%
	First Suburbs	14.5%		First Suburbs	**30.6%**		First Suburbs	16.1%
	Primary Cities	10.7%		Primary Cities	26.1%		Primary Cities	15.4%
	Newer Suburbs	11.3%		Newer Suburbs	28.3%		Newer Suburbs	**17.0%**
	United States	**10.7%**		United States	24.4%		United States	13.7%
60	St. Clair, IL	6.7%	60	St. Clair, IL	19.3%	60	Sacramento, CA	10.3%
61	Lake, IN	6.6%	61	Madison, IL	19.2%	61	Macomb, MI	10.3%
62	Trumbull, OH	6.6%	62	Lake, IN	17.7%	62	Prince George's, MD	9.6%
63	Hudson, NJ	5.8%	63	Macomb, MI	17.6%	63	Pierce, WA	9.5%
64	Lackawanna, PA	5.8%	64	Trumbull, OH	14.5%	64	Trumbull, OH	7.8%

First Suburbs with a Drop in Adult High School Completion Rates, by Race, 1980–2000

Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
Fulton, GA	Arlington, VA	Camden, NJ*
Hennepin, MN*	Cook, IL*	Dallas, TX
Lackawanna, PA**	Dallas, TX*	Delaware, PA
Milwaukee, WI	Erie, NY	Harris, TX
	Franklin, OH	Hartford, CT*
	Fulton, GA	Hennepin, MN*
	Hennepin, MN	Los Angeles, CA*
	King, WA	Middlesex, MA
	Marion, IN	Monroe, NY*
	Montgomery, MD	Orange, CA*
	Nassau, NY*	Providence, RI
	Orange, CA*	
	Pierce, WA*	
	Prince George's, MD	
	San Mateo, CA	
	Westchester, NY*	

*drop was not more than 5 percentage points
**Lackawanna's total black (191), Hispanic (330), and Asian (570) 25-and-over populations were very small in 2000.

First Suburbs with a Drop in BA Rates, by Race, 1980–2000

Black BA rates	Hispanic BA rates	Asian BA rates
Berks, PA	Arlington, VA*	Bergen, NJ*
Fulton, GA	Baltimore, MD	Camden, NJ
Hennepin, MN	Berks, PA	Dallas, TX
King, WA*	Camden, NJ	Delaware, PA
Lackawanna, PA**	Cook, IL	Harris, TX
Milwaukee, WI	Dallas, TX	Hartford, CT*
Monroe, NY	Erie, NY	Lackawanna, PA**
Onondaga, NY	Fulton, GA	Macomb, MI
	King, WA	Montgomery, OH
	Lackawanna, PA**	
	Marion, IN	
	Monroe, NY	
	Montgomery, MD	
	Prince George's, MD	

*drop was not more than 5 percentage points
**Lackawanna's total black (191), Hispanic (330), and Asian (570) 25-and-over populations were very small in 2000.

H. Income and Poverty

1. While first suburbs are very wealthy with relatively low rates of poverty, warning signs loom: median income did not grow in first suburbs during the 1990s, poverty rates vary greatly by race, and concentrated poverty is increasing at an alarming pace.

On the whole first suburbs are home to a great deal of wealth in this country. In 2000, 57 of the 64 first suburbs had median household incomes above the national average. Nine first suburbs (Fairfield, Nassau, Montgomery (MD), Westchester, San Mateo, Bergen, Alameda, Norfolk, and Arlington) have incomes more than 50 percent higher. But this does mask some important trends in the last two decades. Real household incomes in first suburbs actually remained stagnant in the 1990s—a period of considerable economic expansion in this country. This is a sharp contrast to the 1980s when first suburbs' real income rose 7.7 percent.

Since 1970 poverty rates in first suburbs have generally been very low—in 1980 the proportion of first suburban residents living below the poverty line was less than half the national average and by 2000, it was still about one-third less. While historically low, however, poverty rates in first suburbs have been steadily rising despite a decrease nationally.

But these poverty rates in first suburbs also vary by race and ethnicity; blacks and Hispanics are two and three times more likely to be poor than whites. Those rates are, however, changing over time. Since 1980, the overall rate of black poverty has declined in first suburbs (-2.3 percentage points) as it did in primary cities, newer suburbs, and throughout the nation. In first suburbs, however, the rate of white and Hispanic poverty increased, by 0.4 and 1.1 percentage points, respectively.

In terms of the concentration of poor residents, the population of Americans living in high-poverty neighborhoods declined by a dramatic 24.0 percent, or 2.5 million people, in the 1990s (Jargowsky, 2005). This is a striking reversal of two decades of soaring increases in concentrated poverty. Even more encouraging, the decline in concentrated poverty in the 1990s occurred across the racial and ethnic spectrum and in nearly every area of the country. The most notable progress was made by blacks, whose numbers in high-poverty neighborhoods fell more than one-third, from 4.8 million to 3.1 million. Among major metropolitan areas, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Chicago showed the largest declines in concentrated poverty among blacks.

In bleak contrast to the overall trend; however, the number of neighborhoods of high poverty in many first suburbs actually increased over the decade. This is especially true for those neighborhoods—or Census tracts—in first suburbs with poverty rates of 20 percent and higher which increased from 296 to 945 tracts (219.3 percent) from 1970 to 2000. Neighborhoods with 30 or more percent of its residents living in poverty increased from 77 to 313 (306.5 percent). And neighborhoods with 40 percent poverty and above increased from 30 to 85 (183.3 percent).

2. Since 1980 the median household income (adjusted for inflation) for the first suburbs has remained considerably higher and poverty rates generally lower than for their primary cities, newer suburbs, or for the nation.

Median household incomes in first suburbs were 28.6, 31.0, and 25.9 percent higher than the nation in 1980, 1990, and 2000, respectively. First suburban incomes were almost 50 percent higher than those in their primary cities over the same period.

However, from 1970 to 2000 a total of 59 first suburbs' poverty rates rose, or did not decline as fast, as the national change. Only five first suburbs saw their poverty rates drop by more than the national average. Overall, the poverty rate in first suburbs increased by 2.2 percentage points during that time. It also increased in the primary cities by 5.8 percentage points and in newer suburbs by 1.0 percentage points. But the overall U.S. rate declined by .9 percentage points suggesting this decline is mainly felt outside metropolitan America.

The increase in the white poverty rate in first suburbs (0.4 percentage points) was surpassed by that in primary cities (2.0 percentage points), but the Hispanic rate only increased in first suburbs. The white and Hispanic poverty rate rose in 32 and 42 first suburbs, respectively, from 1980–2000.

3. Most first suburbs have incomes substantially higher than the national median while overall poverty rates are lower except in just a handful of first suburbs.

In 2000, only 7 first suburbs had a median household income lower than the national median, up from 6 in 1980. Nine others had median incomes more than 50 percent higher than the national, up from 5 in 1980. First suburbs like Fairfield, Nassau, Montgomery (MD), Westchester, and San Mateo remain some of the most affluent places in the nation.

Also in 2000, only eleven first suburbs had a lower median household income than their metropolitan areas. And in only five cases (Madison, Lake, Baltimore, St. Clair, and Hudson) was this difference greater than 5 percent. However, since 1980 the percent increase in income was lower than the national average in 33 first suburbs, including the twelve that saw a decrease. In several former manufacturing places like Lake, Allegheny, Stark, and Trumbull, the declines were quite severe.

Not surprisingly, the bottom four first suburbs ranked by bachelor's degree attainment rates saw real median household income declines while the highest rates are in those with the largest increases such as Arlington, Westchester, and Fulton. However, it is important to note that while income and college education in 2000 is correlated, change in those indicators for first suburbs since 1980 generally is not. For example, Madison, IL saw the 6th largest increase in bachelor's attainment, but saw real incomes drop during that same time. By the same token, places that did not increase their rates by much because they were already quite high—like San Mateo and Fairfield—saw relatively large gains in household income.

No first suburb had a poverty rate higher than the primary city average in the decades from 1980 to 2000. In 1970 only St. Clair and Jefferson did. St. Clair —home of East St. Louis, one of the most distressed cities in the U.S—is the only first suburb to exceed the U.S. poverty rate in each of the last four decades. From 1970 to 2000, 15 first suburbs' poverty rate increased at a greater rate than the primary cities'.

