Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy

City Families and Suburban Singles:

An Emerging Household Story from Census 2000

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"…the types of households that fueled city and suburban population growth in the 1990s differed widely across U.S. regions."

Findings

An analysis of population, household, and household type changes in the 102 most populous metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000 indicates that:

- **In the 1990s, central city population growth was at a three-decade high, but household growth was at a three-decade low.** Growing cities added population faster than households in the past decade, while declining cities lost population faster than households.
- **Fast-growing cities in the South and West experienced significant increases in married couples with children, while slow-growing cities in the Northeast and Midwest experienced declines in these families.** In 12 of the 15 central cities with the largest population declines in the 1990s, single parents with children now represent a larger share of all households than "married with children" households.
- **Suburbs now contain more nonfamily households—largely young singles and elderly people living alone—than married couples with children.** In 2000, 29 percent of all suburban households were nonfamilies, while 27 percent were married couples with children. Overall, suburbs experienced faster growth in every household type than their cities in the 1990s.
- **Cities in high-immigration metros are becoming more "suburban" in their household composition, while suburbs in slow-growing Northern metros are becoming more "urban" in theirs.** "Melting Pot" cities registered strong growth in married couples with children, while suburbs of the Northeast and Midwest regions experienced the bulk of their growth in nonfamily and single-parent households.

I. Introduction

Changes in population during the 1990s have been the focus of much of the debate thus far around the meaning of the 2000 Census with regard to cities and metropolitan areas. It was a decade of population gains for most large cities, including some that stagnated or declined in previous decades, like New York and Chicago. Yet suburban population growth continued to outpace that of the cities. Regional distinctions were also important: both cities and suburbs grew fastest in the South and West, while several cities in the Northeast and Midwest continued to experience population declines.[1]

Still, focusing exclusively on population change offers only a partial picture of metropolitan growth dynamics in the 1990s. Change in the number and composition of households may be a better indicator of changes in metropolitan housing demand, tax base, and services needs than population change. For instance, in the 1990s the city of Washington, D.C., lost 6 percent of its population, but the number of households remained relatively stable (1 percent loss). This implies that, on net, the city lost larger families with children but gained and retained smaller, childless households. Looking at household change and not just population change helps to explain the continued high demand for housing in that city. Washington's experience, though, is different from that of other cities such as New York, Detroit, Phoenix and Los Angeles. Recent household change dynamics differ sharply across metropolitan areas, reflecting shifting household types and location preferences that are shaping cities and suburbs in new ways.

The present survey interprets the results of the 2000 Census to reveal important differences between household growth and population growth in U.S. metropolitan areas and their component central cities and suburbs during the 1990s. Additionally, the survey shows that the types of households that fueled city and suburban population growth (or that served to stem city population loss) differed widely across U.S. regions.

II. Methodology

Metropolitan Area Definitions

This study evaluates population and household changes during the 1990s for the country's 102 largest metropolitan areas—namely, those metros with 500,000 or more inhabitants as reported in Census 2000. The metropolitan areas analyzed are those defined by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) as Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs), and in the New England states, as New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMAs).

Definition of Central City and Suburbs

The present analysis defines central cities and their suburbs (the portion of the metropolitan area located outside of the central city) largely in accordance with OMB definitions in effect for the 2000 Census. These definitions are applied consistently to both 1990 and 2000 census data. OMB standards sometimes combine multiple cities to form the official "central city" for a given metropolitan area.[2] These standards were modified slightly for purposes of this analysis, in that the largest or best-known city/cities in most large metropolitan areas have been designated as the "central city." We generally treat as central cities the place or places listed in the official OMB metropolitan area name. In the "Detroit, MI PMSA," for example, OMB recognizes the cities of Detroit, Dearborn, Pontiac, and Port Huron as the combined "central city." Our analysis includes only Detroit as the "central city" and the remainder of the Detroit PMSA is treated as suburbs. We have in this manner modified the official definition of "central city" for 56 of the 102 metropolitan areas in this study.[3] Central cities are designated for only 97 of the 102 metropolitan areas in our study, so the populations of the remaining metro areas are classified as suburban.

Metropolitan Area Typology

Portions of this analysis employ a metropolitan area typology introduced in a previous Brookings Census 2000 Series survey.[4] The typology distinguishes among metropolitan areas on the basis of their regional locations and dominant racial-ethnic structures. This typology is useful in the present study because the nature of household growth in the 1990s is reflective of both of these factors. The 102 metropolitan areas are classified as follows:

- Melting Pot metros (35 metro areas)
- North—largely white-black metros (6 metro areas)
- North—largely white metros (29 metro areas)
- South—largely white-black metros (19 metro areas)
- South and West—largely white metros (13 metro areas)

"Melting Pot Metros" such as New York, Los Angeles, El Paso, and Bakersfield have large proportions of Hispanic, Asian, American Indian/Native Alaskan, other races, and multi-racial populations, and are located primarily in high-immigration zones of the U.S.

The two metro categories in the North include primarily slow-growing metropolitan areas in the census Northeast and Midwest regions. "North—largely white-black" areas such as Philadelphia and Detroit have significant African-American populations; and "North—largely white" areas such as Boston and Minneapolis have smaller minority populations.

Metropolitan areas in the South and West categories are located in those

faster growing census regions. "South—largely white-black" metros include areas like Atlanta, Baltimore, and Little Rock that have significant African-American populations; and "South and West—largely white" areas include those with a smaller minority presence, such as Seattle, Colorado Springs, and Tampa.[5] Appendix B contains a complete listing of the 102 metro areas arranged by their classifications.

Household Type Definitions

Our study distinguishes among five different household types in accordance with definitions established by the decennial census. Table 1 presents these categories and the shares of all U.S. households that each one represented in 1990 and 2000.

Families are defined by the presence of two or more people in the household related by birth, marriage or adoption, and children refer to a parent's own children under the age of 18. A great deal of demographic diversity exists not only among but also within these household types. Each of the five major household types comprises a spectrum of households with a wide range of service needs and with varying abilities to contribute to the local tax base—differences dictated in large part by household size and by the age of household members. The five households types are as follows:

- *Married with children:* As the children of Baby Boomers age and leave home, the traditional "nuclear family" household type accounts for a shrinking portion of all U.S. households. In 2000, less than one-fourth of all households nationwide were of this type, compared to 40.3 percent of all households in 1970.

- *Married without children:* The 28 percent of households that are married couples without children includes young, often two-earner couples who have not yet had children, older "empty nester" couples whose children may recently have left home, and elderly couples who may have grandchildren of their own.

- *Other families with children:* These households are usually single-parent family households, and four out of five of them are headed by females. While disadvantaged single mothers who gave birth at a young age make up a significant portion of these households, the category also includes most divorced and separated parents with children, never-married mothers who chose to have children at a later age, and unmarried partners with children.

- *Other families without children:* These households include single adults with parents living in their home, single parents with children over 18 living in their home, and adult relatives (such as brothers and sisters) living in the same household.

- *Nonfamilies:* More than 80 percent of nonfamily households are single persons living alone; of these, more than one-third are 65 years and older. Other nonfamily households consist of non-relatives living together, including unmarried partners with no children.

Table 1: Share of all U.S. Households by Household Type, 1990 and 2000

	1990	2000
Family Households	70.2	68.1
Married Couple	55.1	51.7
With own children under 18	26.7	23.5
No own children under 18	28.4	28.1
Other Family	15.0	16.4
With own children under 18	9.3	9.2
No own children under 18	5.7	7.1
Nonfamily Households	29.8	31.9
Persons Living Alone	24.6	25.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

The reader should keep in mind that household growth and decline can occur in a more dynamic, varied fashion than population change. Aside from in-migration or out-migration, changes in the number of households result from household formation and dissolution. New households form largely when "coming of age" late teens and young adults leave their parents' homes to form their own. Changes in other existing households can also affect household growth: for instance, two nonfamily single households may combine to form a married couple household; likewise, a divorce may create two households from one. Life transitions can also lead to changes in household type, as when a married couple without children household experiences the birth of a child (thus creating a married couple with children household), or the death of a spouse (thus creating a nonfamily household).

