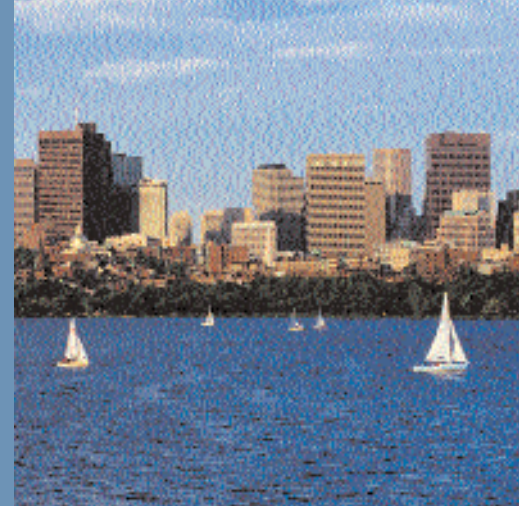


LIVING CITIES: THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

# BOSTON

IN FOCUS: *A Profile from Census 2000*

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION CENTER ON URBAN AND METROPOLITAN POLICY



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*NOTE: The views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the trustees, officers, or staff members of the Brookings Institution or the board or staff of Living Cities and its member organizations.*

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# PREFACE

The United States is undergoing a period of dynamic, volatile change, comparable in scale and complexity to the latter part of the 19th century.

Populations are aging—affecting settlement patterns, lifestyle choices, and consumption trends. Diversity is spreading across the map, thanks to the most significant wave of immigration in 100 years. And the nation continues to shift to a knowledge- and service-based economy, placing new demands on education and workforce systems.

For cities and their leaders, such changes make understanding the census much more than an academic exercise. In fact, Census 2000 data are “setting the paradigm” for major political, policy, and economic choices in the coming years, and defining the social context within which these choices are made.

Information about the residential patterns of poor and working poor families is beginning to shape debates on issues as diverse as federal welfare reform, school equity financing, and suburban job, housing, and transportation access. Data on population and economic decentralization are heightening concerns over metropolitan development patterns and their implications for low income workers and neighborhoods. New findings about the changing composition of city populations are affecting local debates over the appropriate mix of housing and city services. In short, to

understand the policy context for cities and neighborhoods requires understanding the census.

*Boston in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000* seeks to promote such understandings.

One of 23 city-focused databooks keyed to the 23 cities in which the Living Cities consortium focuses its investments, this report by the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy seeks to gauge the health of Boston’s neighborhoods and families in an accessible, data-rich format that allows for easy comparisons among cities.

To that end, this and the other databooks has been prepared within a uniform framework. Each book places one of the 23 cities in the context of both the 23 cities in the Living Cities group and the largest 100 cities in the nation. Each organizes demographic and economic data pertaining to ten sets of indicators: population, race and ethnicity, immigration, age, households and families, education, work, commuting, income and poverty, and housing.

At the same time, while each city's databook includes the same indicators and comparisons, each is customized in important ways. The databooks provide tailored presentations and interpretations of every chart, table, and map for the specific city being examined. In addition, each databook presents a localized assessment in the form of an executive summary on how that particular city has performed on key indicators. These assessments focus principally on the central city in each region—in this case the City of Boston—as seen in the context of its region and other cities.

How accurate and current are these statistics and comparisons drawn in large part from Census 2000 in depicting unfolding realities in Boston and its region today? We believe very accurate.

Even though this report appears three years after much of the data was collected and a significant slowing of the national economy had set in, the basic profile etched at the height of the last business cycle remains compelling and relevant. First, many of the indicators assembled here are not subject to a great deal of change within three years. Second, the national slump likely alters the relative position of cities in city-by-city comparison only minimally. And finally, the 2000 data—collected at the culmination of an unprecedented period of expansion—represent a kind of high-water baseline that poses a daunting challenge to cities in the current decade. That also continues to make 2000 data compelling, especially since many of the social indicators were troubling even then prior to the weakening of the economy.

At any rate, as America's cities enter the 21st century, Census 2000 provides a unique window of opportunity to assess recent progress and future direction in Boston. We hope that these databooks provide individuals and organizations a clear picture of the diverse market and social environments in which cities and neighborhoods operate, and that the reports inform their efforts to create strong and sustainable communities for urban families.



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Census 2000 confirms that Boston is a youthful and diverse city. At the same time, its results also flag challenges that confront many of the city's families.

As the university capital of the nation, Boston attracts a young, highly educated population. The city houses more 20-to-24 year-olds than any other age group, and possesses one of the highest rates of bachelor's degree attainment among U.S. cities. It also remains an important gateway for international immigrants from a variety of world regions, including the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, South America, and Africa. In fact, immigrants sustained Boston's growth in the 1990s as the city lost white residents. Newcomers in this fashion contributed to homeownership gains in many neighborhoods, and buffered the city's loss of families with children. Today, non-white minorities make up more than half of Boston's residents.

Census 2000 also shows that Boston's economic profile is generally healthy, underpinned by its high levels of education, low unemployment, and specialization in education and health services. Yet on the whole, recent trends tend to mask troubling differences by race and ethnicity. Black and Hispanic residents of Boston lag whites in college degree attainment, income, and homeownership. Poverty remains high among both Asians and Hispanics, as well as the elderly. And housing costs inordinately burden a disturbingly high share of low-to-moderate income renters in Boston, many of whom are minority families. It could be that the future of Boston's middle class, the size of which stagnated in the 1990s, hinges on the progress of these struggling groups in the coming decade.

Along these lines and others, then, *Boston in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000* concludes that:

**Most Boston neighborhoods grew in the 1990s, and the city retains a significant share of the region's jobs.** Boston's population increased modestly in the 1990s, thanks in part to strong growth in its downtown area. While only about one in six residents of the Boston region lives in the central city, more than a third of the region's workers are employed there, as are nearly three-fourths of city residents. At the same time, people and jobs are moving farther out in the metro area, particularly along the I-495 corridor. Yet because Boston grew in the 1990s, the pace of decentralization in the area remains modest compared to that in other Northeast regions like Philadelphia.

**Racial and ethnic diversity is on the rise in Boston, thanks to its continued status as an immigrant gateway.** As the city of Boston lost white population in the 1990s, it gained black, Asian, and Hispanic residents. By the end of the decade, less than half of Boston's residents were white. Driving this transformation was a 37,000-person increase in the city's foreign-born population during the decade. Arrivals from areas as varied as Haiti, China, Brazil, and West Africa have made Boston's immigrant community one of the most diverse in the U.S. The addition of new immigrants over the

decade sustained growth in many of the city's neighborhoods and in Boston as a whole.

**Boston's status as a university center contributes to its youthful profile.** Baby Boomers aged 35 to 54 are by far the nation's largest age cohorts, but people in their early 20s make up Boston's largest age group. Reflecting that, few of the city's households contain married couples; most are people living alone or with other nonrelatives. Boston's population is also constantly churning. Nearly one-third of all residents lived in a different city five years ago (the sixth-highest proportion among the Living Cities), and in many downtown neighborhoods, 60 to 80 percent of households had recently moved. Even as the city continued to attract young singles, it struggled to hold onto larger families; the number of married couples with children in Boston declined by nearly 2,000 in the 1990s.

**Boston's workforce is highly educated, although wide attainment gaps between whites and minority groups persist.** Among the 23 Living Cities, Boston ranks third in the share of adults who hold at least a bachelor's degree. These high levels of worker education are reflected in the city's low unemployment rate (5.3 percent in 2002, below the national average), and the large number of Boston workers employed in the education and health industries. Still, racial and ethnic minorities lag far behind their white counterparts in educational attainment. Fewer than one in six blacks and Hispanics hold bachelor's degrees, compared to nearly half of whites.

**The distribution of income among Boston's households became more unequal in the 1990s.** As it did in most of New England, the recession of the early 1990s hit Boston hard. As a result,

real median household income in the city barely grew over the decade. Yet this trend masked a "pulling apart" at the ends of the income spectrum. By 2000, there were many more high-income households in Boston, but also more low- and moderate-income households. Meanwhile, the middle-class stagnated. Minority households, in particular, lag far behind whites in income, and Boston has among the highest Hispanic and Asian poverty rates of any Living City.

**Most groups made progress on homeownership over the decade, but rents in Boston are among the highest in the country.** Overall, Boston has one of the lowest homeownership rates among large U.S. cities, reflecting the high cost of its housing, the young age profile of its residents, and its large multifamily housing stock. Still, all racial and ethnic groups—blacks, in particular—managed to make homeownership gains in the 1990s. For Boston renters looking to graduate to homeownership, though, the barriers to accumulating savings are clear. The typical monthly rent in Boston is far more expensive than in any other Living City, and more than 60 percent of moderate-income renters—those earning \$20,000 to \$35,000 a year—bear significant housing cost burdens.

By presenting the indicators on the following pages, ***Boston in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000*** is intended to give readers a better sense of where Boston and its residents stand in relation to their peers, and how the 1990s shaped the cities, their neighborhoods, and the entire Boston region. Living Cities and the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy hope that this information will prompt a fruitful dialogue among city and community leaders about the direction Boston should take in the coming decade.

# METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

The information presented in *Boston in Focus: A Profile from Census 2000* derives almost entirely from the U.S. decennial censuses conducted in April 1990 and April 2000. The decennial census is the most comprehensive source of information on the U.S. population, and because all U.S. households are interviewed, it is unique in its ability to describe population characteristics at very small levels of geography.

The decennial census is comprised of two separate but related surveys. In the “short form” survey, all households in the U.S. are asked a series of basic questions on age, race/ethnicity, sex, the relationships among household members, and whether or not the home was owned or rented. Approximately one in six households receives a “long form” survey that asks, in addition to the short form questions, more detailed questions on social, economic, and housing characteristics. The Census Bureau employs statistical weighting to extrapolate from the long form data to arrive at a representative portrait of all U.S. households.

Geography provides the framework for interpreting and understanding census data. The Census Bureau tabulates information from the decennial census for a range of geographies. In this databook, we present information for several different levels of geography:

**Cities**—Many of the tables and charts show citywide data. In this databook, Boston is compared to the other 22 Living Cities, to the other 99 cities among the 100 largest in the nation, and to other Living Cities located in the Northeast region of the U.S. (Newark, New York, and Philadelphia).

**Metropolitan areas**—Metro areas are established by the federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to represent a collection of highly-populated communities that exhibit a high degree of economic interdependence. As such, they roughly characterize regional labor markets. Where metro-area-level data are presented in this databook, those data represent either the OMB-defined Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA—a metro area not closely associated with another) or the Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA—a metro area representing one part of a larger area with one million or more people). In this databook, the Boston metro area—which OMB designates as the Boston,



MA-NH PMSA—consists of 129 cities and towns in 7 Massachusetts counties (Bristol, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Plymouth, Suffolk, Worcester) and one New Hampshire county (Rockingham).