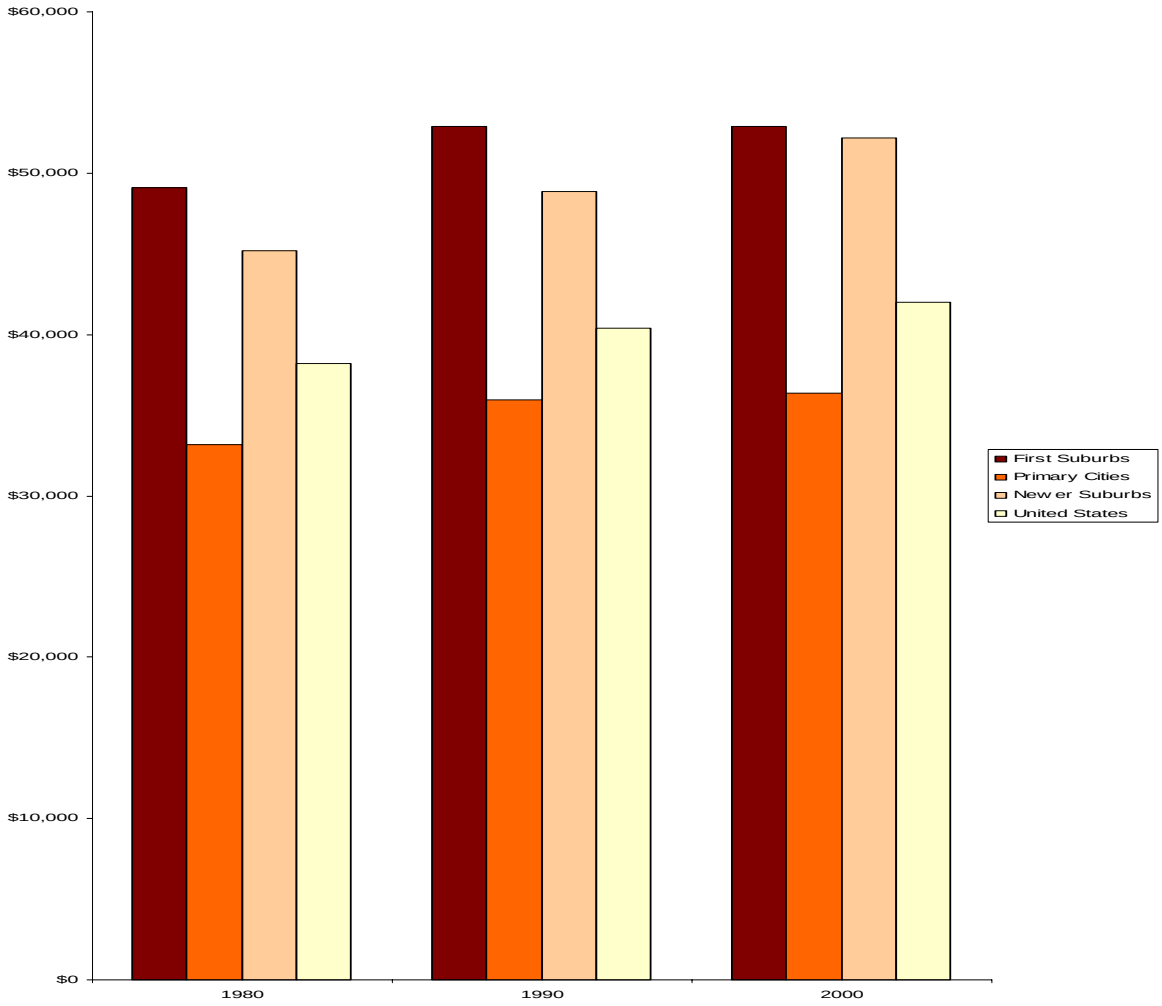
While only Dade, Los Angeles, St. Clair, and Hudson's had higher overall poverty rates than the nation in 2000, the breakdown by race looks quite different. An additional 15 first suburbs had poverty rates higher than the nation in one or more racial categories. The four first suburbs with higher-than-average Hispanic poverty rates are notable as they are all located in central New England. Hampden and Providence join Dade as the only first suburbs where poverty rates for blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are all higher than their respective national averages.

In terms of concentrated poverty, 49 first suburbs saw an increase in the percentage of their census tracts with at least a 20 percent poverty rate from 1970 to 2000 (Five first suburbs had no tracts where the poverty rate was at least 20 percent in either 1970 or 2000, three remained the same, and seven declined.) Orange saw the largest increase going from just one Census tract with 20 percent poverty in 1970 to 56 by 2000. Other California first suburbs like San Diego, Los Angeles, and Sacramento also experienced alarming increases. Maricopa experienced the largest decrease going from 56 to 31 tracts.

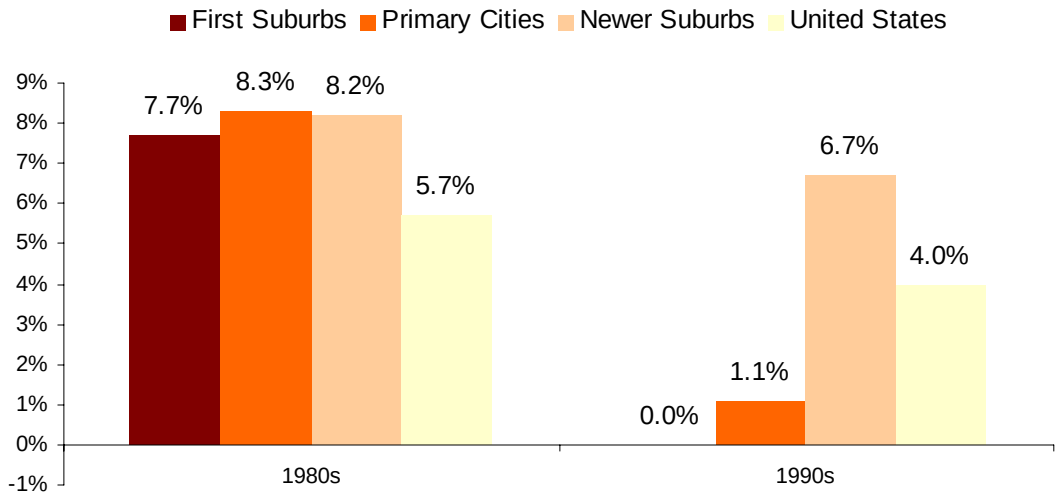
Eighteen first suburbs had no census tracts in which at least 30 percent of the population lived below poverty in 1970 or 2000. Four experienced a decrease, two remained the same, and 40 increased. Again, Los Angeles and Orange experienced the largest increases as did Dade. Several Rust Belt first suburbs also saw their number of very poor census tracts increase, including Wayne, Cuyahoga, Allegheny, and Cook.

About half (33) of the first suburbs had no extremely poor census tracts, where at least 40 percent of the population lived below poverty, in either 1970 or 2000. However, 19 first suburbs went from having no such tracts in 1970 to having at least one in 2000. Los Angeles led here as well going from five tracts to 17. Allegheny went from having no tracts in 1970 to 5 in 2000. Wayne, Lake, and Hampden went from 0 to four. Maricopa again had the largest decrease: from nine to five.

Median Household Income by Geography, 1980–2000 (2000 dollars)



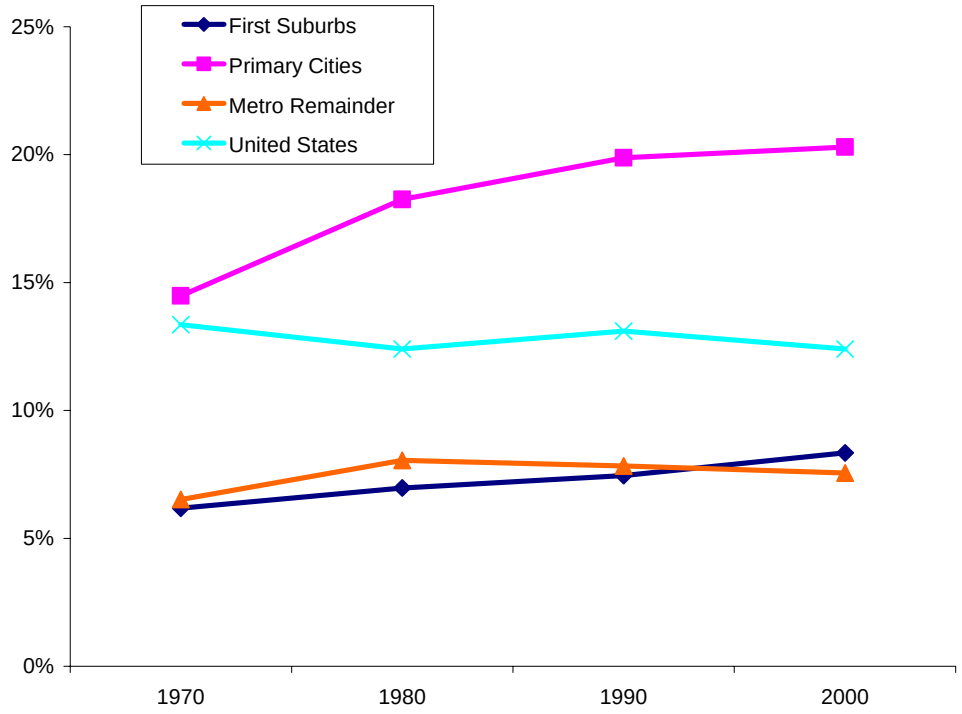
Percent Change in Real Median Household Income, by Decade and Geography, 1980–2000



Real Median Household Income (2000 dollars), 1980, 2000, and Change

Rank	First Suburb	Real Income, 1980	Rank	First Suburb	Real Income, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percent change, 1970–2000
1	Montgomery, MD	$65,835	1	Fairfield, CT	$72,885	1	Alameda, CA	33.4%
2	Oakland, MI	$60,146	2	Nassau, NY	$71,875	2	Norfolk, MA	30.6%
3	Fairfield, CT	$60,125	3	Montgomery, MD	$71,475	3	Westchester, NY	30.5%
4	Nassau, NY	$60,086	4	Westchester, NY	$70,894	4	Arlington, VA	30.3%
5	Harris, TX	$60,085	5	San Mateo, CA	$70,583	5	San Mateo, CA	29.8%
	First Suburbs	**$49,108**		First Suburbs	**$52,885**		First Suburbs	7.7%
	Primary Cities	$33,198		Primary Cities	$36,349		Primary Cities	9.5%
	Newer Suburbs	$45,181		Newer Suburbs	$52,177		Newer Suburbs	**15.5%**
	United States	$38,201		United States	$41,994		United States	9.9%
60	St. Clair, IL	$37,090	60	Providence, RI	$40,707	60	Trumbull, OH	-10.3%
61	Providence, RI	$37,062	61	St. Clair, IL	$39,111	61	Harris, TX	-11.1%
62	Dade, FL	$37,012	62	Dade, FL	$38,818	62	Stark, OH	-11.4%
63	Hillsborough, FL	$37,007	63	Trumbull, OH	$38,351	63	Allegheny, PA	-13.6%
64	Lackawanna, PA	$31,296	64	Lackawanna, PA	$32,786	64	Lake, IN	-15.7%