III. Findings

A. In the 1990s, central city population growth was at a three-decade high, but household growth was at a three-decade low.

Metropolitan household and population changes in the last decade occurred within the context of larger U.S. demographic forces, with the 1990s representing a dramatic shift in household and population dynamics from just two decades prior. In the 1970s, U.S. population growth was slower than in the 1950s and 1960s, as the Baby Boomers entering adulthood during that decade had children at lower rates than did their earlier counterparts. At the same time, however, households grew at record pace in the U.S. during the 1970s. As they entered traditional household formation ages, Boomers were not only more numerous than previous generations at those ages, but also they waited longer than their parents to "double up" and form couples to start families, thus creating more households per capita.

With the Boomers dominating the American demographic landscape, the number of U.S. households in the 1970s in fact grew at more than twice the rate of U.S. population (27 percent versus 11.4 percent) (see Figure 1). This growth differential narrowed somewhat during the 1980s, but the household gains generated by the late Boomers during that decade still exceeded population gains by more than half. In the 1990s, however, the gap between U.S. population and household growth narrowed considerably. Household growth was at a three-decade low, and population growth at a three-decade high.

Following the national trend, central cities in all metropolitan areas experienced faster population growth and slower household growth in the 1990s than in the 1970s or 1980s. As Figure 2 shows, central city population growth during the 1970s was barely positive (0.1 percent), became much stronger in the 1980s (7.0 percent), and continued on this upward trend during the 1990s (9.8 percent). Over the same period, cities experienced declines in the household growth rate similar to, though less steep than, the nation as a whole—from 14.6 percent in the 1970s to 9.9 percent in the 1990s.

This shift in the direction of household-versus-population growth is based on separate demographic forces. The recent declines in household growth are attributable to the smaller

Figure 1: U.S. Household and Population Growth by Decade, 1970–2000

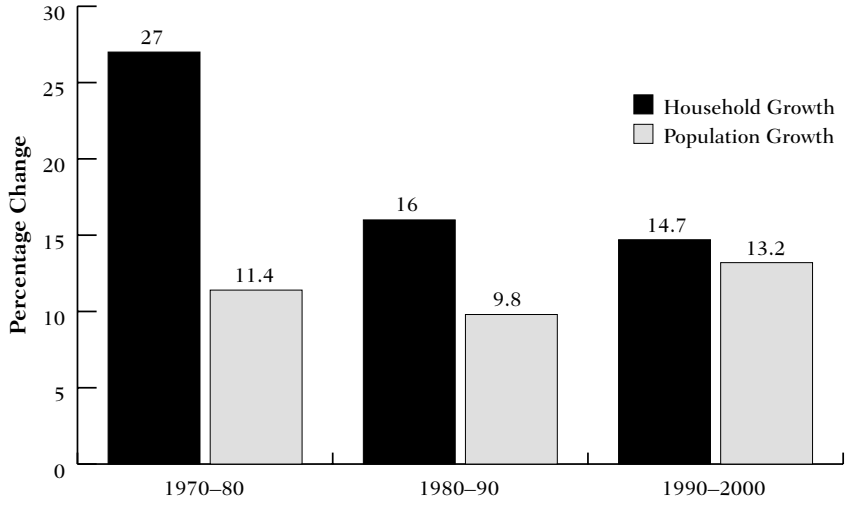
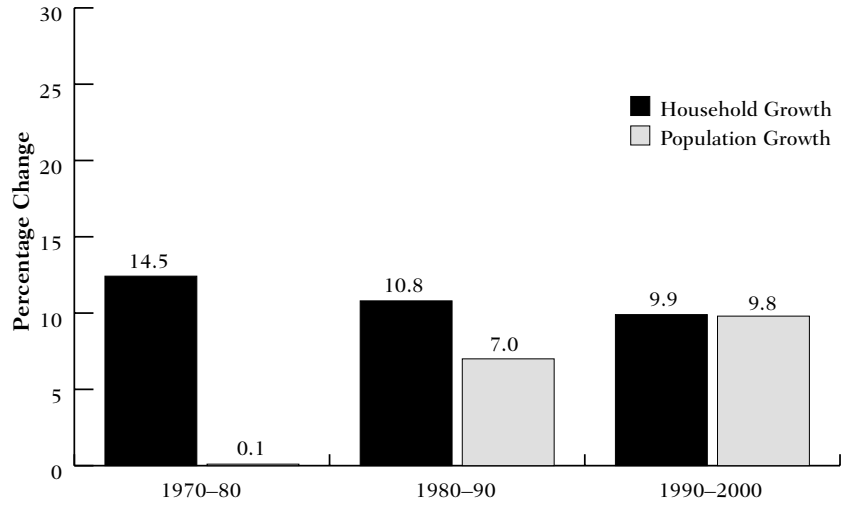


Figure 2: Central City Household and Population Growth by Decade, 1970–2000*



**Central cities of all U.S. metropolitan areas*

Table 2: Population and Household Growth Rates 1990-2000
Central Cities with Greatest Population Growth and Decline in Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

		Central City Growth Rates		
		POPULATION	HOUSEHOLD	Difference
METRO AREAS WITH GREATEST CENTRAL CITY POPULATION GROWTH				
1.	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	85	77	-8
2.	Bakersfield, CA MSA	41	34	-8
3.	Austin, TX MSA	41	38	-3
4.	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	40	47	6
5.	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	39	35	-4
6.	Charlotte, NC-SC MSA	37	36	-1
7.	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	35	28	-7
8.	Raleigh-Durham, NC MSA	34	32	-2
9.	Colorado Springs, CO MSA	28	28	-1
10.	Greensboro—Winston-Salem—High Point, NC MSA	25	25	0
11	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	22	19	-3
12	San Antonio, TX MSA	22	24	2
13	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	21	21	-1
14	Fresno, CA MSA	21	15	-6
15	Orange County, CA PMSA	21	11	-10
METRO AREAS WITH GREATEST CENTRAL CITY POPULATION DECLINE				
1.	Hartford, CT NECMA	-13	-13	0
2.	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	-12	-11	1
3.	Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	-12	-10	2
4.	Gary, IN PMSA	-12	-7	5
5.	Baltimore, MD PMSA	-12	-7	5
6.	Buffalo, NY MSA	-11	-10	1
7.	Syracuse, NY MSA	-10	-8	2
8.	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	-10	-6	3
9.	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	-9	-4	5
10.	Birmingham, AL MSA	-9	-6	2
11	Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	-8	-6	2
12	Detroit, MI PMSA	-7	-10	-3
13	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	-6	-4	2
14	Scranton-Hazleton, PA MSA	-6	-4	3
15	Toledo, OH MSA	-6	-1	4

Note: Pertains to MSAs, PMSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined in June, 2000 by OMB with modifications for central cities. See text.
Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

post-Boomer generation entering its household formation years in the 1990s. The recent increases in population growth can be attributed in large part to immigrant population waves whose first, second and third generations are living in cities, and have younger age structures and often higher birth rates. In addition, the households these newcomers form are different from those formed in the 1970s by "coming of age" Baby Boomers. Immigrants and children of immigrants are more likely to marry earlier and form larger, married couple with children households. As we explore later in greater detail, the character of city households, especially in fast-growing cities, is quite different today from what it was 20 to 30 years ago.

One implication of these trends is that the household growth "cushion" that central cities enjoyed during earlier decades no longer exists. In the 1970s, cities that declined or grew only modestly in population could

nevertheless count on continued demand for housing among new Boomer households. With population growth and household growth virtually at parity during the 1990s, however, cities in general seemed able to enjoy sustained housing demand and growing tax bases only if their populations were increasing.

These dominant city trends of reduced household formation and increased population growth, especially the growth of families with children among immigrant groups, did not hold across all central cities. Among the cities in this study, population growth in the 1990s ranged from a decline of 13 percent (Hartford, CT) to a gain of 85 percent (Las Vegas, NV). Overall, three-fourths of central cities showed population gains. Table 2 displays the 15 central cities in this study with the highest population growth during the 1990s and the 15 cities with the largest population declines. Notably, the cities showing the greatest population growth were all located in the South and West census regions; those with the greatest population declines were overwhelmingly in the North and Midwest.[6] (See Appendix A for a complete listing of population and household growth rates in the 102 metropolitan areas.)