**Suburbs**—Information for suburbs is sometimes presented alongside that for cities. We define suburbs as the part of the metro area located outside the central city. In the case of Boston, the suburbs include the 128 cities and towns in the region outside the City of Boston.

**Census tracts**—Census tracts are subdivisions of counties defined by the Census Bureau to contain between 1,000 and 8,000 people; most contain 3,000 to 4,000 people, and most researchers equate urban census tracts with neighborhoods. We map several indicators at the census tract level to demonstrate differences among neighborhoods in the City of Boston and its suburbs.

This databook primarily focuses on how the population, employment, and housing characteristics of Boston and its neighborhoods compared to those in other cities in 2000, as well as how those characteristics changed between 1990 and 2000. Data from the Census 2000 short form have been available since summer 2001, and data from the long form followed one year later. Thus, many of the tables, charts, and maps shown in this databook derive from survey data collected a little over three years ago.

A note on the timeliness of this data: Though much of it dates to 2000, this data remains accurate, relevant, and compelling. The age profile of the population, characteristics of housing stock, and average size of households—none of these, for starters, are likely to change significantly within

a period of a few years. At the same time, the numerous comparisons of cities on or another on these indicators likely hold. To the extent that larger national trends—aging of the population, or increasing enrollment in higher education—alter city conditions, they alter all cities. That means the relative rankings of cities are not subject to dramatic change. Finally, trends between 1990 and 2000 are important in their own right, as they show the progress cities made during a period of unprecedented economic expansion. That progress establishes a baseline for city performance during the 2000–2010 decade.

At the same time, though, the economy did enter a downturn soon after Census 2000 was conducted, and the effects are still being felt today in the labor market—through increased unemployment, stagnant incomes, and rising poverty. We have used post-census data, where available, to provide a more up-to-date picture of employment in cities. Most demographic surveys conducted between decennial censuses, however, do not include large enough samples to provide descriptions of changing conditions at the local level. In the Current Population Survey, for instance, states (and in some cases, metropolitan areas) are the smallest geographical units for which labor force statistics are available.

Some federal agencies do, however, collect annual demographic and economic data for sub-state levels of geography between decennial censuses. Following is a list of topics and intercensal data sources available from the federal government that individuals and organizations working at the local level can use to track and update changes in the indicators presented in this databook:

**Population**—The Census Bureau’s Intercensal Population Estimates Program provides population estimates for metropolitan areas, counties, cities, and towns between decennial censuses. These estimates are based on population counts from the most recent census, adjusted using data from local records. Data are published annually, delayed approximately one year from the date at which they are estimated. See [eire.census.gov/popest/estimates.php](http://eire.census.gov/popest/estimates.php).

**Age and race/ethnicity**—The same Census Bureau program publishes population estimates annually by age and race/ethnicity for geographies down to the county level—similar estimates are not available for cities. The first post-census update of these data (estimates as of July 2002) will be made available in summer 2003.

**Migration**—The Internal Revenue Service publishes county-to-county migration files that allow users to track, on an annual basis, the origins, destinations, and incomes of families migrating between counties and metropolitan areas. Data are released annually for migration flows two years prior. See “Tax Stats” at [www.irs.gov](http://www.irs.gov).

**Work**—The Bureau of Labor Statistics, through its Local Area Unemployment Statistics program, publishes monthly estimates of total employment and unemployment for counties, metropolitan areas, and cities with populations of at least 25,000. Data are released monthly on the employment situation two months prior. See [www.bls.gov/lau/home.htm](http://www.bls.gov/lau/home.htm).

**Income and poverty**—The Census Bureau Small Area Estimates Branch employs several federal data sources to produce annual estimates of poverty rates and median household incomes for all states and counties, as well as poverty rates for all school districts. These data are published with an approximate three-year lag. See [www.census.gov/hhes/www/saie.html](http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/saie.html).

**Housing**—The Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council—a consortium of the federal banking regulators—publishes data annually on all mortgages originated in the U.S. by financial institutions, with detail down to the census tract level. These data can be used to track homeownership and home value trends in metro areas, counties, cities, and neighborhoods. Data are released each summer for mortgages originated in the prior year. See [www.ffiec.gov/hmda/publicdata.htm](http://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/publicdata.htm).

**State and local data**—To administer programs and make policy, state and local agencies also track a wealth of administrative data that can reveal much about the social and economic health of individuals and families in cities and neighborhoods. For a comprehensive guide to the types of state and local administrative data that can be used to describe small areas, see “Catalog of Administrative Data Sources,” by Claudia Coulton with Lisa Nelson and Peter Tatian, available at [www.urban.org/nnip/publications.html](http://www.urban.org/nnip/publications.html).

# POPULATION

Population growth does not by itself define a city's health. Nevertheless, the fact that people “vote with their feet” makes population change a good first-order indicator of the appeal of a place. This section accordingly details the basic population trajectory of Boston and its neighborhoods during the 1990s.

Nationwide, the U.S. added 32.7 million people in the 1990s, the largest intercensal population increase in its history. Growth was widespread—Every state in the union added people, the first time this had occurred in the 20th century. Moreover, historically high levels of international immigration supplemented significant “natural increase”—an excess of births over deaths—in fueling the nation's population growth.

And yet, not all places in the U.S. shared equally in the broader population increase. The South and West absorbed more than three-quarters of the nation's growth in the 1990s. Cities added population at a faster rate than they had in either the 1970s or 1980s, but suburbs grew nearly twice as fast. And even within cities, core neighborhoods around the downtown in many cases lost population, while “outer-ring” neighborhoods at the urban periphery expanded rapidly.

The indicators on the following pages begin to display these trends by depicting population change in the City of Boston and its metropolitan area, in other cities and regions, and in Boston's own neighborhoods.

## Boston is the 20th largest city in the U.S. and the 13th largest among the 23 Living Cities

*Total population, 2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Central City	Metro	Peer Cities	Rank	Central City	Metro
1	New York, NY	8,008,278	9,314,235	Columbus, OH	15	711,470	1,540,157
2	Los Angeles, CA	3,694,820	9,519,338	Austin, TX	16	656,562	1,249,763
3	Chicago, IL	2,896,016	8,272,768	Baltimore, MD	17	651,154	2,552,994
4	Philadelphia, PA	1,517,550	5,100,931	Memphis, TN	18	650,100	1,135,614
5	Phoenix, AZ	1,321,045	3,251,876	Milwaukee, WI	19	596,974	1,500,741
6	Dallas, TX	1,188,580	3,519,176	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>589,141</b>	<b>3,406,829</b>
7	San Antonio, TX	1,144,646	1,592,383	Washington, DC	21	572,059	4,923,153
8	Detroit, MI	951,270	4,441,551	Nashville-Davidson, TN	22	569,891	1,231,311
9	Indianapolis, IN	781,870	1,607,486	El Paso, TX	23	563,662	679,622
10	Columbus, OH	711,470	1,540,157	Seattle, WA	24	563,374	2,414,616
11	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	669,769	2,968,806	Denver, CO	25	554,636	2,109,282
12	Baltimore, MD	651,154	2,552,994				
<b>13</b>	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>589,141</b>	<b>3,406,829</b>				
14	Washington, DC	572,059	4,923,153				
15	Seattle, WA	563,374	2,414,616				
16	Denver, CO	554,636	2,109,282				
17	Portland, OR	529,121	1,918,009				
18	Cleveland, OH	478,403	2,250,871				
19	Kansas City, MO	441,545	1,776,062				
20	Atlanta, GA	416,474	4,112,198				
21	Oakland, CA	399,484	2,392,557				
22	Miami, FL	362,470	2,253,362				
23	Newark, NJ	273,546	2,032,989				
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>28,334,103</b>	<b>83,271,629</b>				

## Boston's population increased slightly in both the 1980s and 1990s

*Percent population change, 1980–2000: Living Cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Population			Percent Change		
		1980	1990	2000	1980–1990	1990–2000	Net
1	Phoenix, AZ	785,940	983,403	1,321,045	25.1%	34.3%	68.1%
2	San Antonio, TX	789,704	935,933	1,144,646	18.5%	22.3%	44.9%
3	Portland, OR	368,148	437,319	529,121	18.8%	21.0%	43.7%
4	Dallas, TX	904,599	1,006,877	1,188,580	11.3%	18.0%	31.4%
5	Columbus, OH	565,021	632,910	711,470	12.0%	12.4%	25.9%
6	Los Angeles, CA	2,968,528	3,485,398	3,694,820	17.4%	6.0%	24.5%
7	Oakland, CA	339,337	372,242	399,484	9.7%	7.3%	17.7%
8	Seattle, WA	493,846	516,259	563,374	4.5%	9.1%	14.1%
9	New York, NY	7,071,639	7,322,564	8,008,278	3.5%	9.4%	13.2%
10	Denver, CO	492,686	467,610	554,636	-5.1%	18.6%	12.6%
11	Indianapolis, IN	711,539	731,327	781,870	2.8%	6.9%	9.9%
12	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>562,994</b>	<b>574,283</b>	<b>589,141</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>4.6%</b>
13	Miami, FL	346,681	358,548	362,470	3.4%	1.1%	4.6%
14	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	641,271	640,618	669,769	-0.1%	4.6%	4.4%
15	Kansas City, MO	448,028	435,146	441,545	-2.9%	1.5%	-1.4%
16	Atlanta, GA	425,022	394,017	416,474	-7.3%	5.7%	-2.0%
17	Chicago, IL	3,005,072	2,783,726	2,896,016	-7.4%	4.0%	-3.6%
18	Philadelphia, PA	1,688,210	1,585,577	1,517,550	-6.1%	-4.3%	-10.1%
19	Washington, DC	638,432	606,900	572,059	-4.9%	-5.7%	-10.4%
20	Cleveland, OH	573,822	505,616	478,403	-11.9%	-5.4%	-16.6%
21	Newark, NJ	329,248	275,221	273,546	-16.4%	-0.6%	-16.9%
22	Baltimore, MD	786,775	736,014	651,154	-6.5%	-11.5%	-17.2%
23	Detroit, MI	1,203,368	1,027,974	951,270	-14.6%	-7.5%	-20.9%
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>26,141,890</b>	<b>26,817,472</b>	<b>28,718,721</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>7.1%</b>	<b>9.9%</b>
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>226,542,199</b>	<b>248,718,301</b>	<b>281,421,906</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>13.1%</b>	<b>24.2%</b>