Poverty Rate by Geography, 1970–2000

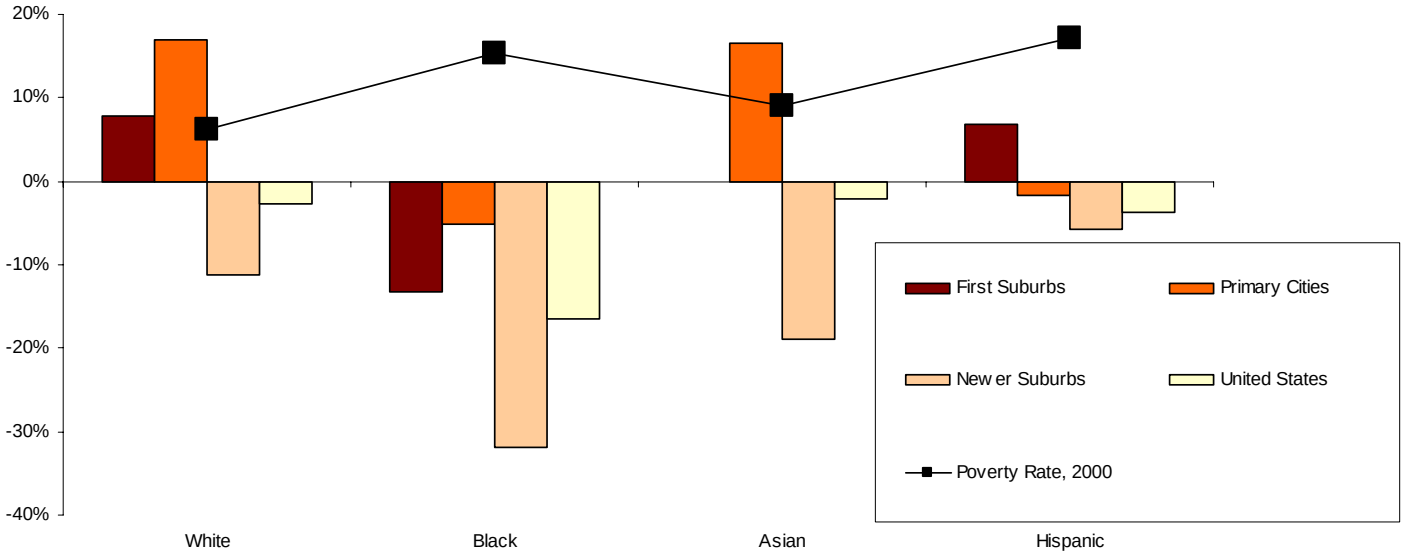


Poverty Rate, 1970, 2000, and Change

Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 1970	Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1970–2000
1	St. Clair, IL	15.3%	1	Dade, FL	16.0%	1	Los Angeles, CA	5.6%
2	Jefferson, AL	15.0%	2	Los Angeles, CA	14.6%	2	Lackawanna, PA	4.6%
3	Hillsborough, FL	12.1%	3	St. Clair, IL	14.5%	3	Dade, FL	4.2%
4	Maricopa, AZ	11.9%	4	Hudson, NJ	13.5%	4	Orange, CA	4.0%
5	Dade, FL	11.7%	5	Sacramento, CA	11.2%	5	Hampden, MA	3.4%
	First Suburbs	6.2%		First Suburbs	8.3%		First Suburbs	2.1%
	Primary Cities	**14.5%**		Primary Cities	**20.3%**		Primary Cities	**5.8%**
	Newer Suburbs	6.5%		Newer Suburbs	7.6%		Newer Suburbs	1.0%
	United States	13.3%		United States	12.4%		United States	-0.9%
60	Milwaukee, WI	4.0%	60	Burlington, NJ	4.7%	60	Burlington, NJ	-1.1%
61	Cook, IL	4.0%	61	Norfolk, MA	4.6%	61	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	-1.4%
62	Lackawanna, PA	3.6%	62	Bucks, PA	4.5%	62	Hillsborough, FL	-2.0%
63	Hennepin, MN	3.4%	63	Montgomery, PA	4.4%	63	Maricopa, AZ	-3.2%
64	Monroe, NY	3.3%	64	Hennepin, MN	3.9%	64	Jefferson, AL	-5.9%

Note: Though various estimates of the national poverty rate are available, the national rates here were calculated directly from decennial Census data in order to compare them with first suburb and primary city data.

Poverty Rate Change in First Suburbs by Race, 1980–2000, and 2000 Rate

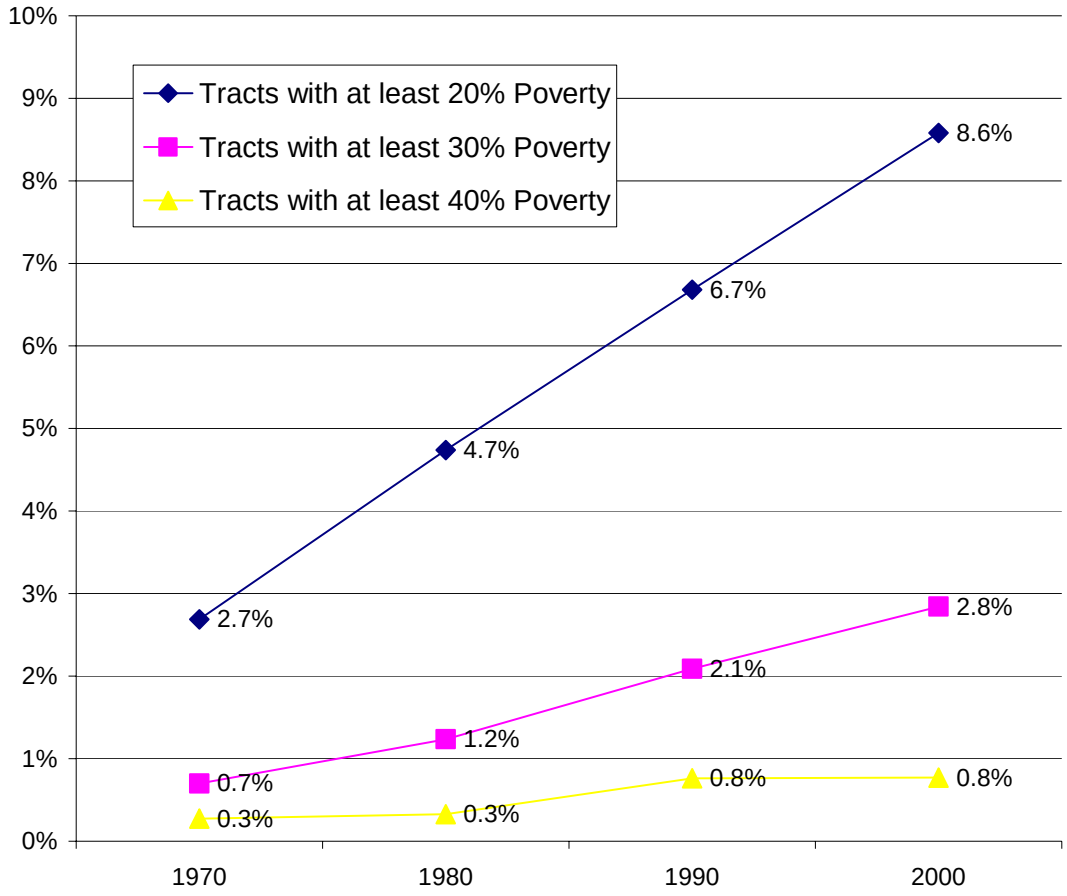


First Suburbs Where Race-Specific Poverty Rate Exceeds National Average, and Race-Specific Poverty Rates by Geography, 2000

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
	Dade, FL Hudson, NJ Los Angeles, CA	Allegheny, PA Dade, FL Hampden, MA Lackawanna, PA* Madison, IL Providence, RI St. Clair, IL Trumbull, OH	Arlington, VA Dade, FL Delaware, PA Erie, NY Hampden, MA** Pierce, WA Providence, RI Sacramento, CA	Hampden, MA** New Haven, CT Providence, RI Worcester, MA
First Suburbs	6.2%	15.4%	9.0%	17.2%
Primary Cities	13.51%	27.7%	18.6%	28.0%
Newer Suburbs	6.0%	16.9%	8.7%	16.0%
U.S.	9.1%	24.9%	12.8%	22.6%

*The total number of blacks in poverty in Lackawanna in 2000 was 148
**The total number of Asians in poverty in Hampden in 2000 is 429

Percentage of Census tracts in First Suburbs Exceeding Specified Poverty Thresholds, 1970–2000



Change in Number of First Suburban Census Tracts Exceeding Specified Poverty Thresholds, 1970–2000

First Suburb	Tracts with 20% Poverty	Tracts with 30% Poverty	Tracts with 40% Poverty	First Suburb	Tracts with 20% Poverty	Tracts with 30% Poverty	Tracts with 40% Poverty
Alameda, CA	-1	-2	-1	Madison, IL	7	3	
Allegheny, PA	19	8	5	Maricopa, AZ	**-25**	**-3**	**-4**
Arlington, VA	-1			Middlesex, MA	8	6	2
Baltimore, MD	7	5	2	Middlesex, NJ	9	3	3
Bergen, NJ	1			Milwaukee, WI			
Berks, PA	1			Monroe, NY	1	1	
Bucks, PA				Montgomery MD	-1		
Burlington, NJ	1			Montgomery OH	1	1	
Camden, NJ	1	1	1	Montgomery PA	3		
Cook, IL	16	8	1	Nassau, NY	2		
Cuyahoga, OH	16	9		New Haven, CT	12	6	1
Dade, FL	56	18	5	Norfolk, MA	1		
Dallas, TX	3			Oakland, MI	5	4	2
Delaware, PA	11	5		Onondaga, NY	-1	-1	-1
Erie, PA	3	1	1	Orange, CA	56	13	2
Essex, NJ	7	5		Pierce, WA	6	2	
Fairfield, CT				Prince George's, MD	6	1	1
Fulton, GA	4	2	1	Providence, RI	12	2	
Hamilton, OH				Sacramento, CA	18	3	2
Hampden, MA	7	5	4	San Diego, CA	31	4	1
Harris, TX	13	4		San Mateo, CA	-1		
Hartford, CT	6	4		St. Clair, IL	7	5	2
Hennepin, MN				St. Louis, IL	9	2	
Hillsborough, FL	7	3		Stark, OH	2	1	
Hudson, NJ	10			Summit, OH	1		
Jefferson, AL	-5		-1	Trumbull, OH	9	3	1
King, WA	3	1		Union, NJ	1	1	
Lake, IL	6	6	4	Wayne, MI	23	14	4
Lehigh / Northampton, PA	13	8	4	Westchester, NY	5	3	1
Los Angeles, CA	**227**	**68**	**12**	Worcester, MA	8	3	2
Macomb, MI	4	2		**TOTAL**	**649**	**236**	**55**

From 1970 to 2000, only Franklin, Lackawanna, and Marion had no tracts of poverty over 20 percent at all

I. Employment

1. First suburbs' labor force participation rate has generally been very high while unemployment is very low. More first suburban residents are employed in management and professional jobs than any other category.

The percentage of first suburban adults in work or actively looking for work—the labor force participation (LFP) rate—grew at a fairly steady clip from 1970 to 1990, increasing from 60.7 to 68.5 percent. However, after 1990 the rate dropped by nearly 3 percentage points. Unemployment rate figures tell a similar story.