Almost uniformly, the rapidly growing cities experienced faster population growth than household growth. The most notable example was Las Vegas. Its population growth rate over the decade was 85 percent, but its household growth rate was only 77 percent. This implies that average household size in Las Vegas was on the rise in the 1990s. A number of likely reasons underlie this trend, including the city attracting larger households, births occurring among families already living in the city in 1990, and families "doubling up" in one housing unit. Some other cities in which the population growth rate was much higher than the household growth rate during the 1990s are Bakersfield, CA; Phoenix, AZ; Fresno, CA; and the central cities of Orange County, CA (Santa Ana, Anaheim, and Irvine). The housing pressures accompanying the large population increases in these cities were eased in part by their slower increases in numbers of households.

Conversely, cities with falling populations lost households also, but at slower rates than they lost population. Gary, IN; Baltimore, MD; and Cincinnati, OH, all experienced much more rapid declines in population than in households. In effect, the household "cushion" still existed for these cities, although it was much smaller than in previous decades. The problems accompanying their population losses were perhaps muted to some extent by their slower declines in households. This pattern of faster population decline than household decline indicates that these cities lost, on net, larger families at higher rates than they did smaller families and single-person households. The relatively large number of elderly residents in these cities also suggests that their faster population decreases may have occurred in part as a result of deaths in existing family households.[7]

B. Fast-growing cities in the South and West experienced significant increases in married couples with children, while slow-growing cities in the Northeast and Midwest experienced declines in these families. Looking more closely at changes in the types of households that lived in cities in the 1990s, we see important differences between fast-growing and slow-growing/declining cities. Overall, "married with children" families form a significantly smaller percentage of all U.S. households than in previous decades.[8] Yet fast-growing cities in the U.S. South and West experienced large increases in numbers of family households—especially married couples—with children.[9] Meanwhile, in slow-growing cities of the Northeast and Midwest in the 1990s, married-couple family households, particularly those with children, declined at much faster rates than did nonfamilies and other families. (See Appendix B for a complete listing of central city household type shares and household type growth rates for the 102 metropolitan areas.)

Fast-growing cities in the 1990s are characterized by the considerable presence of married couples, including those with children, among their resident and new-arrival populations (upper panel of Table 3). In 13 of the 15 fastest-growing central cities, married-couple households (with and without children) account for more than 40 percent of all city households, and they account for half or more of central city households in metro areas such as Las Vegas, NV; Bakersfield, CA; McAllen, TX; and Orange County, CA. (For purposes of comparison, married couples account for 39 percent of combined central city households for all metro areas in this study.) In eight of these 15 metros, the central city's "married with children" household share equals or exceeds the national average of 23.5 percent. In part, the large percentages of married-couple households in these fast-growing central cities in the South and West reflect the fairly expansive borders of these cities, which are not as "hemmed in" as most Northeast and Midwest cities. These cities are thus able to incorporate a more "suburban" population within their boundaries.

Married-couple households were not the only types driving population growth in the fast-growing cities of the 1990s. Most of these cities experienced significant growth in all types of households (upper right panel of Table 3). Nearly all of the central cities in these metros saw their nonfamily households increase by more than one-third, and their growth rates for families not headed by a married couple often exceeded those for married-couple households. However, the growth of married-couple households reinforced their already sizeable base population in these fast-growing

Table 3: 2000 Household Type Shares and 1990-2000 Rates of Household Type Growth
Central Cities with Greatest Population Growth and Decline in Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

	CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD TYPE SHARES					1990–2000 RATES OF HOUSEHOLD GROWTH				
	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES			MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		
Central Cities of Metro Areas	NO CHILD	With CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NON FAM.	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NON FAM.
METRO AREAS WITH GREATEST CENTRAL CITY POPULATION INCREASE										
1. Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	27	22	8	10	34	76	79	85	70	97
2. Bakersfield, CA MSA	24	29	7	14	27	27	35	50	25	57
3. Austin, TX MSA	20	19	7	8	47	31	31	55	42	39
4. McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	27	33	9	11	20	50	36	65	55	43
5. Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	23	17	6	9	45	28	38	33	37	45
6. Charlotte, NC-SC MSA	23	21	8	10	39	20	30	29	48	49
7. Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	24	24	7	11	34	15	25	48	30	55
8. Raleigh-Durham, NC MSA	21	18	7	10	44	22	30	31	36	49
9. Colorado Springs, CO MSA	27	25	5	9	34	24	18	50	33	37
10. Greensboro--Winston-Salem--High Point, NC MSA	24	17	8	11	39	14	20	21	30	44
11 Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	23	25	8	11	34	7	17	30	19	49
12 San Antonio, TX MSA	24	24	9	12	31	19	14	36	30	36
13 West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	28	16	7	8	43	9	19	13	29	43
14 Fresno, CA MSA	21	25	9	15	30	4	17	33	11	30
15 Orange County, CA PMSA	22	35	9	10	24	0	25	9	-1	32
METRO AREAS WITH GREATEST CENTRAL CITY POPULATION DECLINE										
1. Hartford, CT NECMA	14	12	12	23	40	-23	-15	-7	-6	-13
2. St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	15	11	12	15	48	-27	-19	-9	-1	-5
3. Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	22	13	11	15	38	-24	-31	-4	4	4
4. Gary, IN PMSA	19	11	17	20	33	-14	-36	12	-8	7
5. Baltimore, MD PMSA	17	10	15	16	43	-23	-27	-5	-2	7
6. Buffalo, NY MSA	16	12	10	17	45	-26	-24	-8	7	-4
7. Syracuse, NY MSA	16	12	8	16	49	-24	-23	-10	14	-3
8. Pittsburgh, PA MSA	20	11	10	10	48	-19	-20	-18	2	5
9. Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	16	11	8	14	51	-17	-25	-7	5	6
10. Birmingham, AL MSA	19	13	14	15	40	-23	-25	3	11	3
11 Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	20	14	10	14	43	-18	-23	-4	2	4
12 Detroit, MI PMSA	14	13	17	21	35	-23	-13	2	-9	-9
13 Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	17	12	8	13	50	-19	-22	-14	27	3
14 Scranton-Hazleton, PA MSA	24	16	9	9	42	-15	-18	-12	23	9
15 Toledo, OH MSA	22	16	8	13	40	-13	-21	-1	20	11

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

cities. As Table 4 indicates, eight of the 15 fastest-growing metro area central cities were also among the 15 central cities with the highest share of "married with children" families in 2000. In most of the nation's fastest-growing central cites in major metropolitan areas, large immigrant and migrant populations, and the attraction of young married couples and married couples with children, create distinctive residential growth dynamics.

Cities that experienced population declines in the 1990s offered a stark contrast to the "married with children" phenomenon in growing cities. In declining cities in the 1990s, population tended to drop at a faster rate than did households, and the number of larger married-couple households—especially those with children—decreased faster than did other household types. As the bottom right panel of Table 3 indicates, central cities in five of these 15 metro areas lost at least a quarter of their total "married with children" households: Youngstown-Warren, OH; Gary, IN; Baltimore, MD; Cincinnati, OH; and Birmingham, AL. Married couples with children made up at least 20 percent of households in most of the fastest-growing central cities in 2000, but far less than 20 percent of households in each of the 15 declining central cities (bottom left panel of Table 3).

Yet only the top two declining cities—Hartford, CT and St. Louis, MO—experienced net losses in all five household types. Many of the declining cities in fact continued to experience growth in nonfamily households in the 1990s. In most of these cities, this household type—largely representing younger singles and elderly persons living alone—constituted at least 40 percent of all households in 2000. The bottom right panel of Table 3 shows that ten of these 15 central cities experienced modest growth in their nonfamily household population. A rise in nonfamily households in the declining cities does not necessarily imply that such cities continued to attract coming-of-age singles in the 1990s. As indicated earlier, this nonfamily growth could be attributable in part to the death of spouses in elderly married-couple families; this may also help to account for some of the decreases in "married without children" households that these cities witnessed over the decade.