## POPULATION

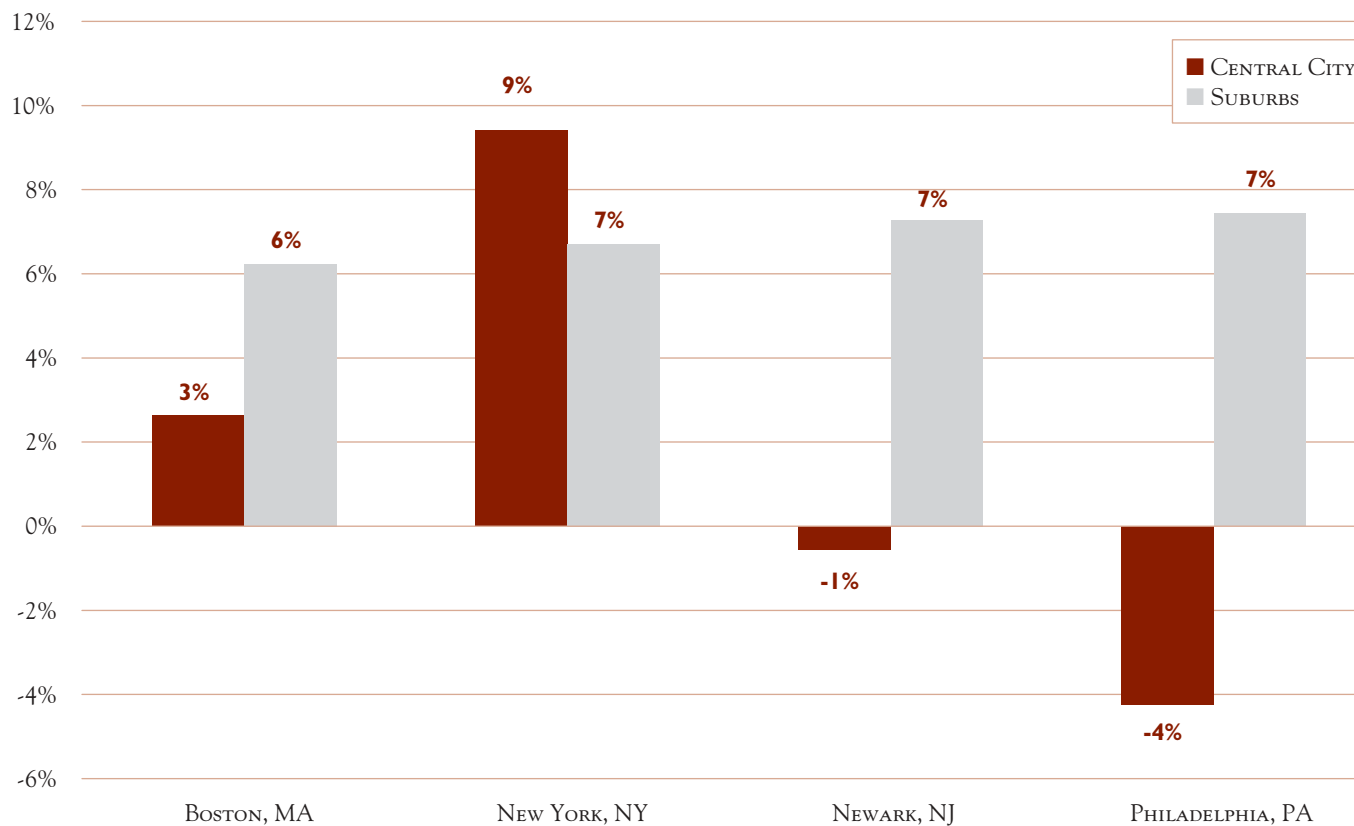
## The Boston metro area and its suburbs grew only modestly over the last two decades compared to other Living Cities metros

*Percent population change 1980–2000: Living Cities metro areas*

Rank	Living Cities	Metro Area		Suburbs	
		1980–1990	1990–2000	1980–1990	1990–2000
1	Phoenix, AZ	39.9%	45.3%	54.2%	53.8%
2	Atlanta, GA	32.5%	38.9%	41.9%	44.0%
3	Dallas, TX	30.2%	31.5%	45.1%	39.6%
4	Denver, CO	13.6%	30.0%	23.4%	34.6%
5	Portland, OR	13.6%	26.6%	11.7%	28.8%
6	San Antonio, TX	21.7%	20.2%	30.0%	15.2%
7	Washington, DC	21.4%	16.6%	27.4%	20.3%
8	Seattle, WA	23.1%	18.8%	31.0%	22.0%
9	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	15.5%	16.9%	21.9%	21.1%
10	Indianapolis, IN	5.7%	16.4%	9.2%	27.2%
11	Miami, FL	19.1%	16.3%	23.4%	19.8%
12	Oakland, CA	18.2%	14.9%	20.3%	16.5%
13	Columbus, OH	10.8%	14.5%	9.7%	16.3%
14	Kansas City, MO	9.2%	12.2%	14.6%	16.3%
15	Chicago, IL	2.3%	11.6%	9.1%	16.2%
16	New York, NY	3.3%	9.0%	1.7%	6.7%
17	Los Angeles, CA	18.5%	7.4%	19.3%	8.3%
18	Baltimore, MD	8.3%	7.2%	16.5%	15.5%
19	Newark, NJ	-2.4%	6.1%	0.4%	7.2%
<b>20</b>	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>2.7%</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>6.2%</b>
21	Detroit, MI	-2.8%	4.1%	1.7%	7.8%
22	Philadelphia, PA	2.9%	3.6%	7.9%	7.4%
23	Cleveland, OH	-3.3%	2.2%	-0.5%	4.5%
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>10.6%</b>	<b>13.8%</b>	<b>15.9%</b>	<b>17.6%</b>

## Unlike some other Northeastern cities, Boston gained population as its suburbs grew in the 1990s

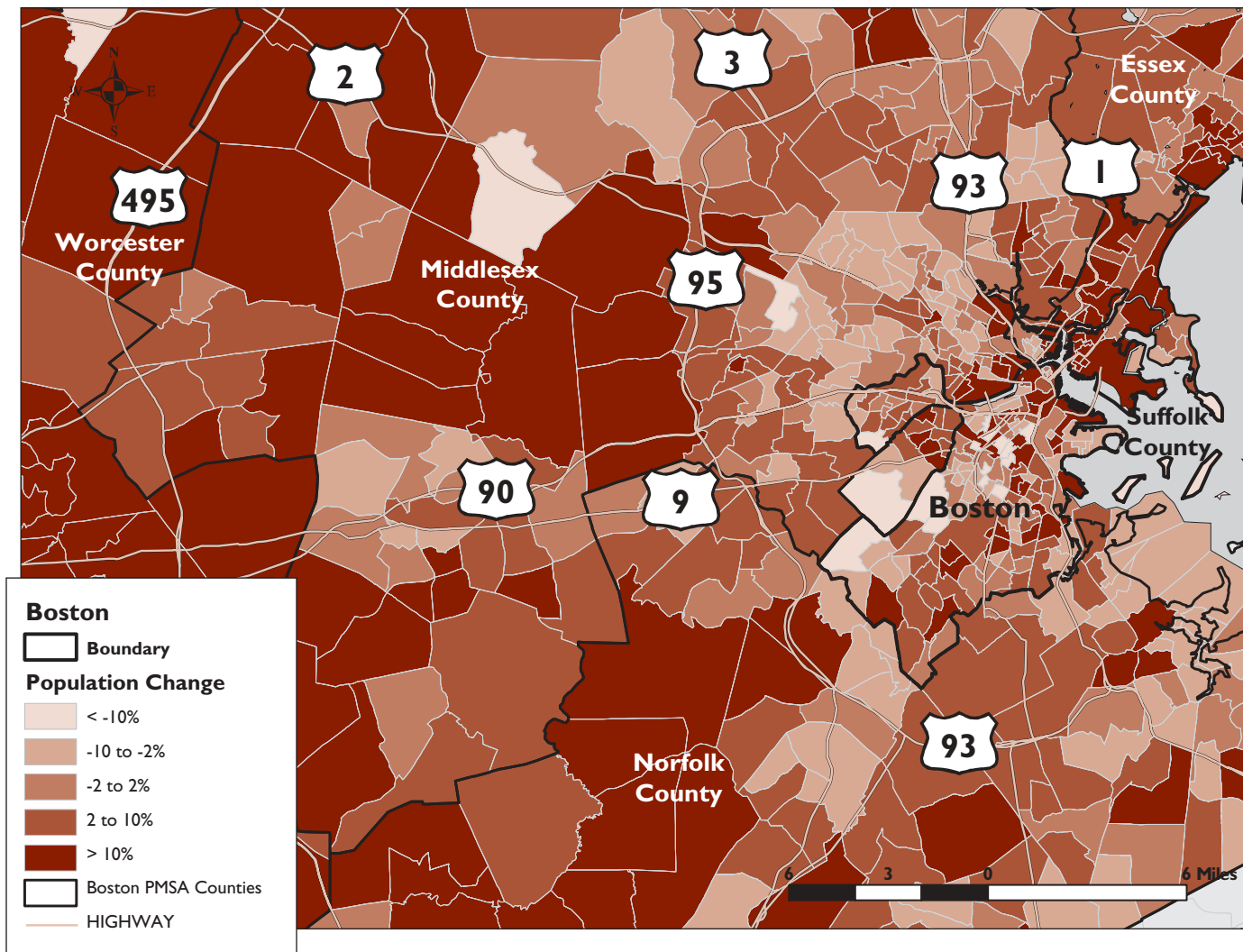
Percent population change, 1990–2000: Northeastern U.S. Living Cities metro areas



## POPULATION

## Many Boston neighborhoods grew during the 1990s, but inner suburbs to the northwest and southeast lost population

*Percent population change, 1990–2000: Boston metro area*





# RACE AND ETHNICITY

Cities also need to understand how their racial and ethnic compositions are changing, so they can decide how to fund and deliver services to meet the needs of increasingly diverse populations. In particular, the growing representation of Latinos, whose families tend to be younger and to have more children, suggests cities need to take a closer look at schools, public health, and other programs that primarily serve the young.

The overall racial and ethnic profile of the U.S. population is changing rapidly. Census 2000 confirmed that nationwide, the Hispanic population had grown to roughly the same size as the African American population. Although smaller in size, the Asian population was also on the rise in the U.S. in the 1990s, and grew more than 50 percent over the decade. Adding richness to these trends was the fact that Census 2000 was the first census to offer respondents the option of selecting more than one race category to indicate their family members' racial identity. Nearly 7 million people, or 2.4 percent of the population, reported multiple races.

In keeping with these changes, Census 2000 revealed that for the first time, the 100 largest cities in the U.S. were "majority minority;" that is,

more than half of their combined population was either non-white or Hispanic. This trend owed to large gains in Latino population in nearly all cities, modest growth in Asian and African American populations, and widespread declines in non-Hispanic whites. Growing diversity was not confined to the cities, either. Minority population share in the largest suburbs also rose sharply, from 19 percent in 1990 to 27 percent in 2000.