Some recent data on occupations shed additional light on these figures. In 1990, first suburban residents held about 20.7 percent of the nation's total jobs. By 2000, that number had slipped to 19.4 percent. In fact, the first suburban share of national workers in each of five major occupational categories dropped since 1990.

More first suburban residents are employed in management, professional, and related occupations than any other category (see appendix for details on these categorical definitions). And workers in this category increased since 1990. The only other category of jobs that increased in first suburbs from 1990 to 2000 was service occupations, but these make up only about 10 percent of all jobs held by first suburban residents.

2. Overall, the LFP rate is higher and the unemployment rate lower in first suburbs than it is it in the primary cities and the nation and has been in each decade since 1970. And first suburbs have a disproportionately large share of residents employed in white collar jobs.

Since 1970 the first suburbs have had higher LFP rates, and lower unemployment rates than the primary cities and the national average. But in 2000, the newer suburbs had a higher LFP rate and, since 1990, a lower unemployment rate.

Although the nation as a whole saw an increase in the percentage of jobs held in the service category, the change among first suburban workers was nearly three times as large. And while the percentage of jobs nationally in construction/extraction increased slightly over the last ten years, first suburban residents witnessed a decrease of about .7 percentage points in this field. Overall, first suburbs only saw increases in the percentage of their residents employed in two occupational categories—professional and service—from 1990 to 2000. In fact, first suburbs outpace the national figures for residents employed in management/professional and sales/office occupations. The percentage of first suburban residents working in the service and production/transportation categories is lower than in primary cities, newer suburbs, and the nation however.

3. Most individual first suburbs' labor force participation is higher, and unemployment rates generally lower than the national averages. But there are notable exceptions, especially in Dade, Hudson, Los Angeles, and San Diego

By 2000, 51 first suburbs had a LFP rate higher than the national average; three of the first suburbs with the highest rates were in the Washington metropolitan area (Arlington, Montgomery (MD), and Prince George's) although the rate for the city of Washington's itself was below the national average in 2000. Since 1970, only one first suburb saw a drop in the LFP rate: Los Angeles, which only dropped slightly (less than one-half of one percentage point). By contrast, 16 primary cities' LFP rates dropped between 1970 and 2000.

The trend from 1990 to 2000 tells a different story, however. Fifty-four first suburbs' LFP rates declined during that time with 39 falling faster than the national rate. Ten first suburbs' rates increased from 1990 to 2000, albeit anemically. Interestingly, all ten (except Jefferson) are located in the Rust Belt. A similar phenomenon is seen in primary cities with places like Scranton, Cleveland, Dayton, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Canton, and Akron experiencing increases over that decade.

In 2000, no first suburb had a higher unemployment rate than the primary city average and only 10 exceeded the national average. But 27 first suburbs' unemployment rates did increase by a greater amount than

the national average from 1970 to 2000, with four experiencing a doubling in their unemployment rates. From 1990 to 2000, 32 first suburbs saw their unemployment rates increase faster than the national average.

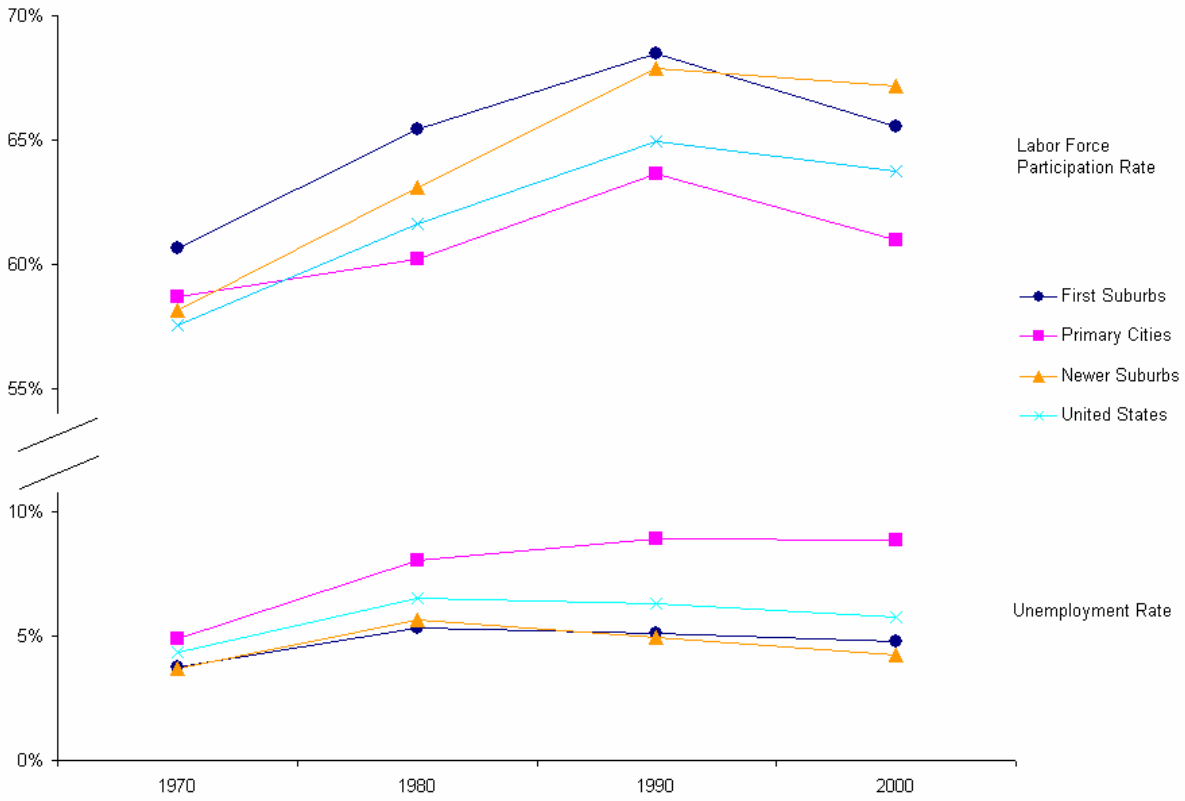
In most places, the first suburbs contain high concentrations of professional white collar employees. In 2000, 50 of the 64 first suburbs had a higher percentage of their residents employed in management/professional jobs than the national average. Only ten first suburbs trailed their primary cities in terms of the percentage of their residents employed in these positions. Seventeen outpaced their cities by more than 10 percentage points.

Even more striking is that, in 2000, only nine first suburbs trailed the national average for the percentage of residents employed in sales/office occupations. And although the overall percentages have increased, only seven had a higher share of their residents employed in service positions than the national average. The set of individual first suburbs with relatively high percentages of residents employed in production/transportation jobs is almost the mirror opposite of those employed in management/professional jobs. Trumbull, for example, ranks lowest in terms of those employed in professional jobs and highest in production.

A great deal of change occurred in these categories between 1990 and 2000. Forty-eight first suburbs increased their share of management/professional employees at a higher rate than the national average. Twenty-eight of these had increases over 5 percentage points and none saw a decline in the number of employed residents in this category. Similarly, 50 first suburbs increased their share of residents employed in service jobs at a higher rate than the national average. But none saw a change of over 2.3 percentage points and seven actually experienced a decline in the share of workers with these jobs.

In terms of sales/office positions, only Lackawanna saw an increase since 1990—presumably because the other first suburbs had high shares to begin with. And only Dade saw an increase in the number of residents employed in fishing/farming. Finally, only four first suburbs, which are all in the Midwest (Montgomery (OH), Stark, Milwaukee, and Cook), saw increases in the percentage of their residents employed in production/transportation occupations.

Civilian Labor Force Participation and Unemployment rate, 1970–2000



Civilian Labor Force Participation Rate, 2000, and Change 1970–2000, and Change 1990–2000

Rank	First Suburb	2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1970–2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1990–2000
1	Arlington, VA	74.3%	1	Pierce, WA	12.1%	1	Stark, OH	1.3%
2	Hennepin, MN	73.8%	2	Fulton, GA	10.3%	2	Madison, IL	1.3%
3	Fulton, GA	71.8%	3	Hillsborough, FL	9.5%	2	St. Clair, IL	1.3%
4	Montgomery, MD	70.5%	4	San Diego, CA	9.4%	4	Summit, OH	1.2%
4	Prince George's, MD	70.5%	5	Maricopa, AZ	9.2%	5	Marion, IN	1.2%
	First Suburbs	65.5%		First Suburbs	4.9%		First Suburbs	-2.9%
	Primary Cities	61.0%		Primary Cities	2.3%		Primary Cities	-2.7%
	Newer Suburbs	**67.2%**		Newer Suburbs	9.0%		Newer Suburbs	-0.7%
	United States	63.7%		United States	6.2%		United States	-1.2%
60	Hudson, NJ	61.0%	60	Providence, RI	63.86%	60	Hudson, NJ	-5.9%
61	Los Angeles, CA	60.7%	60	Dade, FL	58.89%	61	Los Angeles, CA	-6.4%
62	Lackawanna, PA	60.5%	62	Hudson, NJ	61.01%	62	Prince George's, MD	-6.6%
63	Trumbull, OH	59.7%	63	Trumbull, OH	59.72%	62	Dade, FL	-6.7%
64	Dade, FL	58.9%	64	Los Angeles, CA	60.69%	64	Orange, CA	-7.0%