Families with children not headed by a married couple were also on the rise in most of the declining cities in the 1990s. Ten of the 15 fastest-declining central cities saw growth in this household type, which most often represents single parents with children, and in some cases cohabiting partners with children. Three of these ten cities—Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY; Scranton-Hazleton, PA; and Toledo, OH—experienced greater than 20 percent growth in this household type, and a nearly equivalent decline in the number of married families with children. In 12 of the 15 fastest-declining cities, "other families with children" now account for a greater share of households than "married with children" households (bottom left panel of Table 3). In theory, the "other families with children" household type could have grown as the result of increased divorce, spousal deaths, or families of this type moving to the declining cities. In all likelihood, however, this growth reflects a number of other trends in these cities, including continued births to younger unwed mothers and increasing rates of cohabitation among unwed parents.

The selective out-migration of larger, married-couple family households is characteristic of older, declining central cities. Most such cities are located in regions of the country where neither central cities nor suburbs are gaining residents from other parts of the U.S. Addition-

Table 4: "Married with Children" Central Cities, 2000 (Major Metro Central Cities with Greatest Shares of Married Couples with Children)

	Metro Area Central Cities:	Percent Married Couples with Children*
1	Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA	34.7
2	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	33.2
3	San Jose, CA	29.9
4	El Paso, TX	29.7
5	Bakersfield, CA	28.6
6	Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	27.1
7	Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA	26.2
8	Stockton-Lodi, CA	25.9
9	Fresno, CA	25.4
10	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	25.2
11	Colorado Springs, CO	24.7
12	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	24.2
13	San Antonio, TX	24.1
14	Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA	23.6
National Average		23.5
15	Ventura, CA	22.7

**Married Couples with Children as percent of total Central City households*

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

ally, none of these central cities is benefiting appreciably from the recent immigration waves that have fueled growth in many of the fast-growing cities. In earlier decades, these cities could count on Baby Boomer "coming of age" households—including married-couple households—to locate there prior to moving to the suburbs. Their prospects for growth from this source are no longer so strong.

In between the fast-growing and declining cities lies a small group of cities that staged a population "comeback" in the 1990s after losing population in the 1980s.[10] Household statistics indicate that different types of households accounted for the turnaround in each of these cities—Atlanta, GA; Chicago, IL; Denver, CO; and Memphis, TN. While Denver experienced increases in married couples with and without children, Atlanta and Memphis saw declines in this household type. Single-parent families with children were on the decline in Atlanta and Chicago, but increased by 28 percent in Memphis, where they now represent 17 percent of all households. The "comeback" cities were similar, though, in that "coming of age" singles represented a renewed source of household growth. Across all four cities, nonfamily households increased in number by 16 percent; those headed by 25 to 34 year-olds increased by 21 percent.

C. Suburbs now contain more nonfamily households—largely young singles and elderly people living alone—than married couples with children.

Despite a three-decade high in central city population growth in the 1990s, suburban growth continued to dominate the metropolitan landscape. The household source of that suburban population growth, however, was quite different than that traditionally associated with the suburban lifestyle.

Overall, while the population in central cities of the top 102 metropolitan areas grew by 9 percent over the decade, the number of suburban residents in these metros grew by nearly 17 percent. The suburbs maintained an even more significant advantage over cities in household growth, with an increase of 18 percent in the 1990s, versus 8.6 percent in cities.[11] Faster suburban household growth was not limited to certain types of households. Across four of the five major household types, suburban growth rates were roughly double central city growth rates (Figure 3). And while central cities experienced a net loss of 2 percent of their "married without children" households, these households actually grew by 10 percent in the suburbs.

Notably, Figure 3 also shows that the suburbs of major metropolitan areas are home to growing numbers of household types traditionally associated with cities. Overall, nonfamilies and single-parent families were the fastest growing household types in major metropolitan suburbs in the 1990s. The profile of these household types in suburbs may differ somewhat from their profile in cities; for instance, a greater share of "other families with children" households in the suburbs than in the cities may be the product of divorce, separation or cohabitation.

Nonetheless, as a result of the rise of smaller nonfamily and single-parent family household types in the suburbs, household growth maintained an edge over population growth in the suburbs in the 1990s. This implies that average suburban household size decreased over the decade. In contrast, in the central cities, household and population growth were nearly equivalent, and average household size was stable. One implication of the decrease in average household size in suburbs in the 1990s may be higher per capita housing demand. The type of housing that these smaller households seek, however, may be somewhat different than that demanded by the larger household types that have traditionally predominated in the suburbs.

This trend has changed the household makeup of suburbs rather significantly. Figure 4 shows the share of all households that each major household type represented in suburbs in 2000. It indicates that nonfamilies now represent a larger share of

Figure 3: Suburb and Central City Household Change by Household Type, 1990-2000, Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000

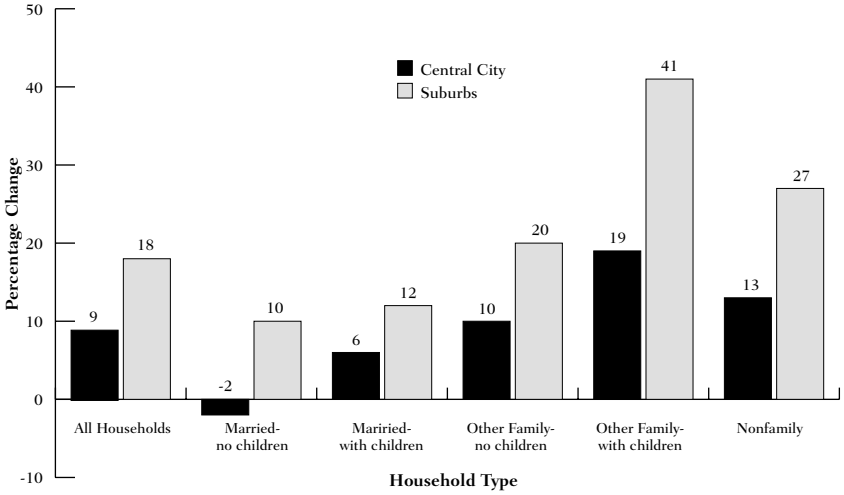
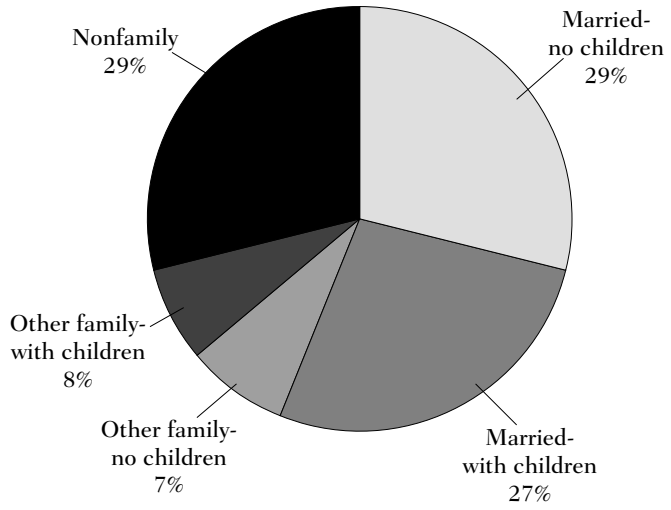


Figure 4: Household Type Shares in Suburbs, 2000, Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000



total suburban households than do traditional "married with children" households. (See Appendix B for a complete list of suburban household type shares and household type growth rates for the 102 metropolitan areas.) As they did in 1990, households with children under 18 still make up about one-third (35 percent) of all suburban households. Now, however, nearly one in four (24 percent) suburban households with children is not headed by a married couple, as compared with less than one in five a decade ago.

D. Cities in high-immigration metros are becoming more "suburban" in their household composition, while suburbs in slow-growing Northern metros are becoming more "urban" in theirs. For much of the post-World War II era, a suburban residence was generally associated with child-raising. City households relocated to suburban communities chosen on the basis of their mix of available housing, community services, and quality of school systems. As a consequence, the share of "married with children" central city households began to shrink over time.[12] Conversely, cities were associated with "coming-of-age" singles and childless married couples, as well as with traditionally more disadvantaged groups like single-parent families and elderly homeowners. To a large extent, these residential patterns still hold in much of metropolitan America. But important regional trends emerged in the 1990s that blur some of the long-established demographic distinctions between cities and suburbs. In general, cities in high-immigration metros and in fast-growing metros in the South and West experienced increases in "married with children" families, while in the suburbs of slower-growing Northern metros the numbers of single-parent family and small nonfamily households were on the rise.