This section compares Boston's racial and ethnic makeup to that of other cities, and examines how it changed in the 1990s. It also probes the differing racial profiles of the city's various age groups and neighborhoods.

## A NOTE ON RACE/ETHNICITY TERMINOLOGY

Many of the tables, charts, and maps presented in this and subsequent sections feature data specified for certain racial and ethnic groups. This note describes in greater detail how those groups are defined and shown in this databook.

The federal government considers race and Hispanic origin distinct concepts and therefore captures information on them in two separate questions on census forms. On the Census 2000 survey, respondents were first asked to identify whether they were of “Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino” origin, and were then asked whether they are white, black, one of several Asian ethnicities, American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, or “some other race.” For the first time, respondents could check off more than one race to describe themselves. Combining the race and Hispanic origin responses yields 126 possible race-ethnic combinations.

To simplify the presentation of data, and to conform with many of the tables generated by the Census Bureau itself, this databook uses shorthand terms for the racial and ethnic descriptors respondents chose to characterize themselves and their family members:

- “Hispanic or Latino” is used to refer to individuals or households who indicate Spanish, Hispanic or Latino origin, regardless of their race. Nationally, nine out of ten Census 2000 respondents who indicated Hispanic origin, reported their race as either “white” alone or “some other race” alone.
- Where available, information for individuals who indicate more than one race is presented in a “Two or more races” category. Nationally, only 2.4 percent of Census respondents identified more than one race.

Remaining race categories in this databook include respondents who reported that race alone, not in combination with any other race. However, because Hispanic origin is determined in a separate question, people of these races may also be Hispanic or Latino. Generally, race-specific population and household counts include only non-Hispanics. Race-specific economic variables generally include members of those groups who also reported Hispanic origin.

- “Black/African American” refers to individuals who chose this race designation.
- “Asian/Pacific Islander” was combined from two race totals, “Asian” and “Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander,” for comparability with the 1990 Census.
- In general, “Other race” is used to refer to individuals who indicated “some other race” or “American Indian or Alaska Native” race.
- “White” at all times (even for economic variables) refers to non-Hispanic whites.

This streamlined set of race/ethnic categories, as well as the format in which the Census Bureau makes the data available, precludes the presentation of data for country-specific groups, such as Mexicans or Vietnamese, or for foreign-born individuals in general. Individuals and households in these groups are included in the broader race/ethnic categories shown here. Readers interested in profiles for many of these groups can access data online through Census 2000 Summary File 2 (SF 2) and Summary File 4 (SF 4) at [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov).

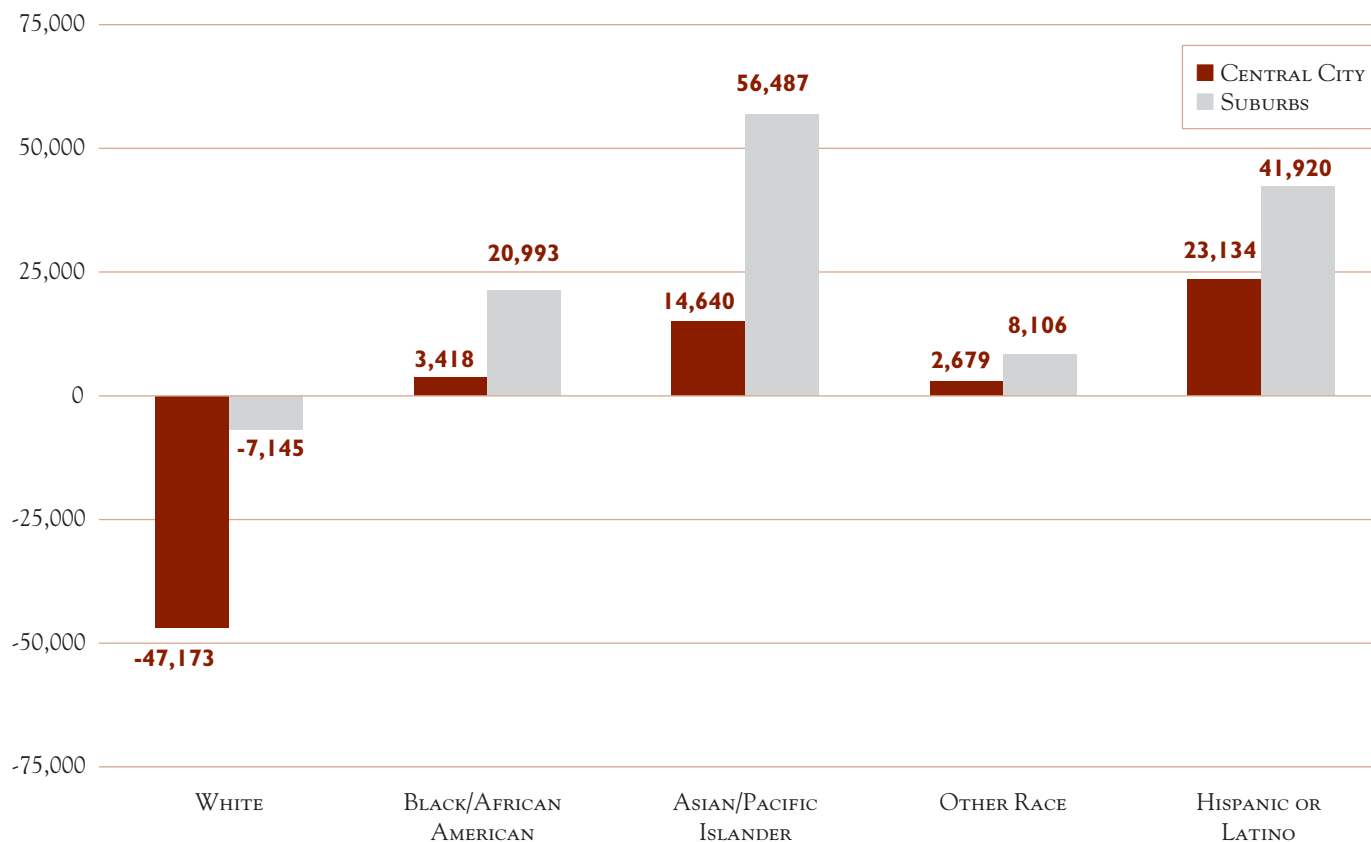
## Boston has a larger proportion of whites, and a smaller proportion of Hispanics, than the average Living City

Share of population by race/ethnicity, 2000: Living Cities

Rank	Living Cities	Total Non-White or Hispanic	White	Black/ African American	Asian/ Pacific Islander	Hispanic or Latino	Other Race	Two or More Races
1	Detroit, MI	89.5%	10.5%	81.2%	1.0%	5.0%	0.2%	2.0%
2	Miami, FL	88.2%	11.8%	19.9%	0.6%	65.8%	0.1%	1.7%
3	Newark, NJ	85.8%	14.2%	51.9%	1.2%	29.5%	0.7%	2.2%
4	Oakland, CA	76.5%	23.5%	35.1%	15.6%	21.9%	0.3%	3.2%
5	Washington, DC	72.2%	27.8%	59.4%	2.7%	7.9%	0.3%	1.7%
6	Los Angeles, CA	70.3%	29.7%	10.9%	10.0%	46.5%	0.2%	2.4%
7	Baltimore, MD	69.0%	31.0%	64.0%	1.5%	1.7%	0.2%	1.3%
8	Atlanta, GA	68.7%	31.3%	61.0%	1.9%	4.5%	0.2%	1.0%
9	Chicago, IL	68.7%	31.3%	36.4%	4.3%	26.0%	0.1%	1.6%
10	San Antonio, TX	68.2%	31.8%	6.5%	1.6%	58.7%	0.1%	1.1%
11	Dallas, TX	65.4%	34.6%	25.6%	2.7%	35.6%	0.1%	1.1%
12	New York, NY	65.0%	35.0%	24.5%	9.8%	27.0%	0.7%	2.8%
13	Cleveland, OH	61.2%	38.8%	50.5%	1.3%	7.3%	0.2%	1.7%
14	Philadelphia, PA	57.5%	42.5%	42.6%	4.5%	8.5%	0.2%	1.6%
15	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>50.5%</b>	<b>49.5%</b>	<b>23.8%</b>	<b>7.5%</b>	<b>14.4%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>3.1%</b>
16	Denver, CO	48.1%	51.9%	10.8%	2.8%	31.7%	0.2%	1.9%
17	Phoenix, AZ	44.2%	55.8%	4.8%	2.0%	34.1%	0.1%	1.6%
18	Kansas City, MO	42.4%	57.6%	31.0%	1.9%	6.9%	0.2%	1.9%
19	Minneapolis-St Paul, MN	36.8%	63.2%	15.0%	8.8%	7.7%	0.2%	3.4%
20	Columbus, OH	33.1%	66.9%	24.3%	3.5%	2.5%	0.3%	2.4%
21	Indianapolis, IN	32.5%	67.5%	25.4%	1.4%	3.9%	0.2%	1.4%
22	Seattle, WA	32.1%	67.9%	8.3%	13.5%	5.3%	0.3%	3.9%
23	Portland, OR	24.5%	75.5%	6.5%	6.6%	6.8%	0.2%	3.5%
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>61.8%</b>	<b>38.2%</b>	<b>27.1%</b>	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>25.5%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>30.9%</b>	<b>69.1%</b>	<b>12.1%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>