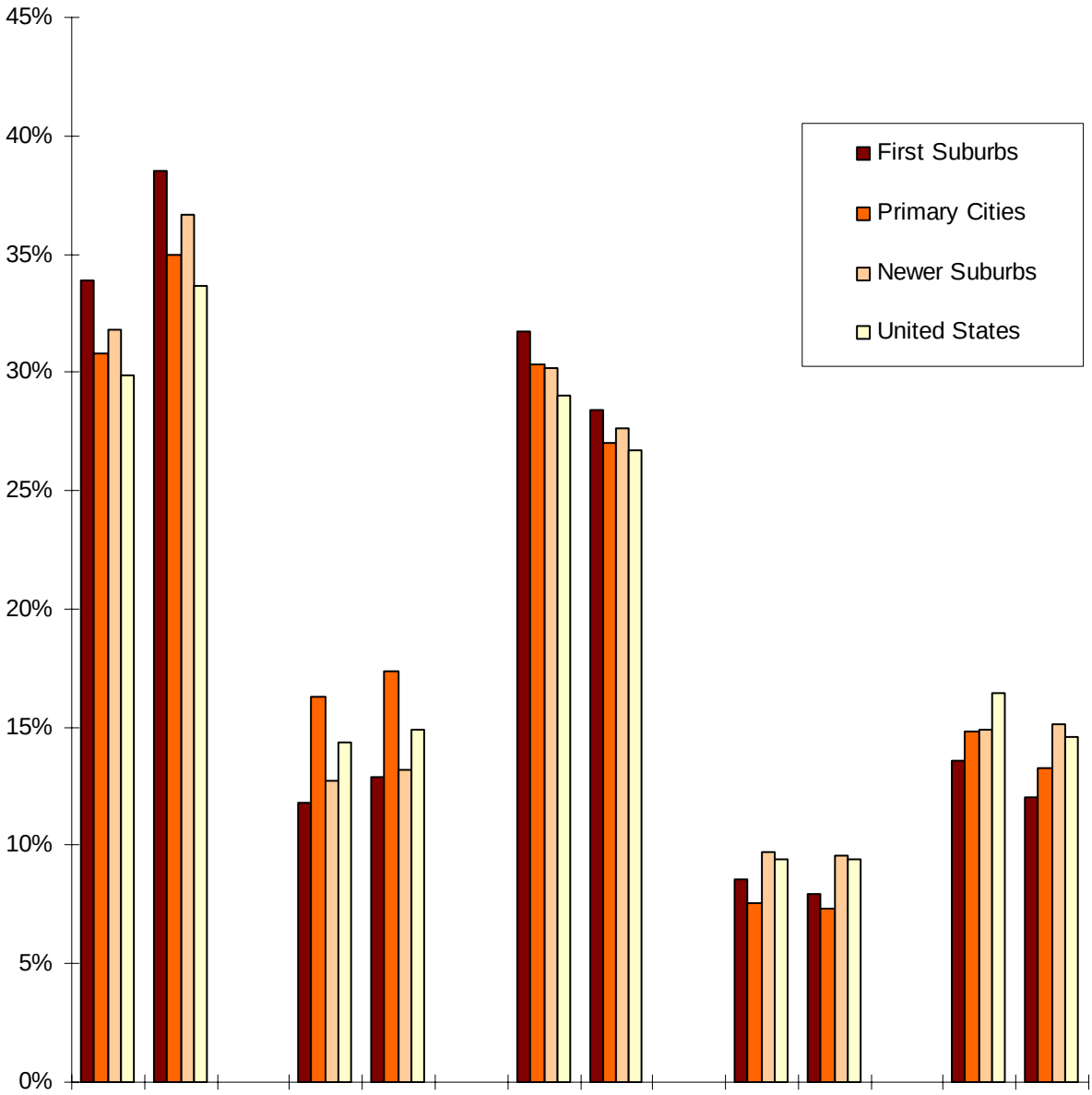
Unemployment Rate, 2000, and Change 1970–2000, and Change 1990–2000

Rank	First Suburb	2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1970–2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1990–2000
1	Dade, FL	8.2%	1	Dade, FL	4.7%	1	Prince George's, MD	1.6%
2	Hudson, NJ	7.8%	2	Prince George's, MD	3.5%	2	Montgomery, PA	1.3%
3	Los Angeles, CA	7.4%	3	Essex, NJ	3.3%	3	Dade, FL	1.3%
4	St. Clair, IL	6.8%	4	Hudson, NJ	2.9%	4	Monroe, NY	1.1%
5	Essex, NJ	6.5%	5	Harris, TX	2.3%	5	Berks, PA	0.8%
	First Suburbs	4.8%		First Suburbs	1.0%		First Suburbs	-0.3%
	Primary Cities	**8.9%**		Primary Cities	**3.9%**		Primary Cities	-0.1%
	Newer Suburbs	4.2%		Newer Suburbs	0.5%		Newer Suburbs	**-0.7%**
	United States	5.8%		United States	1.4%		United States	-0.5%
60	Milwaukee, WI	3.1%	60	Alameda, CA	-0.9%	60	Norfolk, MA	-2.4%
61	Westchester, NY	2.9%	61	Lackawanna, PA	-1.0%	61	Stark, OH	-2.4%
62	Franklin, OH	2.8%	62	Oakland, MI	-1.6%	62	Middlesex, MA	-2.6%
62	Arlington, VA	2.8%	63	Pierce, WA	-1.9%	63	Worcester, MA	-2.8%
62	Hennepin, MN	2.8%	64	King, WA	-3.8%	64	St. Clair, IL	-3.1%

Percentage of U.S. Jobs Held by First Suburban Residents, by Occupational Category, 1990–2000

	Total Employment	**Management, professional, & related**	**Service**	**Sales and office**	**Farming, fishing, and forestry**	**Construction, extraction, and maintenance**	**Production, transportation, and material moving**
1990	20.7%	**23.4%**	17.0%	22.6%	8.9%	18.9%	17.0%
2000	19.4%	**22.2%**	16.8%	20.6%	5.3%	16.2%	16.0%

Occupations of Residents, by Category and Type, 1990 and 2000



Percentage Point Change in First Suburbs Residents' Employment Shares, by Category, 1990–2000

Rank		Management, professional	Rank		Service	Rank		Sales and office
1	Arlington,, VA	8.9%	1	Hudson, NJ	2.2%	1	Lackawanna, PA	0.6%
2	Fulton, GA	8.7%	1	Camden, NJ	2.2%	2	Trumbull, OH	-0.4%
3	Norfolk, MA	8.6%	2	Baltimore, MD	2.0%	3	Providence, RI	-1.0%
4	San Mateo, CA	8.1%	2	San Diego, CA	2.0%	3	Summit, OH	-1.0%
5	Middlesex, MA	7.4%	2	Nassau, NY	2.0%	5	Berks, PA	-1.1%
	First Suburbs	4.6%		First Suburbs	1.1%		First Suburbs	-3.3%
	Primary Cities	4.2%		Primary Cities	1.1%		Primary Cities	-3.3%
	Newer Suburbs	4.9%		Newer Suburbs	0.5%		Newer Suburbs	-2.6%
	United States	3.8%		United States	0.5%		United States	-2.3%
60	Harris, TX	2.5%	60	Stark, OH	-0.2%	60	Norfolk, MA	-5.5%
61	Dade, FL	2.2%	60	Maricopa, AZ	-0.2%	62	Montgomery, MD	-5.6%
62	Pierce, WA	1.8%	62	Hennepin, MN	-0.7%	62	San Mateo, CA	-5.6%
62	Trumbull, OH	1.8%	63	Marion, IN	-0.9%	63	Arlington,, VA	-6.1%
64	Montgomery, OH	1.6%	64	Arlington,, VA	-1.5%	64	Fulton, GA	-8.0%

Rank		Construction; extraction; and maintenance	Rank		Production; transportation; and material moving
1	Arlington,, VA	1.3%	1	Montgomery, OH	1.0%
1	Dallas, TX	1.3%	2	Stark, OH	0.6%
3	Maricopa, AZ	0.7%	3	Milwaukee, WI	0.4%
3	Prince George's, MD	0.7%	4	Cook, IL	0.3%
5	Harris, TX	0.6%	5	Trumbull, OH	-0.1%
	First Suburbs	-0.7%		First Suburbs	-1.5%
	Primary Cities	-0.2%		Primary Cities	-1.6%
	Newer Suburbs	-0.1%		Newer Suburbs	0.2%
	United States	0.0%		United States	-1.8%
60	Trumbull, OH	-1.9%	60	Delaware, PA	-2.8%
60	Erie, NY	-1.9%	61	Lehigh/Northampton, PA	-2.9%
62	Providence, RI	-2.0%	62	Hudson, NJ	-3.0%
63	Lackawanna, PA	-2.2%	63	Bucks, PA	-3.1%
64	Monroe, NY	-2.4%	64	Lackawanna, PA	-4.8%

J. Commuting

1. Overall transit use for commute trips dropped in first suburbs since 1970 while automobile use increased. Yet many first suburban residents still work in their metropolitan area's center city.

As metropolitan areas continue to experience decentralization of jobs and residents, a major concern is the impact on the work commute. As jobs migrate to the suburban fringe, they are less accessible by transit, reducing commuting options for many. Given the geographic location of first suburbs—usually making up the first ring of communities very close to the center city—and the fact that they often began as bedroom communities for central city workers, they are normally associated with very high transit use. Some of these places are even referred to as

"streetcar suburbs" for the distinctive mode of transport that once brought workers to and from center city jobs. And while that is true in some places, it is no longer the rule.

The use of public transportation for commuting among all first suburban residents has declined over 30 years from already low levels. At the same time, the percent of first suburban commuters that travel by car (including those in carpools) has remained consistently high.

2. But first suburban commuters' transit use is higher than the national average.

The percentage of workers age 16 and older that commute by transit has substantially lagged the primary city averages and was less than the national average until only recently. In 2000 the first suburban average (5.2 percent) was slightly higher than the nation's (4.9 percent). Together more than 20 percent of all U.S. transit commuters live in first suburbs. The newer suburbs both have lower rates of transit use for commuting, and higher rates of automobile use.