City Patterns by Metro Type

The image of "suburbs only" as favored locales for two-parent families is changing as new waves of immigrants make their homes in central cities, especially in selected "Melting Pot" metropolitan areas. Among new immigrant minorities—Hispanics in particular—birth rates are higher and married-couple families with children are more prevalent than among the general population. The 2000 Census shows that among Hispanics, 45 percent of all families are married couples with children, and 35 percent of females are in their prime child bearing ages (15-34), in comparison with 35 percent and 27 percent respectively, for the total U.S. population. Comparable numbers for Asians in 2000 are 46 percent married couples with children, and 33 percent of women in their younger child bearing ages.

The right-hand panel of Table 5 reveals that the highest rates of central city household growth were in Melting Pot metro areas, and in "New Sunbelt" metro areas located in the South and West.[13] Melting Pot central cities and cities in the South and West—largely white metros experienced significant increases in "married with children" households. Cities in other metro types experienced net losses of such households, as well as of married-couple households without children (see Appendix B for a list of 1990-2000 household type growth rates and 2000 shares for all central cities).

In part because of the increases in these families during the 1990s, Melting Pot metros led other metro categories in the share of their city households (20 percent) that are married couples with children (left-hand panel of Table 5). In fact, 13 of the top 15 metro areas for central city "married with children" household shares are Melting Pot metros with significant Hispanic and/or Asian populations (Table 4). For instance, more than one-third of Orange County's central city households are married couple families with children. The combined population of Santa Ana, Anaheim and Irvine—Orange County's central cities—is 52 percent Hispanic, 14 percent Asian, and 30 percent non-Hispanic white. In contrast, Orange County's suburbs are 60 percent non-Hispanic white, and

Table 5: 2000 Shares and 1990–2000 Rates of Growth for Household Types: Central Cities and Suburbs of Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000 by Metro Area Type

		HOUSEHOLD TYPE SHARES, 2000					1990–2000 RATES OF HOUSEHOLD GROWTH					
		MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON	TOTAL
	Number	NO CHILD	W/CHILD	NO CHILD	W/CHILD	FAM.	NO CHILD	W/CHILD	NO CHILD	W/CHILD	FAM.	HHs
CENTRAL CITIES												
MELTING POTS	33	21	20	10	11	38	2	13	14	21	12	11
NORTH— Largely White-Black	6	17	13	13	17	40	-20	-17	-1	5	1	-5
NORTH— Largely White	26	20	16	8	12	44	-9	-8	1	17	11	3
SOUTH— Largely White-Black	19	21	16	10	13	40	-1	-3	12	22	21	11
SOUTH & WEST— Largely White	13	23	17	7	9	44	2	9	16	24	20	13
Central City Total	**97**	**21**	**18**	**10**	**12**	**40**	**-2**	**6**	**10**	**19**	**13**	**9**
SUBURBS												
MELTING POTS	35	28	28	7	9	28	11	18	26	43	22	19
NORTH— Largely White-Black	6	30	25	7	8	31	4	2	10	31	27	12
NORTH— Largely White	29	30	26	6	7	30	5	4	6	34	25	12
SOUTH— Largely White-Black	19	30	27	7	9	28	21	15	32	55	40	27
SOUTH & WEST— Largely White	13	31	25	6	8	30	18	15	36	45	36	25
Suburbs Total	**102**	**29**	**27**	**7**	**8**	**29**	**10**	**12**	**20**	**41**	**27**	**18**

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

the married couple share of Orange County's suburban households (27 percent) is lower than that of its central cities.

Central cities located in the South and West—largely white metro areas also exhibit relatively high shares of married couple families both with (17 percent) and without (23 percent) children in their central cities, as well as significant growth (9 percent) in "married with children" households. Previous analyses found that most of these areas experienced significant domestic in-migration over the 1990s, including an influx of married couple populations.[14]

The other "New Sunbelt" category of metros, the South—largely white-black areas, included a few cities with growing married-couple populations, such as Charlotte, Greensboro, and Raleigh, NC. But the majority of cities in this category actually lost married-couple households, both with and without children. These include a few cities with declining populations (Baltimore, MD; Birmingham, AL; Greenville, SC; New Orleans, LA; and Richmond, VA), as well as modestly growing central cities, such as Atlanta, GA. The cities in this group experienced substantial losses of white families in previous decades and now house slightly above-average shares of nonfamily households and single-parent households.

Northern metro areas, in general, were the most likely to experience slow growth or decrease in their central city populations and households during the 1990s. All six of the North—largely white-black metro central cities declined in both population and households. These areas with significant inner-city black populations continued to lose white families during the 1990s as they had in previous decades. Consequently, these cities have smaller "married with children" shares, and experienced larger

1990-2000 declines in these shares, than cities in other metro types. Somewhat similar household and population dynamics characterize the North—largely white metros. Central cities in 14 of these 26 metro areas lost population in the 1990s, and a number are included in the declining central cities listed in Table 2 and Table 3. Because of selective suburbanization over many decades, most cities in this category now house somewhat smaller shares of married couples than do cities in other types of metros. Table 5 also shows that overall, central cities in North—largely white metros lost married-couple families during the 1990s.

The importance of married-couple family households to city growth in the 1990s is most apparent in a comparison of household growth rates in Melting Pot cities versus North—largely white cities. Differences between the growth of nonfamily and single-parent family households, which combined represent roughly half of all households in these cities, are rather small. But the loss of married-couple families in the Northern cities stands in stark contrast to the Melting Pot cities' significant gains in "married with children" households and modest increases in childless married couple households. As a result, overall household growth in Melting Pot cities significantly outpaced that in North—largely white cities.

Suburban Patterns by Metro Type

Across the suburbs of all types of metro areas, the number of single-parent and nonfamily households increased by double-digit rates. In Melting Pot metros and New Sunbelt metros, these single-parent and nonfamily household increases were accompanied by considerable growth in married couple families (Table 5). However, in Northern suburbs (for both largely white-black and largely white metros), growth in nonfamily and single-parent family households virtually dwarfed married-couple family growth. While married-couple families grew between 2 and 5 percent overall in these Northern suburbs, single-parent and nonfamily households grew at rates exceeding 25 percent. By 2000, nonfamily suburban household share exceeded "married with children" suburban household share by significant amounts in each of the Northern metro types.

In Northern metros, the differences were stark not only between different suburban household types, but also between the suburbs and the central cities. Because of past migration patterns, married-couple families still constitute more than 50 percent of total households in the suburbs of each of these metropolitan areas—much higher than their 30 percent share in the cities. In a number of these metros, however, that gap narrowed in the 1990s. The suburbs of the North—largely white-black metros saw their nonfamily households grow by 27 percent in the 1990s; in their cities, however, nonfamilies grew by only 1 percent. The city of Detroit, for instance, lost 9 percent of its nonfamily households in the 1990s, while its suburbs saw this household type grow by nearly a third (see Appendix B). Similarly, single-parent families also grew much faster in the suburbs of North—largely white-black metros (31 percent) than in the cities (5 percent). Three of those six metro areas actually showed absolute declines in their suburban "married with children" households during the decade. Thus, several household types traditionally associated with the city—"coming of age" singles, single parents, and elderly people living alone—are becoming increasingly common in slow-growing Northern suburbs.

While the majority of household growth in Northern suburbs came in the form of single-parent families and smaller nonfamilies, other metro type suburbs experienced significant growth in all types of households. The largest increases occurred in the New Sunbelt suburbs of the South and West, where the total number of households jumped by more than 25 percent during the decade. In general, the New Sunbelt suburbs experienced growth in all types of households at faster rates than did the Northern suburbs; the differential was greatest in the case of larger "married with children" households, which increased at roughly five times the rate in New Sunbelt suburbs (15 percent) as they did in Northern suburbs (3 percent). The large married-couple household increases in some suburbs of the South—largely white-black metros were coincident with declines in the central city in this household type. In the Nashville metro area, for instance, the number of married-couple households in the city declined, while the number in the suburbs grew by more than 30 percent.