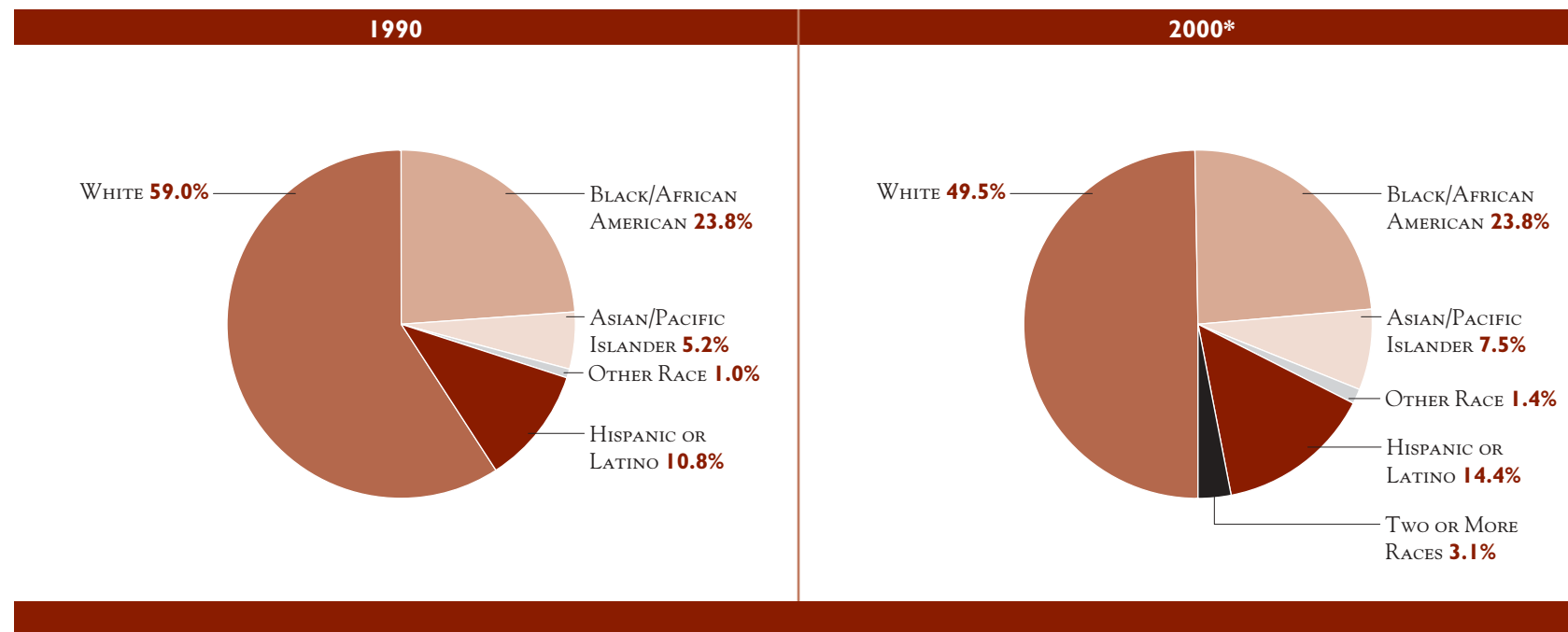
## The City of Boston and its suburbs lost white population in the 1990s, while other racial/ethnic groups grew in both the suburbs and the city

*Population change by race/ethnicity, 1990–2000: Boston metro area*



## Growth in Hispanic and Asian populations transformed Boston from being majority-white to “majority-minority” in the 1990s

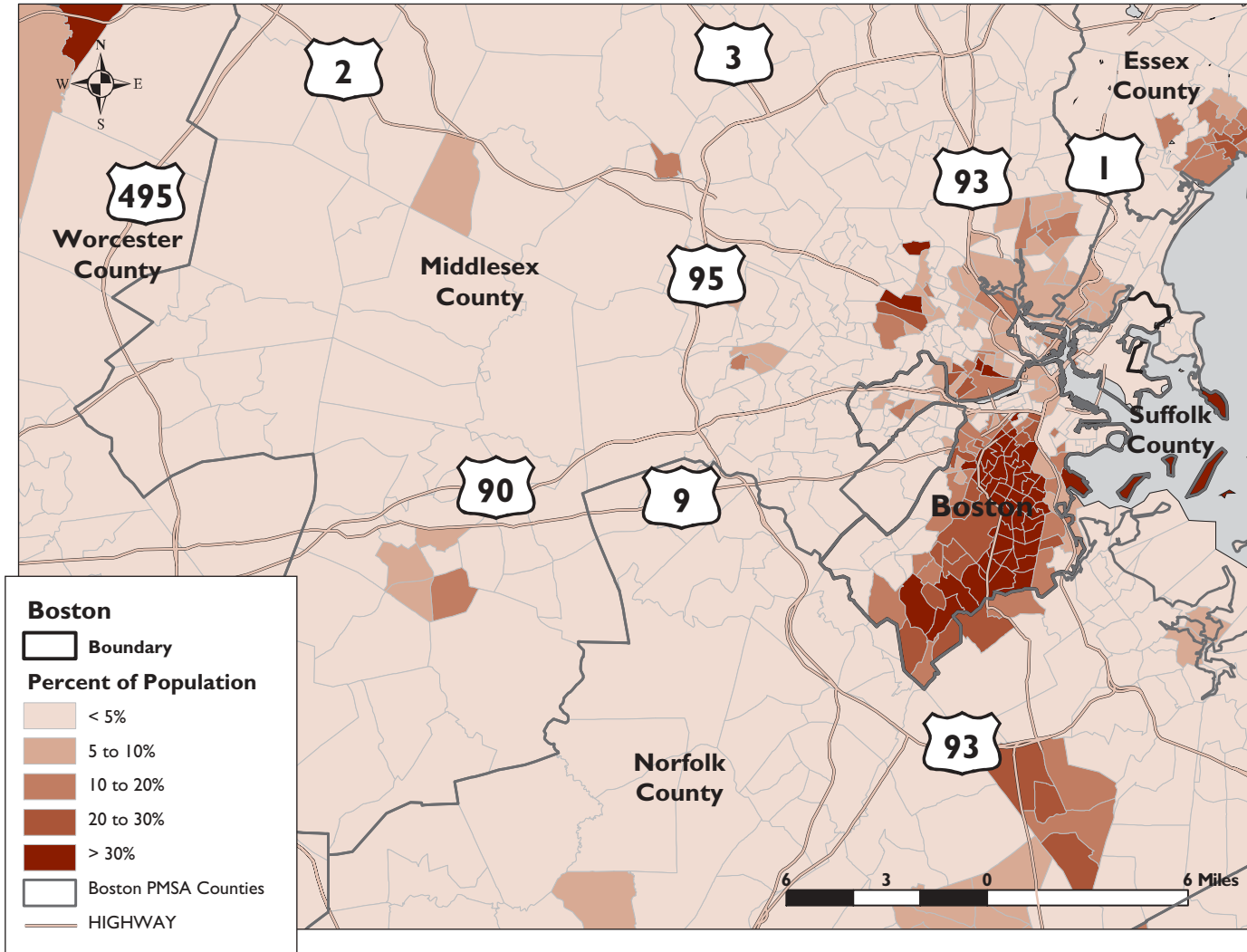
Population share by race/ethnicity, 1990–2000: Boston



\*Census 2000 was the first census in which respondents could choose more than one race to classify themselves

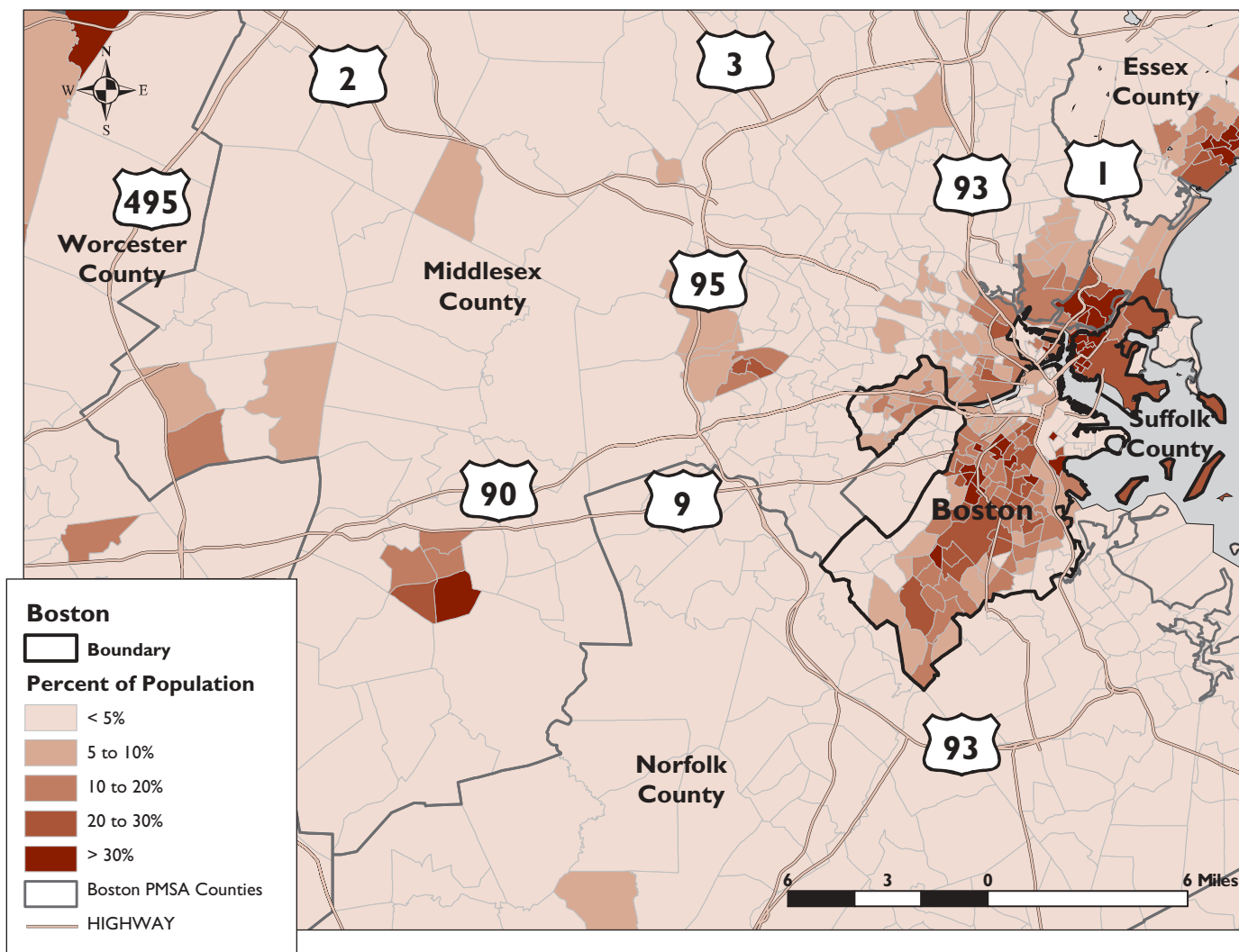
## African Americans in the Boston area live primarily within the city and in some suburbs to the north

*Black/African American population share, 2000: Boston metro area*



## Hispanics in the Boston area live primarily within the city, but also in the region's older cities to the north and west

*Hispanic or Latino population share, 2000: Boston metro area*



## Black-white segregation in Boston is similar to that in the average Living City; segregation between blacks and Hispanics is lower