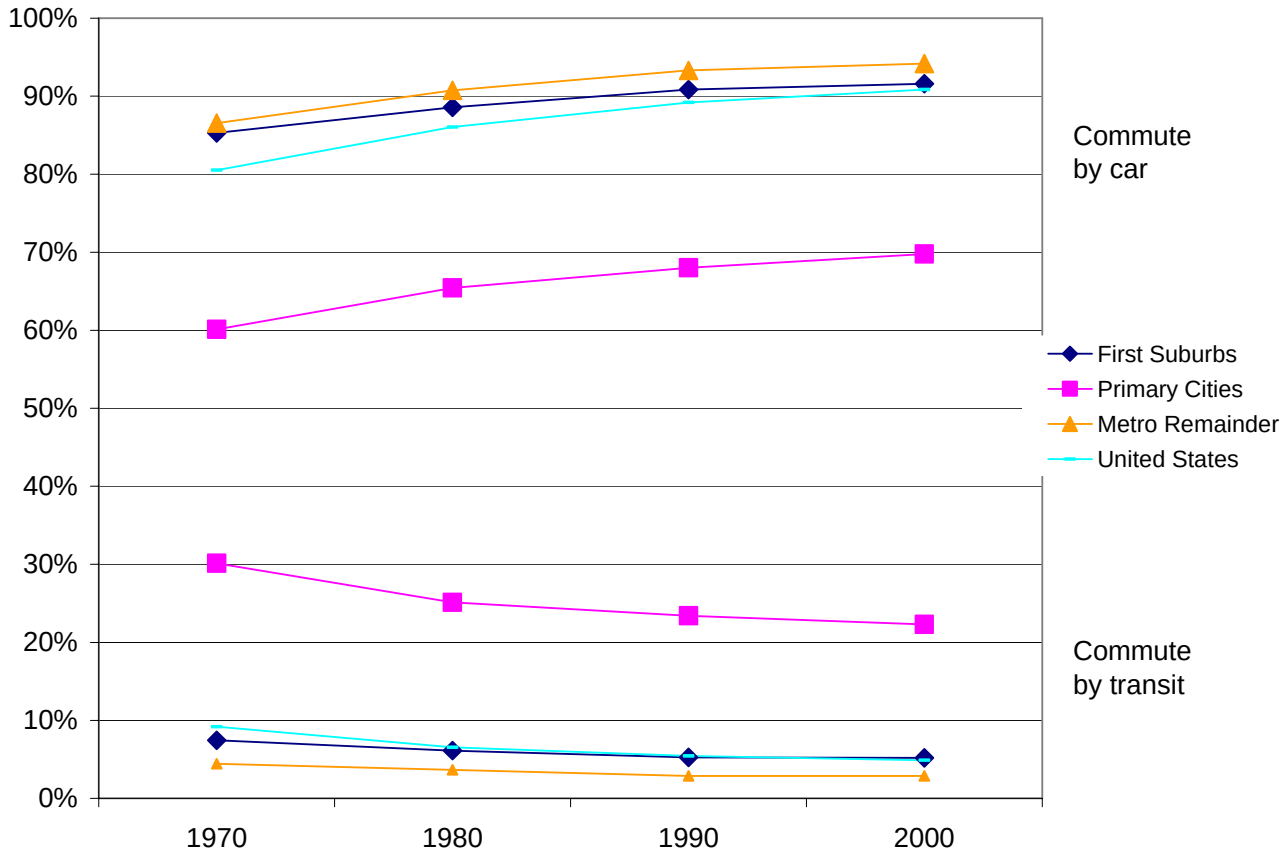
C. Residents of first suburbs with the highest densities still fit the stereotype of the traditional transit commuter.

In 2000, 20 first suburbs had a higher rate of transit commuters than the national average, up from 16 in 1970. In general, these are places in Northeast metropolitan areas with established transit systems like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington. But San Mateo, Allegheny, Alameda, and King all outpace the national average for transit commuters as well. In 2000 two first suburbs (Hudson and Arlington) even outpaced the average for primary cities. Half of all first suburban transit commuters in 2000 were concentrated in just nine places: Bergen , Prince George's, Westchester, Hudson, Montgomery (MD), Middlesex (MA), Los Angeles, Nassau, and Cook.

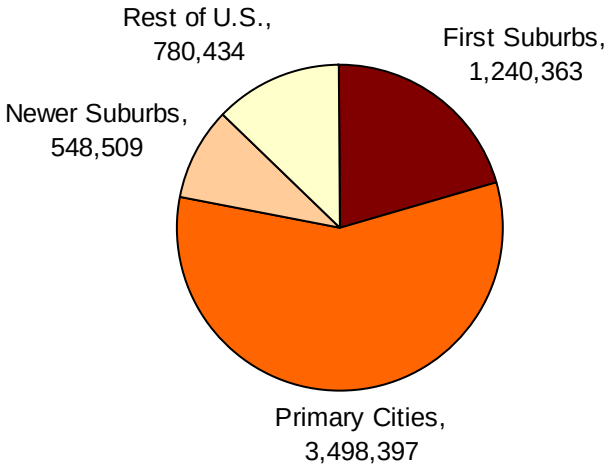
Several metropolitan areas that built new rail systems in the past 30 years also experienced the largest increase in transit commuters. Such places include the first suburbs around Washington D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento.

There is also a clear connection between overall increases in density and transit use. The first suburbs around New York, Washington, D.C., and Boston have the highest densities and also high transit use while places like Lackawanna, Pierce, and Maricopa have the lowest densities and are more automobile dependent.

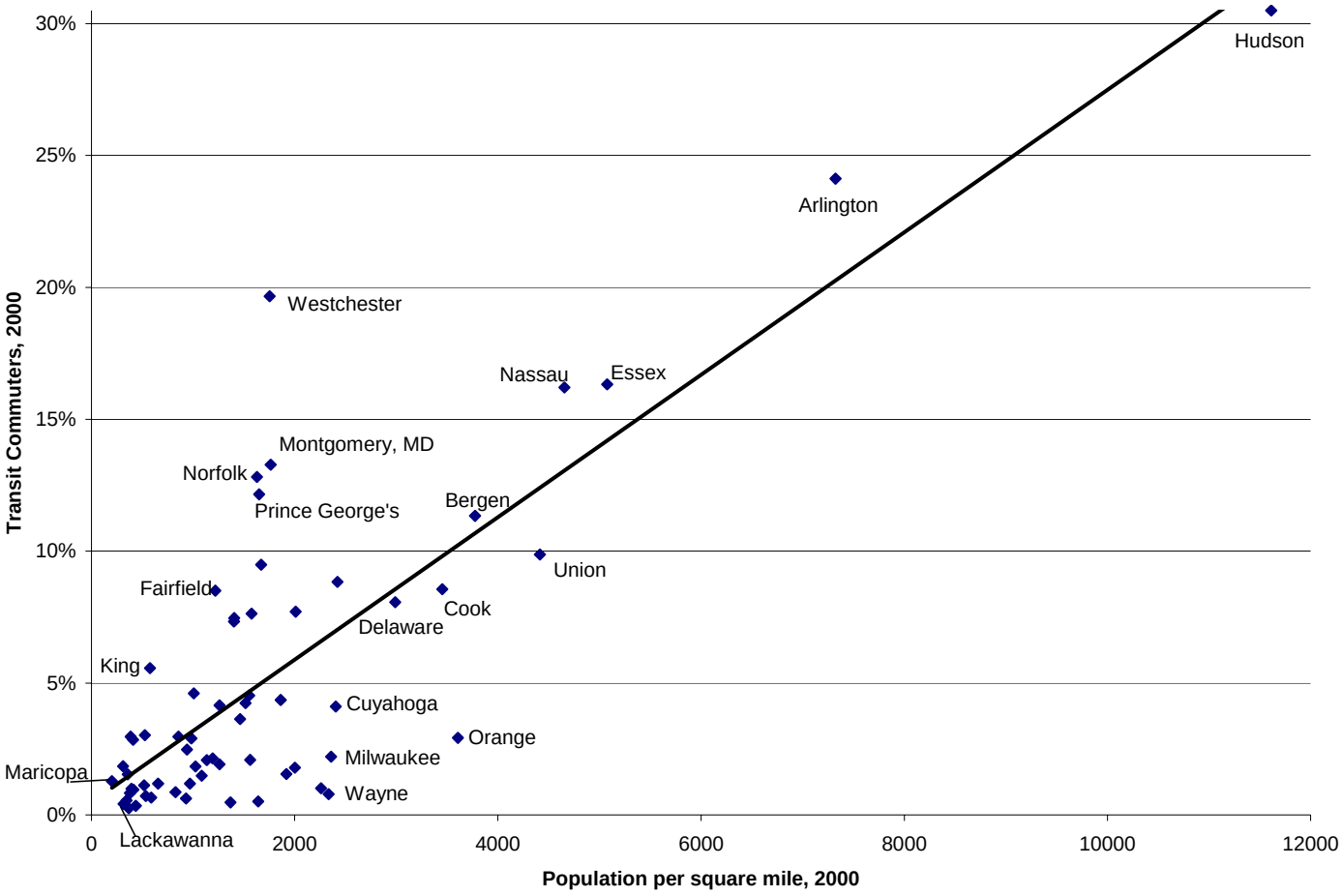
Percent of Commuters, by Areas and Mode, 1970–2000



Transit Commuters in the U.S. by Location, 2000



Relationship Between Transit Use and Density in First Suburbs, 2000



Transit Commuters, 1970–2000

Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 1970	Rank	First Suburb	Rate, 2000	Rank	First Suburb	Percentage Point Change, 1970–2000
1	Hudson, NJ	31.6%	1	Hudson, NJ	30.5%	1	Montgomery, MD	6.4%
2	Arlington, VA	21.7%	2	Arlington, VA	24.1%	2	Prince George's, MD	5.1%
3	Nassau, NY	20.4%	3	Westchester, NY	19.7%	3	King, WA	3.7%
4	Essex, NJ	19.7%	4	Essex, NJ	16.3%	4	Orange, CA	2.5%
5	Westchester, NY	19.0%	5	Nassau, NY	16.2%	5	Arlington, VA	2.4%
	First Suburbs	7.4%		First Suburbs	5.2%		First Suburbs	-2.3%
	Primary Cities	**30.1%**		Primary Cities	**22.4%**		Primary Cities	**-7.9%**
	Newer Suburbs	4.4%		Newer Suburbs	2.9%		Newer Suburbs	-1.5%
	United States	9.2%		United States	4.9%		United States	-4.3%
60	Stark, OH	0.9%	60	Macomb, MI	0.5%	60	Milwaukee, WI	-5.0%
61	Sacramento, CA	0.8%	60	Oakland, MI	0.5%	61	Cook, IL	-5.5%
62	Hillsborough, FL	0.7%	61	Lackawanna, PA	0.4%	62	Allegheny, PA	-6.9%
63	Maricopa, AZ	0.5%	63	Jefferson, AL	0.3%	63	Cuyahoga, OH	-7.0%
64	Orange, CA	0.4%	63	Trumbull, OH	0.3%	64	Delaware, PA	-8.9%

Due to data errors, Fulton was omitted from this calculation.