Melting Pot suburbs experienced patterns of household change most similar to those occurring in their cities. As was the case in the cities, the growth of nonfamily households in Melting Pot suburbs during the decade (22 percent) was comparable to the growth of "married with children" households (18 percent). Single-parent families were the fastest-growing household type in both suburbs (43 percent) and cities (21 percent) alike. In part because of these similar growth patterns, cities and suburbs in Melting Pot metros looked more like one another in 2000 than did cities and suburbs in other metro area types, echoing earlier findings on the similarities in racial/ethnic makeup between cities and suburbs in Melting Pot metros.[15]

IV. Conclusion

The 1990–2000 decade ushered in a new context for population and household dynamics in the nation's metropolitan areas. Large demographic trends—including the aging of Baby Boomers, increased immigration and fertility among immigrant families, and migration to New Sunbelt areas in the U.S. South and West—challenged conventional residential patterns in the nation's cities and suburbs.

The growth of child-centered city populations in America's Melting Pot and New Sunbelt metropolitan areas presents several challenges. It may create new needs for public services like child care and infant health care; it may further test the adequacy of urban school systems; and it may put new stresses on the fiscal positions of these cities. At the same time, though, household patterns in the fastest-growing cities suggest that burgeoning family populations create opportunities for viable neighborhoods and continued growth that may not exist in other central cities.

The challenges and opportunities presented by the growth of smaller households in Northern suburbs are also noteworthy. With increasing numbers of nonfamily and single-parent family households calling these suburbs home, the need for affordable multifamily housing in these jurisdictions also increases. The demand for services like transportation and home health care for elderly homeowners who are "aging in place" in the suburbs may also be on the rise. Further analysis will illuminate whether the inner suburban communities in these Northern metros are being transformed into functional extensions of their central cities with respect to household structures, housing and socioeconomic attributes.

The changing household makeup of cities and suburbs, and the continued decline of many Northern cities, are occurring within a nationwide context of decentralizing households and population. The trend of faster suburban than city growth is not confined to certain types of metro areas nor to certain types of households. It pervades fast-growing and slow-growing metros alike and is true of married couple households, single-parent households, and singles. While the actual degree of growth disparity between cities and suburbs differs across different regions of the U.S., the uniform suburban "edge" raises significant questions about how cities are poised to compete in their metropolitan economies for jobs and residents during the next ten years. It remains to be seen whether increasing demographic similarity between cities and suburbs across the U.S. will bolster efforts to enhance regional cooperation.

APPENDIX A: Population and Household Growth Rates 1990–2000 for Central Cities and Suburbs Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000 by Metro Area Type

	CENTRAL CITY GROWTH			SUBURB GROWTH		
	Pop'n	HHs	Diff*	Pop'n	HHs	Diff*
MELTING POT Metros						
Albuquerque, NM MSA	17	19	3	29	35	6
Austin, TX MSA	41	38	-3	56	54	-2
Bakersfield, CA MSA	41	34	-8	12	5	-7
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	**	**	**	7	7	-1
Chicago, IL PMSA	4	4	0	16	16	0
Dallas, TX PMSA	18	12	-6	40	38	-1
El Paso, TX MSA	9	13	4	52	57	5
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	2	3	1	33	27	-6
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	22	19	-3	28	29	0
Fresno, CA MSA	21	15	-6	23	17	-6
Honolulu, HI MSA	2	4	3	7	12	5
Houston, TX PMSA	20	16	-3	31	29	-2
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	5	8	3	14	12	-1
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	85	77	-8	82	78	-4
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	6	5	-2	8	5	-3
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	40	47	6	53	55	2
Miami, FL PMSA	1	3	2	20	14	-5
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	**	**	**	15	15	0
New York, NY PMSA	9	7	-2	7	7	0
Newark, NJ PMSA	-1	0	0	7	7	0
Oakland, CA PMSA	7	4	-3	17	13	-4
Orange County, CA PMSA	21	11	-10	17	14	-3
Orlando, FL MSA	13	23	10	38	36	-1
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	35	28	-7	59	58	-1
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	13	6	-6	28	22	-6
Sacramento, CA PMSA	10	7	-3	26	25	-1
San Antonio, TX MSA	22	24	2	15	17	2
San Diego, CA MSA	10	11	1	15	13	-2
San Francisco, CA PMSA	7	8	1	8	5	-3
San Jose, CA PMSA	14	11	-4	10	7	-3
Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	14	13	-1	21	17	-4
Tucson, AZ MSA	20	19	-1	37	41	4
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA PMSA	15	12	-3	15	15	0
Ventura, CA PMSA	9	9	0	13	13	-1
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	-6	-1	5	20	22	1

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	CENTRAL CITY GROWTH			SUBURB GROWTH		
	Pop'n	HHs	Diff*	Pop'n	HHs	Diff*
NORTH—Largely White-Black Metros						
Cleveland, OH PMSA	-5	-5	1	4	9	4
Detroit, MI PMSA	-7	-10	-3	8	13	5
Gary, IN PMSA	-12	-7	5	8	13	5
Milwaukee, WI PMSA	-5	-3	1	12	20	7
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	-4	-2	2	7	11	3
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	-12	-11	1	8	11	4
NORTH—Largely White Metros						
Akron, OH PMSA	-3	0	3	10	16	6
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	-6	-4	2	4	10	5
Allentown-Bethlehem, PA MSA	1	0	-1	10	14	4
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	4	10	6	22	28	6
Boston, MA-NH NECMA	3	5	2	7	10	3
Buffalo, NY MSA	-11	-10	1	2	6	4
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	-9	-4	5	13	18	5
Columbus, OH MSA	12	17	5	16	21	4
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	-8	-6	2	3	8	5
Fort Wayne, IN MSA	19	20	1	5	10	5
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	5	6	1	20	24	3
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	-4	-3	2	9	13	3
Hartford, CT NECMA	-13	-13	0	4	8	3
Indianapolis, IN MSA	7	10	3	27	30	3
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	1	2	1	19	22	3
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	5	1	-3	21	25	4
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	**	**	**	14	16	2
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	**	**	**	6	7	2
Bridgeport, CT NECMA	-2	-4	-2	5	6	1
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	16	17	1	8	12	4
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	-10	-6	3	0	4	4
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA NECMA	4	5	1	6	10	4
Rochester, NY MSA	-5	-5	0	6	9	4
Scranton-Hazleton, PA MSA	-6	-4	3	-1	4	5
Springfield, MA NECMA	**	**	**	1	5	4
Syracuse, NY MSA	-10	-8	2	1	7	6
Toledo, OH MSA	-6	-1	4	8	15	6
Wichita, KS MSA	13	13	0	11	13	2
Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	-12	-10	2	3	7	5

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	CENTRAL CITY GROWTH			SUBURB GROWTH		
	Pop'n	HHs	Diff*	Pop'n	HHs	Diff*
SOUTH—Largely White-Black Metros						
Atlanta, GA MSA	6	8	2	44	41	-3
Baltimore, MD PMSA	-12	-7	5	16	19	3
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	4	7	3	21	28	6
Birmingham, AL MSA	-9	-6	2	18	22	4
Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	17	30	13	5	11	7
Charlotte, NC-SC MSA	37	36	-1	25	28	3
Columbia, SC MSA	19	25	6	18	25	6
Greensboro--Winston-Salem--High Point, NC MSA	25	25	0	16	17	2
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	-5	-1	5	20	24	4
Jacksonville, FL MSA	16	18	2	34	38	4
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	3	5	3	23	31	7
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	7	9	3	22	28	6
Mobile, AL MSA	1	4	3	22	29	7
Nashville, TN MSA	12	15	3	38	42	4
New Orleans, LA MSA	-2	0	2	8	13	4
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	2	7	6	18	20	2
Raleigh-Durham, NC MSA	34	32	-2	42	42	0
Richmond, VA MSA	-3	-1	2	21	23	2
Wilmington, DE-MD PMSA	2	0	-1	16	19	3
SOUTH & WEST—Largely White Metros						
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	28	28	-1	35	41	6
Denver, CO PMSA	19	13	-5	35	34	-1
Knoxville, TN MSA	5	10	4	22	27	5
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	-5	-1	3	13	19	6
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	14	14	1	12	17	4
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	39	35	-4	21	21	0
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	16	9	-7	27	30	3
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	8	7	0	24	24	1
Seattle, WA PMSA	9	9	0	22	23	1
Tacoma, WA PMSA	10	9	-1	24	28	4
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	7	7	0	20	20	0
Tulsa, OK MSA	7	7	0	20	23	3
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	21	21	-1	33	31	-1

**Household growth rate minus population growth rate*

***Metro area with no central city*

Note: Pertains to MSAs, PMSAs, and (in New England) PMSAs, as defined in June, 2000 by OMB with modifications for central cities as discussed in text and footnote 3.