*Dissimilarity index\* by race/ethnicity, 2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Black - White	Black - Hispanic	Hispanic - White	Peer Cities	Rank	Black - Wht	Black - Hisp	Hispanic - Wht
1	New York, NY	82.9	57.1	66.9	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	23	67.6	67.6	51.7
2	Chicago, IL	82.5	81.4	59.2	Los Angeles, CA	24	67.5	49.7	64.5
3	Atlanta, GA	81.6	62.5	57.8	Omaha, NE	25	66.7	66.6	51.3
4	Washington, DC	79.4	66.2	55.3	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	26	66.6	55.7	47.3
5	Miami, FL	79.3	80.6	49.6	Pittsburgh, PA	27	66.5	54.8	31.6
6	Newark, NJ	77.8	67.7	46.6	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>66.4</b>	<b>43.8</b>	<b>51.1</b>
7	Philadelphia, PA	76.7	70.1	68.2	Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA	29	66.2	47.5	45.3
8	Cleveland, OH	74.8	77.9	45.4	Fort Wayne, IN	30	65.3	38.7	43.8
9	Detroit, MI	72.8	80.9	60.0	Memphis, TN	31	65.3	53.6	47.8
10	Baltimore, MD	70.7	58.2	39.9	Dallas, TX	32	64.8	57.1	57.1
11	Los Angeles, CA	67.5	49.7	64.5	Toledo, OH	33	64.1	55.9	37.5
<b>12</b>	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>66.4</b>	<b>43.8</b>	<b>51.1</b>	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>56.9</b>	<b>46.6</b>	<b>44.5</b>
13	Dallas, TX	64.8	57.1	57.1					
14	Kansas City, MO	63.8	62.5	51.6					
15	Oakland, CA	63.3	35.3	65.2					
16	Denver, CO	63.0	62.3	57.1					
17	Indianapolis, IN	61.8	50.7	40.4					
18	Columbus, OH	59.2	45.6	30.7					
19	Seattle, WA	54.9	38.1	32.9					
20	Minneapolis-St Paul, MN	50.4	38.0	46.5					
21	Portland, OR	48.9	38.6	28.5					
22	San Antonio, TX	48.9	50.9	50.7					
23	Phoenix, AZ	46.4	30.4	55.0					
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>67.2</b>	<b>56.7</b>	<b>51.3</b>					

Source: Lewis Mumford Center on Urban and Regional Research. 2002. "Segregation - Whole Population." SUNY Albany (<http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/data.html> [January, 2003]).

\*The dissimilarity index can be interpreted as the proportion of one group that would have to move to another neighborhood to achieve the same population distribution as the other group.

Indices are based on census tracts for all central cities in each Living City's respective metro area. For Boston, indices include residents of Boston, Cambridge, Lynn, Waltham, and Gloucester.



# IMMIGRATION

At the turn of the 21st century, understanding the characteristics of growing foreign-born populations is central to understanding the social, economic, and political dynamics of cities. The following pages, for this reason, chart the magnitude, recency, and sources of international immigration to Boston and its suburbs.

A growing foreign-born population in U.S. cities and suburbs underlies Census 2000 findings on race and ethnicity. An influx of immigrants, mostly from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia, helped to sustain population growth in a majority of the nation's largest cities in the 1990s. All told, Census 2000 identified 31 million foreign-born individuals living in the U.S., representing approximately 11 percent of the population. This was up dramatically from 1970, when slightly less than 5 percent of the U.S. population was foreign-born. Overall, just over one-half of the total foreign-born population in the U.S. came from Latin America, and more than 40 percent of U.S. immigrants arrived after 1990. In 2000, the 100 largest cities alone were home to over 11 million immigrants, accounting for one in five residents.

While immigrant populations grew in nearly every large U.S. city in the 1990s, a growing proportion of the foreign-born are living in suburbs. The suburbanization of immigrants is especially pronounced in fast-growing "emerging gateway" metropolitan areas in the South and West, including Boston, Dallas, and Washington, D.C. In these metros, a majority of recent immigrants to the area are bypassing cities and settling directly in the suburbs. Even central cities with a long-established and continuing immigrant presence, like New York and Los Angeles, are witnessing rapid growth of foreign-born populations in their own suburbs.

## Boston has the fifth-highest proportion of foreign-born residents among the 23 Living Cities

*Foreign-born population share, 2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Total Population	Foreign-born Population	Percent	Peer Cities	Rank	Percent Foreign-born
1	Miami, FL	362,470	215,739	59.5%	Oakland, CA	13	26.6%
2	Los Angeles, CA	3,694,820	1,512,720	40.9%	Irving, TX	14	26.5%
3	New York, NY	8,008,278	2,871,032	35.9%	Houston, TX	15	26.4%
4	Oakland, CA	399,484	106,116	26.6%	Yonkers, NY	16	26.4%
5	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>589,141</b>	<b>151,836</b>	<b>25.8%</b>	El Paso, TX	17	26.1%
6	Dallas, TX	1,188,580	290,436	24.4%	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>25.8%</b>
7	Newark, NJ	273,546	66,057	24.1%	San Diego, CA	19	25.7%
8	Chicago, IL	2,896,016	628,903	21.7%	Honolulu, HI	20	25.3%
9	Phoenix, AZ	1,321,045	257,325	19.5%	Stockton, CA	21	24.5%
10	Denver, CO	554,636	96,601	17.4%	Dallas, TX	22	24.4%
11	Seattle, WA	563,374	94,952	16.9%	Newark, NJ	23	24.1%
12	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	669,769	96,613	14.4%	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>20.4%</b>
13	Portland, OR	529,121	68,976	13.0%			
14	Washington, DC	572,059	73,561	12.9%			
15	San Antonio, TX	1,144,646	133,675	11.7%			
16	Philadelphia, PA	1,517,550	137,205	9.0%			
17	Columbus, OH	711,470	47,713	6.7%			
18	Atlanta, GA	416,474	27,352	6.6%			
19	Kansas City, MO	441,545	25,632	5.8%			
20	Detroit, MI	951,270	45,541	4.8%			
21	Indianapolis, IN	781,870	36,067	4.6%			
22	Baltimore, MD	651,154	29,638	4.6%			
23	Cleveland, OH	478,403	21,372	4.5%			
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>28,716,721</b>	<b>7,035,062</b>	<b>24.5%</b>			
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>281,421,906</b>	<b>31,107,889</b>	<b>11.1%</b>			

## Similar to Chicago and New York, Boston's immigrant population grew by about one-third in the 1990s

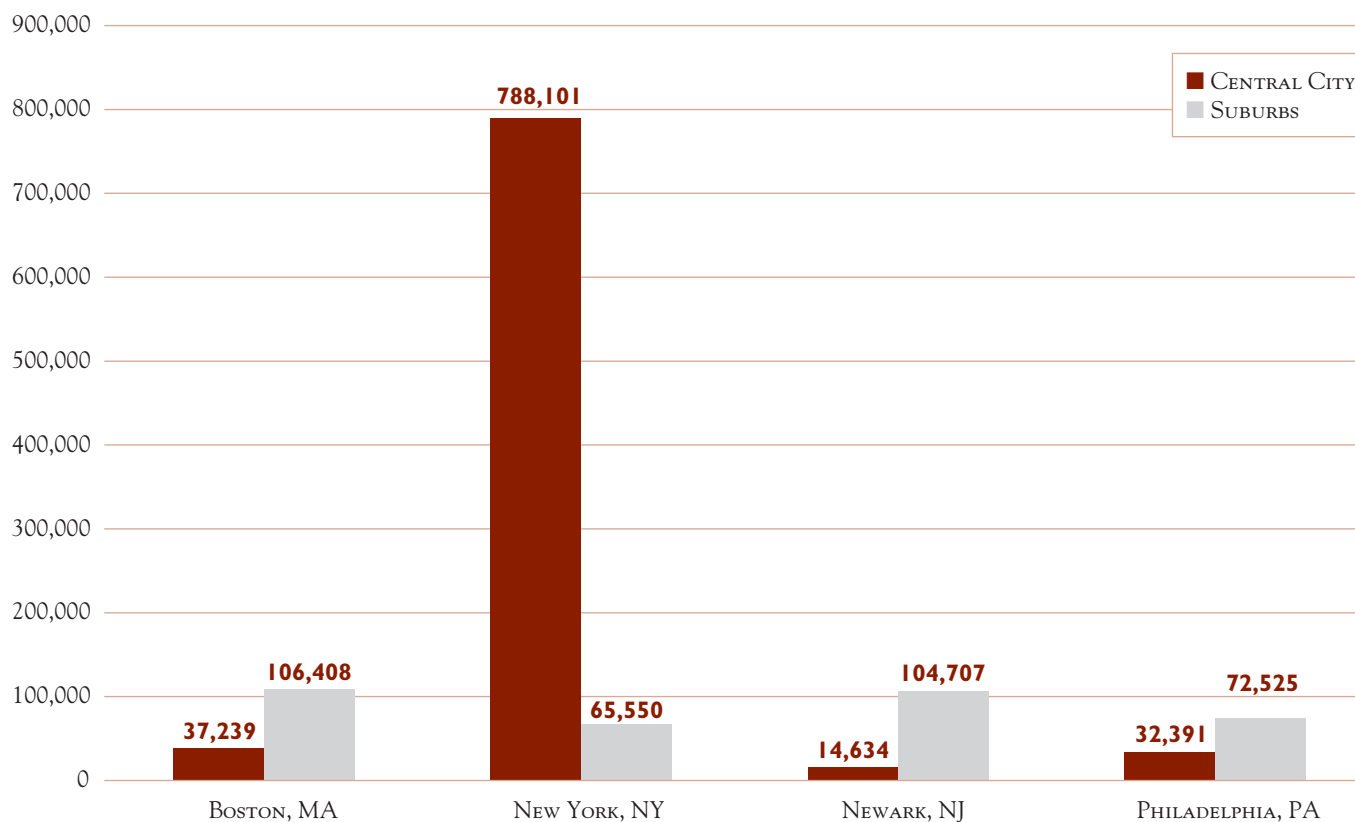
*Percent change in foreign-born population, 1990–2000: Living Cities and 100 largest cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Foreign-born 1990	Foreign-born 2000	Percent Change	Peer Cities	Rank	Percent Change
1	Phoenix, AZ	84,672	257,325	203.9%	Virginia Beach, VA	69	37.8%
2	Denver, CO	34,715	96,601	178.3%	Corpus Christi, TX	70	37.4%
3	Indianapolis, IN	13,963	36,067	158.3%	Yonkers, NY	71	35.8%
4	Dallas, TX	125,862	290,436	130.8%	San Diego, CA	72	35.4%
5	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	42,517	96,613	127.2%	Chicago, IL	73	34.0%
6	Kansas City, MO	12,387	25,632	106.9%	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>32.5%</b>
7	Portland, OR	33,601	68,976	105.3%	St. Petersburg, FL	75	32.3%
8	Atlanta, GA	13,354	27,352	104.8%	Detroit, MI	76	32.0%
9	Columbus, OH	23,471	47,713	103.3%	Philadelphia, PA	77	30.9%
10	San Antonio, TX	87,549	133,675	52.7%	Glendale, CA	78	30.4%
11	Oakland, CA	73,524	106,116	44.3%	Newark, NJ	79	28.5%
12	Seattle, WA	67,736	94,952	40.2%	<b>100-City Average</b>		<b>45.5%</b>
13	New York, NY	2,082,931	2,871,032	37.8%			
14	Chicago, IL	469,187	628,903	34.0%			
<b>15</b>	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>114,597</b>	<b>151,836</b>	<b>32.5%</b>			
16	Detroit, MI	34,490	45,541	32.0%			
17	Philadelphia, PA	104,814	137,205	30.9%			
18	Newark, NJ	51,423	66,057	28.5%			
19	Baltimore, MD	23,467	29,638	26.3%			
20	Washington, DC	58,887	73,561	24.9%			
21	Los Angeles, CA	1,336,665	1,512,720	13.2%			
22	Cleveland, OH	20,975	21,372	1.9%			
23	Miami, FL	214,128	215,739	0.8%			
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>5,124,915</b>	<b>7,035,062</b>	<b>37.3%</b>			
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>19,767,316</b>	<b>31,107,889</b>	<b>57.4%</b>			