APPENDIX

A. Background and Methodology

As articulated in a comprehensive review of the literature by Lee and Green Leigh (2005) there are several possible definitions for "older suburban America." The authors argue that a proper definition should be applied on the neighborhood level and may or may not correspond to individual jurisdictions. Others such as Lucy and Phillips (2001), Hanlon (2005), and Kotkin (2001) also fix their analysis on neighborhood geographies to present information and discuss first suburbs. Coalitions such as Ohio's First Suburbs Consortium represent first suburban jurisdictions and, naturally, define these places on the municipal level.

Lee and Green Leigh also discuss the problems with the wide variety of indicators that have been employed to define these places. And, in fact, that is probably the reason that there has been so little empirical work on this subject. Defining what we mean by first suburbs or older suburban America is very difficult.

In fact, as discussed in an earlier Brookings publication, uniform measurements—such as distance from the center city are not useful across metropolitan areas because of the different sizes, topography and growth patterns. Focusing on local jurisdictions immediately adjacent to center cities leaves out other places that may be just a few miles away. The age of suburbs is difficult to measure and may actually be too precise for our purposes. Age of housing within suburbs is a plausible measure but only captures one characteristic of these communities.

In order to begin to examine change in older suburban places we had to decide on an appropriate level of geography. Ideally, we would have liked to be able to bring this down to the municipality level. However, this proved to be impossible for several reasons:

- First, there are far too many municipalities to collect and present the data in an organized fashion. Northeast and Midwestern places are especially fragmented: Allegheny and St. Louis counties alone have 130 and 91 municipalities, respectively.
- Second, some of the data we used for certain years was unavailable at the municipal level for many places, which severely limits a thorough analysis.
- Third, counties have more meaning and are more easily recognizable to a broad national audience than are municipalities. For example, Cuyahoga or Los Angeles counties are more familiar to most than their localities such as Linndale or El Monte.

That being said, we do acknowledge that there are some problems with using counties as the geographic unit of analysis. For one, counties are somewhat course. A wide variety of places exist within counties which may mask important differences among and between local jurisdictions. For example, within Cook County, IL demographic and economic information is very different in Winnetka (one of the most affluent places in the nation) than it is in Robbins (one of the poorest). It is also true that several large counties may fit the criteria of a first suburb but many parts of it may be considered the new fringe of the metropolitan area. Maricopa and San Diego counties are examples. And in terms of governance, county definitions are literally meaningless in some states: particularly in New England where Connecticut and Rhode Island barely recognize the county for any function.

However, we believe the county level geography is acceptable for this exercise. As we will see, many of the indicators we analyze here do show stark differences between first suburbs and the rest of the nation. The fact that Maricopa still has room to grow is just as important to note as it is to note that Nassau is essentially "built-out." In the end, the use of the county enabled us to undertake the project in a way that would not have been possible on the local municipality level. Further, the current discussion of America's first suburbs tends to focus on the Northeast and Midwest because they are able to be segmented into municipal sets – while unincorporated or county-level places in the South and West are often omitted.

The methodology and approach for selecting first suburbs is as follows:

Utilized county-level geography. A county-level unit of analysis was employed for this exercise in order to enable comparison across first suburbs and between first suburbs and newer suburbs.

County must have been part of a metropolitan area in 1950. Only those counties that were part of a census-identified 1950 standard metropolitan area (SMA) were examined.[9] If a county was not part of a SMA in 1950 we felt reasonably certain it was not part of older, suburban America. Las Vegas, NV, for example, did not become its own metropolitan statistical area until 1960 and therefore Clark County was not part of the analysis. The Atlanta SMA contained three counties in 1950 (Cobb, De Kalb, and Fulton). By 2000, it had twenty counties. But these additional 17 were not considered for our analysis.

[9] SMAs were the 1950s equivalent of today's metropolitan statistical areas. See "Standard Metropolitan Areas defined by the Bureau of the Budget, October 13, 1950 available at http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/metro-city/50mfips.txt.

County must be associated with a sizable city. For counties that were part of an SMA in 1950, one or more primary cities within or adjacent to those counties were identified from a list of the 100 largest urban places in 1950.[10] If no primary city for a county was in the list of the top 100, the county was eliminated from our analysis. This was done primarily to identify counties that had large populations simply because of their size like San Bernadino, CA, the largest county in the continental U.S. It also enabled us to capture a broad geographic array of places because it eliminated counties outside some small eastern cities like Utica, NY; Johnstown, PA; and Charleston, WV. It also facilitated the comparisons to primary cities we used throughout the analysis.

County must not be coextensive with a primary city. Counties that are coextensive with primary cities were then eliminated from the analysis. Counties like San Francisco, Denver, and Philadelphia all share the same limits, boundaries, or scope as the center city and were therefore not considered first suburbs. The 5 counties that make up the city of New York (Kings, Queens, New York, Bronx, and Richmond) were also eliminated as were cities that the U.S. Census reports as counties such as Washington, D.C. and Richmond, VA.

County must be contiguous to primary city. Counties that were not contiguous to the primary city were removed. The spatial aspect is important and whether or not a county was adjacent to one of these places certainly played a role in how they developed. Also, this filter helped provide a more broad geographic range of counties as it eliminated the second and third ring of primarily northeastern metropolitan areas that matured before the inner-ring, first suburbs in Sunbelt and Western places. Examples of counties purged here include Beaver outside of Pittsburgh, Schenectady outside of Albany, Passaic outside of New York, and Anne Arundel outside of both Baltimore and Washington.

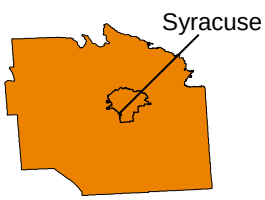
Primary city population extracted from county data. The 1950 population of the primary city(s) was then removed from the population of the county when the primary city was part of the county and included in the population count (i.e., Rochester from Monroe County, Seattle from King County, and San Diego from San Diego County).[11] What remains is considered entirely "suburban" (see Figure 1).[12]

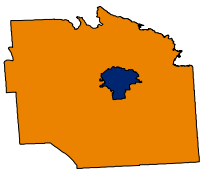
[10] See: U.S. Census, “Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1950.” available at http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0027/tab18.txt

[11] In a few places, the primary cities spanned more than one county. A tiny slice of Chicago is in DuPage County and part of Atlanta is in DeKalb county. For our purposes, both were considered wholly part of Cook and Fulton, respectively. However, the primary cities of Allentown and Bethlehem and the first suburbs of Northampton and Lehigh are combined in our study since a very large portion of Bethlehem is located within Lehigh.

[12] Although clearly, in some large western counties like Maricopa, this is not necessarily the case. However, there was no additional filter for us to use that would have separated the older parts of the county from the newer parts. By the same token, it could be argued that there are "suburban" parts of large center cities, like Houston. See Berube and Forman, 2002.

Example of a First Suburb: Onondaga County, NY





Onondoga County *Onondaga County Suburbs*

Onondaga County	458,336 (2000 population)
Syracuse	147,306
Onondaga's First Suburbs	311,030

Counties with 1950 suburban populations above 120,000 were retained. Of the remaining counties, those with a 1950 population over 120,000 after the primary city was extracted (where applicable) were included as part of this analysis. [13] In only one case did removing the primary city data result in one county being eliminated from the list while another in the metropolitan area was retained: Youngstown, which is located within Mahoning County, is associated for our purposes with Trumbull County, to which it is adjacent. Mahoning is not part of our analysis because when Youngstown was extracted, its population threshold fell to under 90,000.

In sum, the methodology to define and identify first suburbs for this work was based on age, location, and population.

[13] Extending the threshold to include counties with 1000,000 residents of more would have repeated several metropolitan areas, and would have added more counties to the northeast and Midwest. Restricting the list to 64 counties also tracks closely with other important related research (e.g., Gottlieb, 2001) and the places organizing first suburban coalitions.

First Suburb with Corresponding Primary City(ies) and Metropolitan Area

First Suburb	Primary City/Cities	Metropolitan Area
Alameda, CA	Berkeley/Oakland, CA	San Francisco
Allegheny, PA	Pittsburgh, PA	Pittsburgh
Arlington, , VA	Washington, DC	Washington
Baltimore, MD	Baltimore, MD	Washington
Bergen, NJ	New York City, NY	New York
Berks, PA	Reading, PA	Reading
Bucks PA	Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia
Burlington, NJ	Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia
Camden, NJ	Camden, NJ	Philadelphia
Cook, IL	Chicago, IL	Chicago
Cuyahoga, OH	Cleveland, OH	Cleveland
Dade, FL	Miami, FL	Miami
Dallas, TX	Dallas, TX	Dallas
Delaware, PA	Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia
Erie, NY	Buffalo, NY	Buffalo
Essex, NJ	Newark, NJ	New York
Fairfield, CT	Bridgeport, CT	New York
Franklin, OH	Columbus, OH	Columbus
Fulton, GA	Atlanta, GA	Atlanta
Hamilton, OH	Cincinnati, OH	Cincinnati
Hampden, MA	Springfield, MA	Springfield
Harris, TX	Houston, TX	Houston
Hartford CT	Hartford, CT	Hartford
Hennepin MN	Minneapolis, MN	Minneapolis
Hillsborough FL	Tampa, FL	Tampa
Hudson NJ	Jersey City, NJ	New York
Jefferson AL	Birmingham, AL	Birmingham
King WA	Seattle, WA	Seattle
Lackawanna PA	Scranton, PA	Scranton
Lake IN	Gary, IN	Chicago
Lehigh/Northampton, PA	Allentown/Bethlehem, PA	Allentown
Los Angeles CA	Los Angeles/Long Beach, CA	Los Angeles
Macomb MI	Detroit, MI	Detroit
Madison IL	St. Louis, MO	St. Louis
Maricopa AZ	Phoenix, AZ	Phoenix
Marion IN	Indianapolis, IN	Indianapolis
Middlesex MA	Cambridge, MA	Boston
Middlesex NJ	New York City, NY	New York
Milwaukee WI	Milwaukee, WI	Milwaukee
Monroe NY	Rochester, NY	Rochester
Montgomery MD	Washington, DC	Washington
Montgomery OH	Dayton, OH	Dayton
Montgomery PA	Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia
Nassau NY	New York City, NY	New York
New Haven CT	New Haven, CT	New York
Norfolk MA	Boston, MA	Boston
Oakland MI	Detroit, MI	Detroit
Onondaga NY	Syracuse, NY	Syracuse

First Suburb	Primary City/Cities	Metropolitan Area
Orange CA	Los Angeles/Long Beach, CA	Los Angeles
Pierce WA	Tacoma, WA	Seattle
Prince George's MD	Washington, DC	Washington
Providence RI	Providence, RI	Providence
Sacramento CA	Sacramento, CA	Sacramento
San Diego CA	San Diego, CA	San Diego
San Mateo CA	San Francisco, CA	San Francisco
St. Clair IL	St. Louis, MO	St. Louis
St. Louis MO	St. Louis, MO	St. Louis
Stark OH	Canton, OH	Canton
Summit OH	Akron, OH	Cleveland
Trumbull OH	Youngstown, OH	Youngstown
Union NJ	Elizabeth, NJ	New York
Wayne MI	Detroit, MI	Detroit
Westchester NY	Yonkers, NY	New York
Worcester MA	Worcester, MA	Boston

B. Description of the Data

With the exception of government fragmentation data, all information presented in this report derived from the U.S. Census Bureau's decennial censuses. For all variables, we used the earliest available data as long as such data allowed for reliable comparisons from decade to decade. For 1950 and 1960 data, the Census County and City Data Books were used. For 1970 and 1980, Census Geolytics CD-ROMs were utilized, and for 1990 and 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau's FactFinder website provided all the necessary information.