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

APPENDIX B: Central City and Suburb Household Type Shares 2000, and Household Type Changes 1990-2000, for Metro Areas with Population Over 500,000 by Metro Area Type

	CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES				
	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.
	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	
MELTING POT Metros																				
Albuquerque, NM MSA	24	19	7	11	39	10	4	25	36	30	30	27	8	11	24	37	10	57	52	60
Austin, TX MSA	20	19	7	8	47	31	31	55	39	42	29	32	5	8	25	55	50	68	72	50
Bakersfield, CA MSA	24	29	7	14	27	27	35	50	57	25	27	29	7	13	24	-4	0	25	28	8
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	29	26	9	7	28	-6	12	5	29	13
Chicago, IL PMSA	18	17	12	12	40	-6	4	5	-1	9	29	30	7	7	28	6	14	18	41	24
Dallas, TX PMSA	19	19	9	11	41	-2	17	24	31	11	28	31	6	9	26	34	31	56	61	43
El Paso, TX MSA	25	30	10	13	23	10	1	38	24	21	21	49	7	12	10	61	39	123	110	64
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	21	11	7	9	52	-10	-1	0	12	10	27	21	8	9	35	3	41	40	85	29
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	23	25	8	11	34	7	17	30	49	19	31	30	6	8	25	25	17	46	53	39
Fresno, CA MSA	21	25	9	15	30	4	17	33	30	11	29	31	8	11	21	9	16	35	30	17
Honolulu, HI MSA	28	18	11	6	38	-4	-4	13	18	11	32	31	10	8	19	13	-9	50	32	36
Houston, TX PMSA	21	22	10	11	36	10	20	25	24	14	28	35	6	9	22	33	21	52	49	26
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	19	18	13	13	37	-1	4	5	10	15	23	19	11	9	38	-4	9	10	30	23
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	27	22	8	10	34	76	79	85	97	70	29	21	7	10	33	66	74	99	113	81
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	19	23	10	11	38	-7	12	2	21	3	24	29	10	11	27	-4	8	13	26	1
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	27	33	9	11	20	50	36	65	43	55	26	42	8	11	12	58	48	80	63	53
Miami, FL PMSA	22	15	14	12	38	-6	4	5	-2	10	26	24	11	11	28	4	17	34	39	8
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	30	29	7	6	28	1	20	10	43	22
New York, NY PMSA	20	18	12	12	39	-5	11	10	19	8	29	28	8	7	28	-6	12	1	33	13
Newark, NJ PMSA	16	15	17	20	32	-7	-7	8	2	2	28	27	9	8	28	-5	11	5	32	13
Oakland, CA PMSA	18	16	11	12	43	-3	10	9	-2	6	27	27	7	8	31	4	18	22	22	12
Orange County, CA PMSA	22	35	9	10	24	0	25	9	32	-1	28	27	7	7	30	4	21	17	33	13
Orlando, FL MSA	19	13	8	12	48	2	8	30	43	34	30	24	7	9	30	24	28	54	77	44
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	24	24	7	11	34	15	25	48	55	30	33	23	6	8	31	54	52	68	73	61
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	21	27	9	15	28	-7	5	22	32	4	27	30	7	11	24	11	18	47	54	21
Sacramento, CA PMSA	20	18	9	12	41	-6	3	20	18	11	28	25	6	10	30	17	20	43	41	31
San Antonio, TX MSA	24	24	9	12	31	19	14	36	36	30	33	30	6	9	23	19	0	39	41	31
San Diego, CA MSA	23	22	7	8	40	2	13	12	16	15	28	27	7	10	28	3	13	27	30	16
San Francisco, CA PMSA	19	12	8	4	56	5	2	3	-9	13	28	24	7	6	35	-1	11	7	13	5
San Jose, CA PMSA	26	30	9	8	26	9	12	15	7	10	28	26	7	6	34	1	22	4	8	3
Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	23	26	8	14	29	5	11	21	36	11	29	32	7	10	22	7	19	25	41	18

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	CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES				
	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.
	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	
Tucson, AZ MSA	22	18	8	11	42	8	8	36	38	22	37	22	5	7	29	41	23	56	57	51
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA PMSA	26	26	8	11	28	7	2	38	31	16	30	28	6	10	26	10	4	44	37	24
Ventura, CA PMSA	26	23	7	9	34	-1	7	15	28	13	29	33	7	9	23	6	11	20	32	15
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	14	8	12	11	54	-12	-7	-9	5	5	27	27	7	8	31	14	17	20	49	27
NORTH—Largely White-Black Metros																				
Cleveland, OH PMSA	16	12	13	18	41	-21	-20	-3	13	2	31	23	7	7	32	2	-3	8	28	24
Detroit, MI PMSA	14	13	17	21	35	-23	-13	2	-9	-9	29	25	7	7	32	4	3	8	24	31
Gary, IN PMSA	19	11	17	20	33	-14	-36	12	-8	7	30	25	7	9	29	8	-3	23	30	30
Milwaukee, WI PMSA	18	14	10	16	42	-20	-18	5	7	7	32	27	5	6	31	13	6	10	43	42
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	19	14	14	14	40	-18	-14	-3	21	6	30	26	7	7	29	2	5	7	32	22
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	15	11	12	15	48	-27	-19	-9	-1	-5	29	25	7	9	30	5	-2	16	38	25
NORTH—Largely White Metros																				
Akron, OH PMSA	22	15	9	13	40	-11	-14	2	17	9	33	25	6	7	29	10	4	12	36	32
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	17	12	8	13	50	-19	-22	-14	27	3	30	24	6	8	32	4	-4	1	41	25
Allentown-Bethlehem, PA MSA	25	16	8	11	40	-14	-11	0	35	9	34	25	6	6	28	7	2	9	49	31
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	20	18	4	5	52	1	2	5	6	17	31	28	5	7	29	26	18	27	37	41
Boston, MA-NH NECMA	16	12	10	11	52	-6	0	-6	12	11	28	25	7	8	33	2	6	0	26	20
Buffalo, NY MSA	16	12	10	17	45	-26	-24	-8	7	-4	31	23	7	7	32	-3	-4	2	30	24
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	16	11	8	14	51	-17	-25	-7	5	6	30	27	6	8	28	13	5	14	40	37
Columbus, OH MSA	20	17	7	12	45	3	3	14	34	28	32	28	5	8	27	16	9	16	42	36
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	20	14	10	14	43	-18	-23	-4	2	4	33	23	6	8	30	3	-10	10	37	27
Fort Wayne, IN MSA	23	19	7	12	39	9	9	21	39	27	34	30	4	7	25	10	-6	11	38	28
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	21	19	8	13	39	-8	-7	17	10	20	31	30	5	8	27	18	12	26	49	40
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	18	12	9	15	45	-12	-17	-4	12	3	34	24	5	7	31	10	-2	10	46	25
Hartford, CT NECMA	14	12	12	23	40	-23	-15	-7	-6	-13	30	24	6	7	33	-3	1	-2	44	20
Indianapolis, IN MSA	23	18	8	12	40	-3	-7	15	30	22	32	29	5	8	26	24	22	26	55	42
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	22	17	9	12	40	-9	-10	8	16	10	31	28	5	8	29	17	10	33	44	33
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	17	15	7	10	51	-14	-3	2	12	7	29	29	5	8	29	21	14	26	41	40
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	31	26	7	6	30	7	12	13	38	28
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	32	30	9	6	23	-4	7	7	30	22
Bridgeport, CT NECMA	18	17	13	17	35	-21	-9	7	19	-3	29	25	7	8	31	-5	8	-1	30	15
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	24	20	7	10	39	7	12	18	25	25	31	31	5	8	25	14	-4	23	29	26