## IMMIGRATION

## Boston had the highest growth in suburban foreign-born among Northeastern Living Cities; growth in the central city was similar to that in Philadelphia

*Foreign-born population change, 1990–2000: Northeastern U.S. Living Cities metro areas*



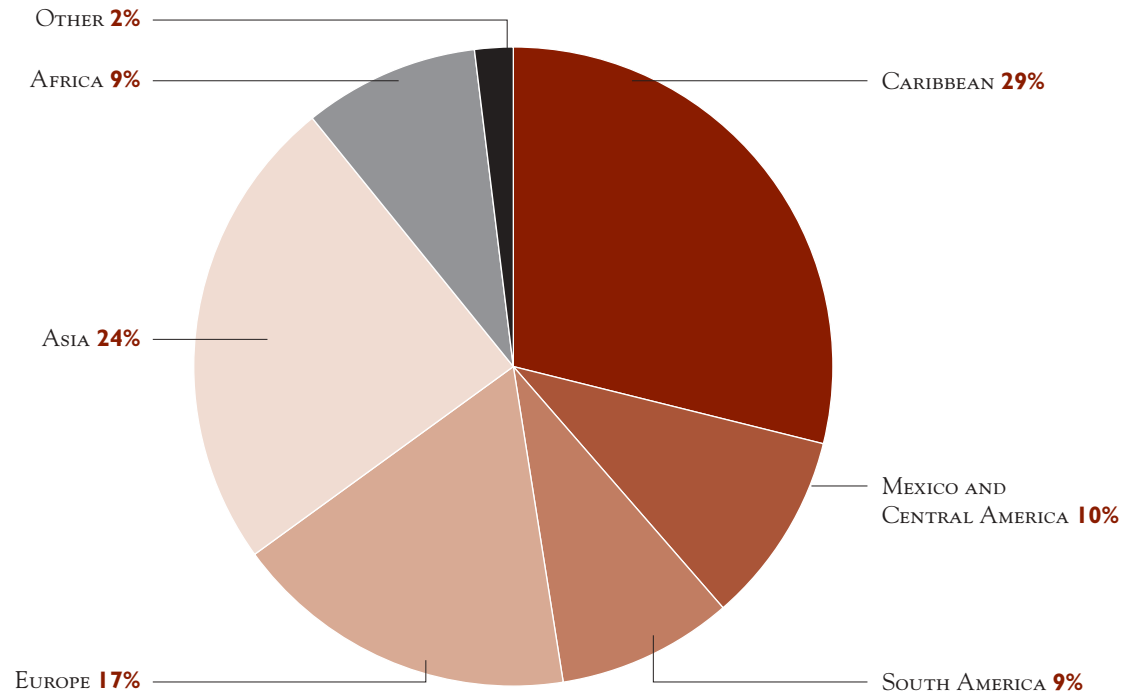
## Roughly half of Boston's immigrants entered the U.S. in the last decade; more than one-third are naturalized citizens

*Foreign-born population by citizenship and year of entry, 2000: Living Cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Foreign-born Population	Foreign-born that are Naturalized	Percent	Foreign-born Entering U.S. in 1990s	Percent
1	Philadelphia, PA	137,205	64,786	47.2%	63,624	46.4%
2	Seattle, WA	94,952	44,334	46.7%	44,145	46.5%
3	Cleveland, OH	21,372	9,755	45.6%	9,267	43.4%
4	Baltimore, MD	29,638	13,521	45.6%	14,057	47.4%
5	New York, NY	2,871,032	1,278,687	44.5%	1,224,524	42.7%
6	Miami, FL	215,739	89,727	41.6%	80,911	37.5%
7	San Antonio, TX	133,675	54,322	40.6%	47,309	35.4%
<b>8</b>	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>151,836</b>	<b>56,681</b>	<b>37.3%</b>	<b>73,670</b>	<b>48.5%</b>
9	Portland, OR	68,976	24,617	35.7%	37,624	54.5%
10	Chicago, IL	628,903	223,984	35.6%	291,785	46.4%
11	Oakland, CA	106,116	37,783	35.6%	46,805	44.1%
12	Los Angeles, CA	1,512,720	509,841	33.7%	569,771	37.7%
13	Detroit, MI	45,541	15,320	33.6%	25,720	56.5%
14	Indianapolis, IN	36,067	12,100	33.5%	21,821	60.5%
15	Kansas City, MO	25,632	8,392	32.7%	15,032	58.6%
16	Newark, NJ	66,057	21,412	32.4%	33,680	51.0%
17	Washington, DC	73,561	22,050	30.0%	37,533	51.0%
18	Columbus, OH	47,713	14,197	29.8%	30,409	63.7%
19	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	96,613	25,910	26.8%	59,546	61.6%
20	Atlanta, GA	27,352	6,715	24.6%	18,326	67.0%
21	Denver, CO	96,601	22,144	22.9%	60,316	62.4%
22	Phoenix, AZ	257,325	52,874	20.5%	150,406	58.4%
23	Dallas, TX	290,436	55,607	19.1%	174,351	60.0%
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>7,035,062</b>	<b>2,664,759</b>	<b>37.9%</b>	<b>3,130,632</b>	<b>44.5%</b>
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>31,107,889</b>	<b>12,542,626</b>	<b>40.3%</b>	<b>13,178,276</b>	<b>42.4%</b>

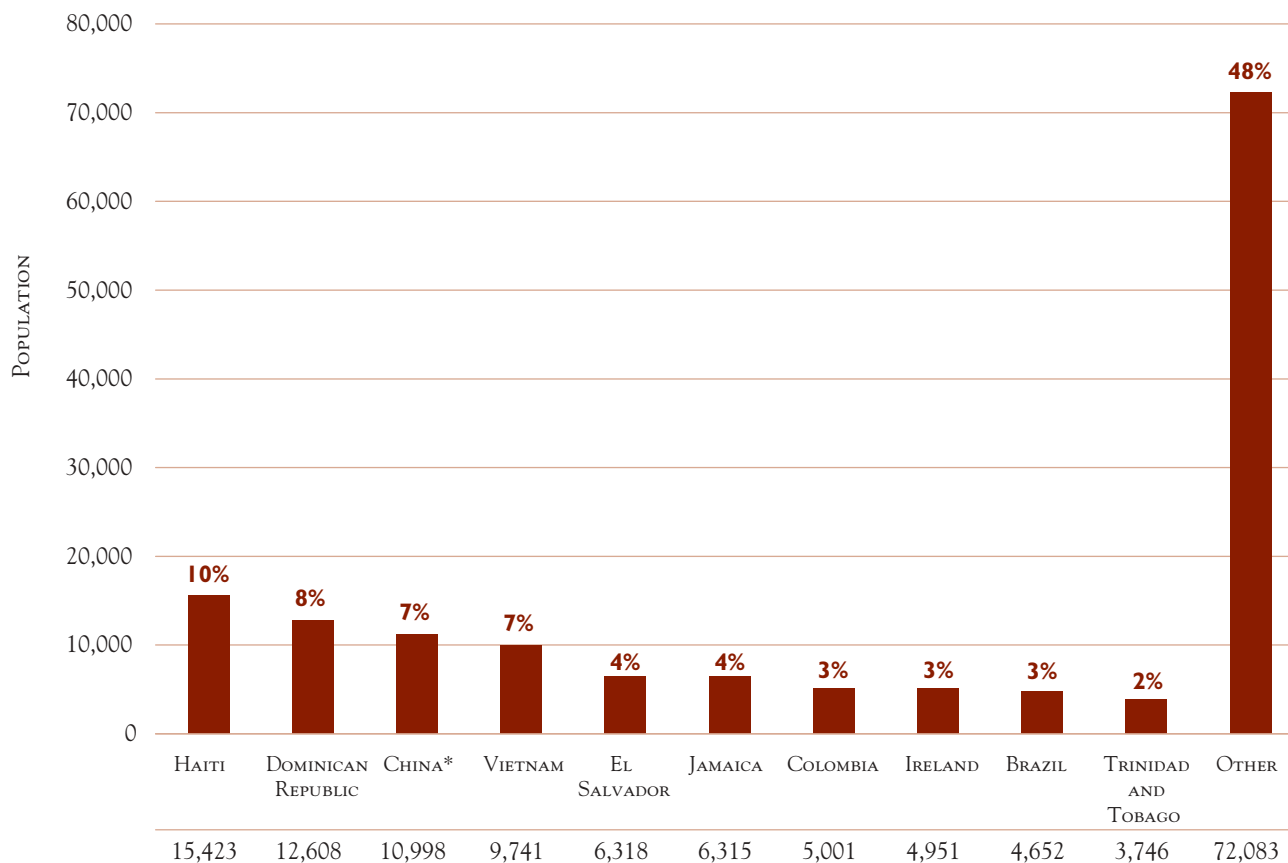
## Boston's foreign-born hail from a highly diverse set of world regions; the Caribbean is the most common

*Share of foreign-born by region of birth, 2000: Boston*



## There is not a dominant country of origin among Boston's foreign-born; Haiti and the Dominican Republic are the most common birth countries

*Population and share of foreign-born by country of birth, 2000: Boston*



\*Excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan

# AGE

The age profile of a city's population can answer some very basic questions about a city's ability to provide for its residents.

For instance, the number of working-age residents from whom the city can raise revenue influences the level of services it can provide for more “dependent” residents like the elderly and children. Likewise, the city's ability to “compete” nationally, within its region, and within its neighborhoods for younger workers may hint at its prospects for continued vitality in the future.

Age profiles nationwide, and in most cities and metro areas, are dominated by the aging of the Baby Boom generation. In 2000, that generation roughly corresponded with the 35-to-54 year-old age group, which represented nearly 30 percent of the U.S. population. The movement of Baby Boomers into these age groups in the 1990s meant that by Census 2000, for the first time, more than half the nation's population was age 35 and over. The Northeast was the nation's oldest region, with a median age just under 37; the West was the youngest, with a median age under 34.