Some data that was available for 1950 and 1960 could not be used because of an inability to disaggregate cities from counties. For instance, average housing values for 1950 and 1960 were given for both cities and counties in the County and City Data Books, but not enough information was available to allow for calculation of the first suburban (county minus city) housing value.

For the newer suburban figures, decennial Census data was collected for counties based on the 2000 Census Metropolitan Statistical Area definitions. Any first suburbs and their cities (if applicable) were then subtracted to calculate the "outer" or "newer" suburb numbers.

What follows is a list of all variables used in the report, the years reported, and the calculations performed (where applicable) to arrive at our final figures.

Population:

Population change (1950–2000): These are simply population numbers and percent changes from decade to decade obtained from the decennial censuses.

First suburban population by state (1950–2000): These two sets of analyses (illustrating first suburban population by state and the first suburb plus city population by state) were created simply by adding the population of the first suburbs for each state and dividing by the total state populations for the decades 1950 through 2000.

Race and ethnicity:

Race and ethnicity (1980–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the total population for each race or ethnicity by the total population. In 1990 and 2000, the Census includes separate categories for Hispanic and non-Hispanic populations. For 1980, we subtracted Hispanic counts from total counts (for instance, the total white population minus the Hispanic white population to obtain the non-Hispanic white numbers). However, there was no category available for Hispanic Asians in 1980, so the Asian figures for that year include Hispanic and non-Hispanic Asians (therefore, the race and ethnicity shares for each place add up to slightly more than 100 percent).

Immigration:

Foreign-born population (1970–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the number of foreign-born people (naturalized plus non-citizens) by the total population.

Age:

Percent population for age groups (1950–2000): These figures were obtained by dividing the number of people in each age group by the total population. The under-15 population and 15 to 64 populations could only be calculated for 1970 to 2000 due to a lack of sufficient information in the County and City Data Books.

Dependency ratio (1950–2000): The dependency ratio was calculated using the following formula: Dependency Ratio = ([Population under 15] + [Population 65 and over]) / ([Population 15–64]) × 100. This represents the number of children under 15 and adults 65 and over for every 100 people aged 15 to 64.

Household type and size:

Household family type (1980–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the number of households for each family-type (married with children, single-father with children, etc.) by the total number of households.

Household size change (1950–2000): To allow for comparability among all years, household size was calculated by dividing the total population by the total number of occupied housing units.

Housing:

Age of housing stock (in 2000): These figures were calculated using the 2000 Census SF3 data for ‘Year Structure Built.’ 10-year intervals were used for the time of completion (for more recent years, a couple of the existing intervals had to be combined to equal ten years). The calculation is simply the number of housing units built for each interval divided by the total number of housing units existing in the year 2000.

Homeowners (1950–2000): The homeownership rate was calculated by dividing the total number of owner-occupied housing units by the total number of occupied housing units. In order to calculate homeownership for

1950 and 1960 for the first suburbs, it was necessary to multiply the homeownership rate printed in the County and City Data Books by the number of occupied housing units to obtain absolute values for owner-occupied housing units.

Average housing values and rents (1970–2000): Average housing values for owner-occupied housing were calculated by dividing the aggregate value of all owner-occupied housing units by the total number of owner-occupied housing units. The average rent figures were calculated by dividing the aggregate gross rent by the total number of renter-occupied housing units. We adjusted these values for inflation using the CPI for years 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 (38.8, 82.4, 130.7, and 172.2, respectively). For instance, to calculate the average rent in 1970 in year-2000 dollars, the year-2000 CPI is divided by the year-1970 CPI and the quotient is multiplied by the 1970 average rent value.

Rent burdens (1970–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the number of households paying at least 35 percent of their household's annual income on rent by the total number of renting households. Only those households for which Census calculated rental costs as a percent of household income are included in the calculations.

Educational attainment:

Percent Bachelor's degree and high school attainment (1970–2000): The figures illustrating the percent of the 25 and older population that have achieved certain levels of education attainment were calculating by dividing the number of people 25 and older that have reached a certain level of educational attainment divided by the number of people who are at least 25 years old.

Percent Bachelor's and high school attainment by race (1980–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the number of people 25 or older for each racial or ethnic group who had achieved a certain level of educational attainment divided by the total 25 and older population for that racial or ethnic group.

Income and poverty:

Median household income (1980–2000): Pareto interpolation was used to estimate the median household income for first suburbs. This stems from the inability to disaggregate data on medians from the counties. For information on the interpolation technique, see Berube and Tiffany (2004).

Overall poverty rate (1970–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the total number of individuals in poverty by the total number of individuals for which poverty was calculated.

Poverty rate by race (1980–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the total number of individuals in poverty for each racial or ethnic group by the total number of individuals from each racial or ethnic group for which poverty was calculated.

Concentrated poverty (1970–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the number of tracts in each first suburb that had a certain share of individuals in poverty (20, 30, and 40 percent or more were the three thresholds used) by the total number of tracts in the first suburb. To do this, ArcGIS was utilized to exclude all tracts from the first suburban county that were at least 50 percent contained with the city boundary (where applicable).

The Neighborhood Change DataBase (NCDB) was then used to download the poverty data for all tracts within the first suburbs.

Employment:

Industrial composition (2000): These figures were calculated by aggregating Census data up to the categories of: Agriculture, Construction, Manufacturing, Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, Transportation and Warehousing, Information, Finance, Professional/Scientific/Management, Educational/Health/Social Services, Arts/Entertainment/Recreation/Food Service, Other Services, and Public Administration. The percent of the employed over-16 population for each category was found by dividing the total number of over-16 employed people for each industrial category by the total number of employed civilians over the age of 16.

Occupation change (1990–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the total number of people 16 and over working in each occupational group by the total number of employed people over the age of 16. In order to make a comparison between 1990 and 2000, a crosswalk provided by the Census Bureau was needed to adjust for differences in occupational category definitions between the two years. Information on the location of this crosswalk and the procedure used to adjust 1990 occupational data can be found at: http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/ioindex/pdfio/sf3occtabcross1instructions.pdf.

The occupational categories analyzed in this study included:

- Management, professional, and related occupations (including management, farmers, farm manager; business operations and financial specialists; architects, surveyors, cartographers, and engineers; drafters, engineering, and mapping technicians; life, physical, and social science occupations; community and social service occupations; legal occupations; education, training, and library occupations; arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations; health diagnosing and treating practitioners and technical occupations; and health technologists and technicians)
- Service occupations (including healthcare support occupations; fire fighting, prevention, and law enforcement workers, including supervisors; other protective service workers, including supervisors; food preparation and serving related occupations; building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations; and personal care and service occupations)
- Sales and office occupations (including sales and related occupations; and office and administrative support occupations)
- Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations
- Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations (including supervisors, construction, and extraction workers; construction trades workers; extraction workers; and installation, maintenance and repair occupations)
- Production, transportation, and material moving occupations (including supervisors, transportation, and material moving workers; aircraft and traffic control occupations; motor vehicle operators; rail, water, and other transportation occupations; and material moving workers).

Unemployment (1970–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the number of civilian, non-institutionalized unemployed people 16 and over by the total civilian, non-institutionalized labor force.

Labor force (1970–2000): The labor force participation rate was calculated by dividing the total number of civilian, non-institutionalized people 16 and over participating in the labor force divided by the total population of civilian, non-institutionalized people 16 and over.

Work at home (1970–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the total number of workers age 16 and over who work at home by the total number of workers age 16 and over. The information for this calculation was obtained in the commuting data of the decennial censuses.

Commuting:

Cars per housing unit: Data acquired for 1980–2000. The percent of housing units with access to a vehicle (or x vehicles) was calculated by adding the number of renter-occupied and owner-occupied housing units with access to x cars and dividing by the total number of occupied housing units.

Mode of transportation to work (1970–2000): The percent of the commuting population that commutes to work using x (public transportation, driving alone, etc.) was calculated by dividing the number of commuters using each form of transportation by the total number of commuters.

Time of commute by time category (1980–2000): The percent of commuters taking x minutes (under 15 minutes, 15 to 30 minutes, etc.) to get to work was calculated by dividing the number of commuters taking x minutes to get to work by the total number of commuters.

Average commute time (1980–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the aggregate commute time in minutes of all commuters by the total number of commuters.

Place of work (1980–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing the number of workers for each place of work category by the total number of workers.

Other:

Governments per 1,000 people (2002): These figures were obtained from the 2002 Census of Governments dataset. Only sub-county municipalities were used in the calculation of first suburban governments (and the cities were again subtracted). Jurisdictions like school districts are not a part of the calculation. Governments per 1,000 people was found by dividing the total number of governments by the first suburban population for each first suburb by 1,000

Area change (1950–2000): These figures were obtained from the decennial censuses. All numbers were converted to square miles. While most of the geographies remained about the same size, a few changed dramatically due to mergers or large annexations of land. Examples of first suburbs with large changes in area are Marion and Harris.

Density (1950–2000): These figures were calculated by dividing population by the number of square miles for each geography.

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