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	CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES				
	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.
	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	20	11	10	10	48	-19	-20	-18	2	5	32	22	7	7	32	-3	-7	-2	24	18
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA NECMA	21	17	8	13	40	-11	-6	1	39	13	30	23	7	8	32	1	-1	5	44	24
Rochester, NY MSA	14	11	9	19	47	-23	-23	-2	15	0	31	26	5	8	30	3	-3	4	38	25
Scranton-Hazleton, PA MSA	24	16	9	9	42	-15	-18	-12	23	9	31	21	8	7	34	-1	-10	-7	29	19
Springfield, MA NECMA	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	26	20	7	11	35	-4	-7	0	21	19
Syracuse, NY MSA	16	12	8	16	49	-24	-23	-10	14	-3	30	25	6	9	31	2	-8	3	37	24
Toledo, OH MSA	22	16	8	13	40	-13	-21	-1	20	11	32	27	5	7	30	14	-2	14	38	30
Wichita, KS MSA	25	22	6	10	37	4	8	24	27	18	33	32	4	8	23	9	3	27	37	26
Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	22	13	11	15	38	-24	-31	-4	4	4	34	23	7	7	29	4	-11	13	26	26
SOUTH—Largely White-Black Metros																				
Atlanta, GA MSA	15	9	12	13	51	-4	-10	2	-5	23	27	28	7	10	28	31	32	58	76	48
Baltimore, MD PMSA	17	10	15	16	43	-23	-27	-5	-2	7	30	26	7	8	29	8	9	16	55	34
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	21	15	10	13	41	-7	-10	16	18	18	29	30	7	11	24	32	5	46	50	49
Birmingham, AL MSA	19	13	14	15	40	-23	-25	3	11	3	32	26	7	7	27	17	9	25	47	40
Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	21	15	9	13	42	18	-4	40	47	49	30	26	8	10	27	14	-13	17	36	32
Charlotte, NC-SC MSA	23	21	8	10	39	20	30	29	49	48	32	27	7	8	26	21	19	25	53	41
Columbia, SC MSA	18	13	9	12	48	7	9	19	45	35	29	25	7	10	29	22	8	22	45	41
Greensboro--Winston-Salem--High Point, NC MSA	24	17	8	11	39	14	20	21	44	30	34	25	6	8	26	12	8	16	46	30
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	21	13	10	12	44	-13	-19	-3	8	13	32	24	7	9	28	18	8	25	55	41
Jacksonville, FL MSA	25	22	8	12	33	10	3	25	51	24	33	25	6	8	28	40	23	40	58	46
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	24	17	8	12	39	-4	-11	14	26	14	33	27	6	9	26	31	7	47	57	54
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	19	15	13	17	37	-11	-7	16	28	21	32	31	6	9	22	34	13	38	46	35
Mobile, AL MSA	24	18	10	13	35	-4	-12	9	20	13	33	26	7	9	24	31	9	34	37	50
Nashville, TN MSA	23	16	8	10	42	1	-4	19	22	30	32	30	6	8	24	38	26	49	70	65
New Orleans, LA MSA	18	13	13	16	40	-10	-12	8	0	7	28	25	9	10	28	12	-6	27	30	24
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	24	24	7	12	33	-1	-11	16	41	21	30	25	8	11	27	18	8	21	41	30
Raleigh-Durham, NC MSA	21	18	7	10	44	22	30	31	49	36	30	29	5	7	29	34	41	27	60	50
Richmond, VA MSA	17	10	11	13	48	-17	-13	-1	11	6	29	26	7	10	28	17	12	24	52	34
Wilmington, DE-MD PMSA	16	11	13	16	45	-14	-13	-4	24	4	29	25	7	9	30	10	8	24	55	33

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	CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					CENTRAL CITY HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD TYPES (shares sum to 100)					SUBURB HOUSEHOLD GROWTH RATES				
	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.	MARRIED COUPLES		OTHER FAMILIES		NON FAM.
	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD		NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	NO CHILD	WITH CHILD	
SOUTH & WEST—Largely White Metros																				
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	27	25	5	9	34	24	18	50	37	33	32	36	4	9	20	41	29	64	55	55
Denver, CO PMSA	20	15	7	8	50	2	14	22	12	18	28	28	5	9	30	30	26	49	40	40
Knoxville, TN MSA	22	13	8	10	48	-6	-6	1	21	24	35	25	6	7	27	25	11	22	47	47
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	19	12	10	13	45	-18	-18	-2	15	10	31	25	6	9	29	15	1	22	31	40
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	26	20	7	11	37	9	3	20	31	20	30	25	6	9	30	16	-3	36	33	30
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	23	17	6	9	45	28	38	33	45	37	30	28	5	8	29	15	14	32	35	30
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	22	21	7	9	41	-1	11	39	13	8	28	37	6	8	21	38	16	79	30	38
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	27	12	7	9	45	-9	1	5	33	18	41	14	5	6	34	14	18	25	67	37
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA PMSA	20	13	6	5	56	-4	6	3	2	17	28	27	5	8	31	15	16	34	41	32
Tacoma, WA PMSA	23	19	7	12	40	1	2	21	20	12	30	28	5	10	27	21	15	47	52	40
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	23	15	8	10	43	-10	4	8	30	14	34	18	6	8	34	6	13	30	63	33
Tulsa, OK MSA	25	18	7	10	40	-3	-5	21	25	13	34	30	5	9	22	25	6	41	51	35
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	28	16	7	8	43	9	19	13	43	29	34	18	6	7	35	17	33	36	65	40

***Metro area with no central city*

Source: William H. Frey analysis of decennial census data

Endnotes

1 Berube 2002.

2 OMB designates the city with the largest population in each metropolitan area as a central city. Additional cities qualify for this designation if specified requirements are met concerning population size, commuting patterns, and employment/residence ratios. These standards, implemented after the 1990 Census, can be viewed at **www.census.gov/population/www/estimates/mastand.html**

3 For the present study, we have excluded some officially designated central cities (in metros with multiple central cities) to: (1) include only central cities that are named in the metropolitan area name (thus omitting officially designated smaller cities which were not named): (2) include only one central city in the following multiple central city metropolitan areas: Austin, TX; Buffalo, NY; Charlotte, NC: Cleveland, OH; Milwaukee, WI; Richmond, VA; Wilmington, DE; and Seattle, WA; and (3) designate only two central cities in the following metropolitan areas: Raleigh-Durham, NC; Allentown-Bethlehem, PA; and Scranton-Hazleton, PA. In other cases the officially defined single or multiple central cities were utilized.

4 Frey 2001.

5 Melting Pot Metros denote those in which non-Hispanic whites comprise no more than 69 percent of the 2000 population and in which the combined populations of Hispanics, non-Hispanic Asians, Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, Native Americans and Native Alaskans, and those of other race or of two or more races exceed 18 percent of the population. Largely white-black metros denote remaining areas, in their respective regions, in which blacks comprise at least 16 percent of the population; largely white metros denote the residual areas in each region. "South and West" pertains to metros located in the South and West census regions; "North" pertains to metros located in the Northeast and Midwest census regions.

6 Glaeser and Shapiro 2001.

7 The median age in 2000 in the 15 cities with the largest population gains in the 1990s was 31.5; among the 15 cities with the largest population declines, the median age was 33.7.

8 Census 2000 indicates that less than one-fourth (23.5 percent) of all households are "married couples with children" (U.S. Census Bureau 2001). Such households constituted 40.3 percent of all households in 1970, 30.4 percent in 1980 and 26.3 percent in 1990.

9 Frey 2002.

10 Berube 2002.

11 These figures, which are for central cities in the 102 metropolitan areas discussed in this study, differ slightly from those in Figure 2, which are for central cities in all OMB-defined metropolitan areas.

12 Frey and Kobrin 1982.

13 Frey 2002.

14 Frey 2002.

15 Frey 2001.

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