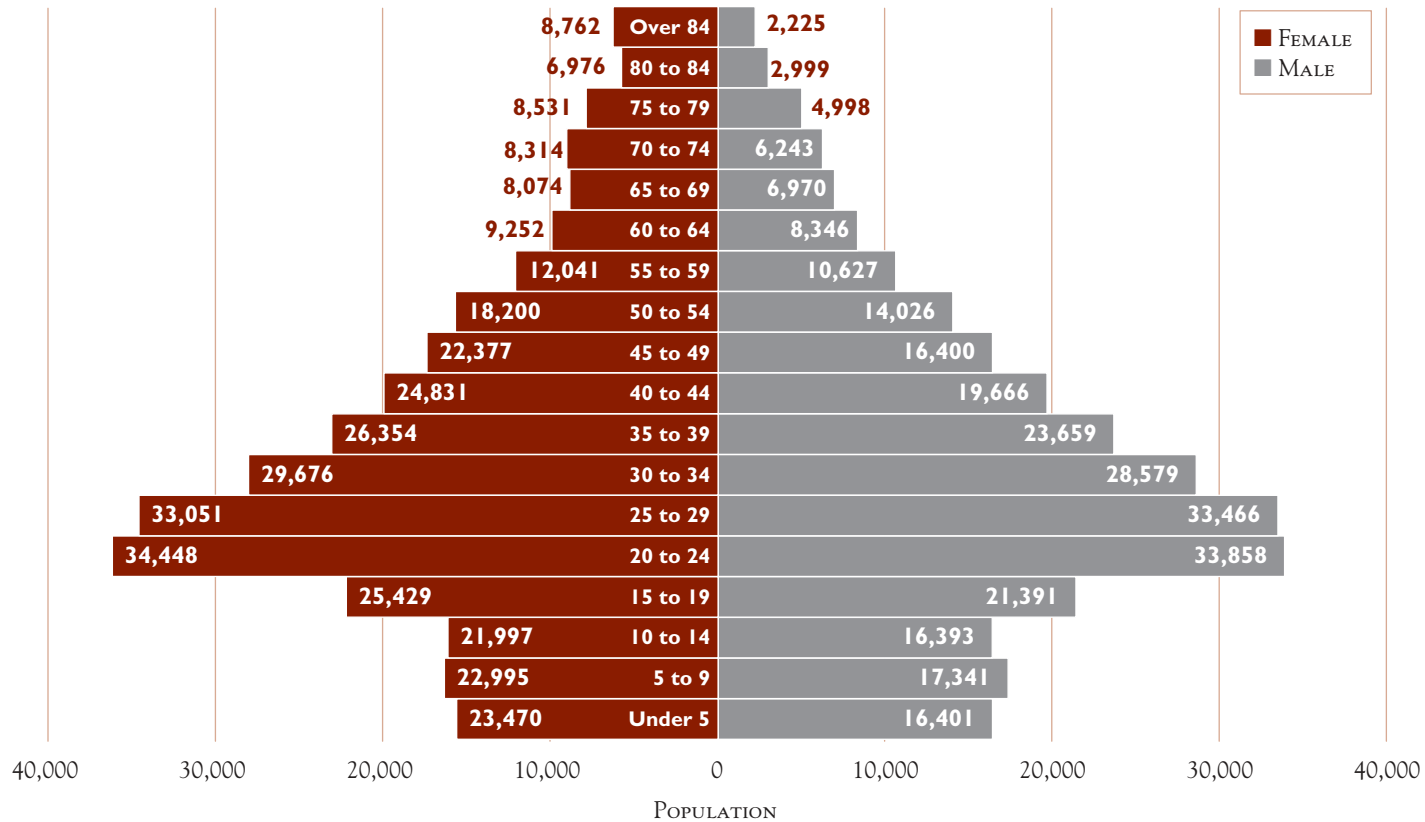
Cities are younger places in general than suburbs—46 percent of central city residents in 2000 were more than 35 years old, compared to 51 percent of suburban residents. And the older population in cities barely grew at all in the 1990s, due in large part to the earlier migration of pre-retirees and seniors to suburbs. Despite the continued appeal of cities for young professionals, in 2000 a majority (63 percent) of 25-to-34 year-olds in major metro areas lived in the suburbs. Over the 1990s, though, the number of children in cities rose, thanks to higher birth rates among the growing population of younger immigrant families.

To probe such trends, the following indicators profile the relative size and age of Boston's population and its sub-groups in the city and its neighborhoods, and identify changes over the 1990s.



## Young adults aged 20 to 24—many of whom are university students—make up Boston's largest age group

*Population by 5-year age groups, 2000: Boston*



## Every 100 working-age adults in Boston help to support only 43 children and seniors—the second-lowest ratio among the 23 Living Cities

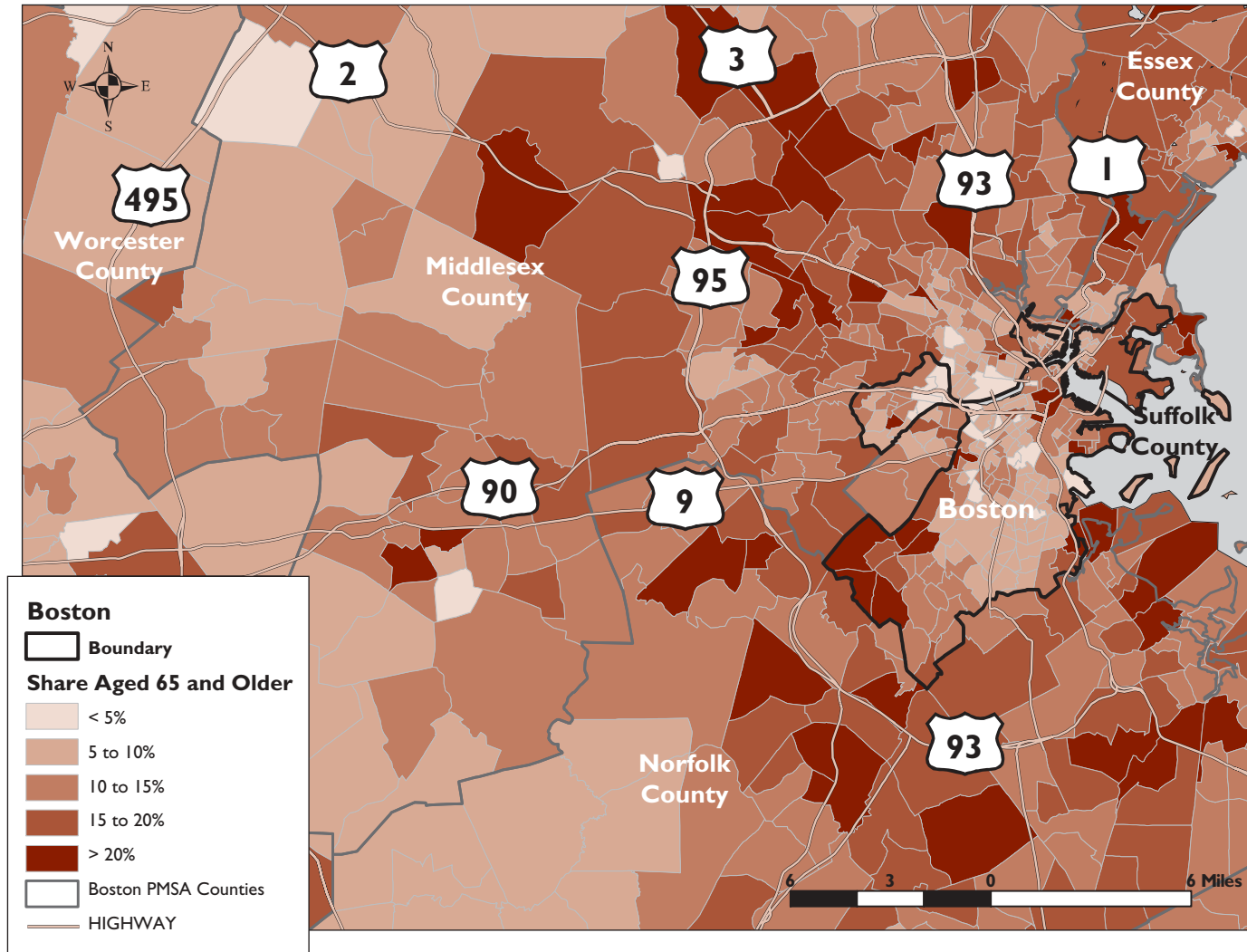
*Dependency ratio\* and share of population by age group, 2000: Living Cities*

Rank	Living Cities	Dependency Ratio	Children (0–17)	Working-age (18–64)	Elderly (65+)
1	Detroit, MI	71	31.1%	58.5%	10.4%
2	Cleveland, OH	70	28.5%	59.0%	12.5%
3	Philadelphia, PA	65	25.3%	60.6%	14.1%
4	San Antonio, TX	64	28.5%	61.0%	10.4%
5	Miami, FL	63	21.7%	61.2%	17.0%
6	Baltimore, MD	61	24.8%	62.0%	13.2%
7	Newark, NJ	59	27.9%	62.8%	9.3%
8	Kansas City, MO	59	25.4%	62.9%	11.7%
9	Phoenix, AZ	59	28.9%	63.0%	8.1%
10	Indianapolis, IN	58	25.7%	63.4%	11.0%
11	Chicago, IL	58	26.2%	63.4%	10.3%
12	Los Angeles, CA	57	26.6%	63.8%	9.7%
13	New York, NY	56	24.2%	64.1%	11.7%
14	Oakland, CA	55	25.0%	64.6%	10.5%
15	Dallas, TX	54	26.6%	64.8%	8.6%
16	Minneapolis-St Paul, MN	51	24.2%	66.2%	9.6%
17	Denver, CO	50	22.0%	66.8%	11.3%
18	Columbus, OH	49	24.2%	67.0%	8.9%
19	Portland, OR	48	21.1%	67.4%	11.6%
20	Washington, DC	48	20.1%	67.7%	12.2%
21	Atlanta, GA	47	22.3%	67.9%	9.7%
<b>22</b>	<b>Boston, MA</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>19.8%</b>	<b>69.8%</b>	<b>10.4%</b>
23	Seattle, WA	38	15.6%	72.4%	12.0%
	<b>All Living Cities</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>25.2%</b>	<b>63.9%</b>	<b>10.9%</b>
	<b>Nation</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>25.7%</b>	<b>61.9%</b>	<b>12.4%</b>

\*The dependency ratio represents the number of children and seniors for every 100 adults age 18 to 64.

## The city of Boston has relatively few seniors, but they make up significant shares of the population in many inner suburbs

*Share of population 65 and older, 2000: Boston metro area*



## In contrast to national trends, Boston experienced a net loss in young children and older residents aged 55 and up

*Percent population change by age group, 1990–2000: Boston and U.S*

