THE MILLENNIAL GENERATION:

A demographic bridge to America's diverse future

William H. Frey

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Overview

The millennial generation, over 75 million strong is America's largest—eclipsing the current size of the postwar baby boom generation. While much attention has been given to this generation's unique attributes—its technological savvy, its tolerance and independence, and its aversion to large institutions—one aspect of millennials is most relevant to its future impact on the nation: its racial and ethnic diversity.

The millennial generation is the demographic "bridge" to the nation's diverse future. By the mid-2040s, racial and ethnic minorities are projected to make up over half of all Americans, but the 2020 census will show that the postmillennial generation—people who are younger than millennials—will already be minority white. This means that millennials, now 44 percent minority, will pave the way for the generations behind them as workers, consumers, and leaders in business and government in their acceptance by and participation in tomorrow's more racially diverse America.

As a bridge to the future, this highly diverse generation will face both opportunities and challenges. Race and ethnic disparities in education attainment, family formation, income, and housing persist among the millennials. These differences need to be recognized because they will affect their current and future quality of life—including their health and well-being as this generation ages.

The national picture of a population that is diversifying in its younger ages while its white population is rapidly aging is an oversimplification because it does not account for variation among states and metropolitan areas. Although the public and media attention tends to focus on the lives of millennials in high-profile markets such as New York, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, local contexts for the social and economic opportunities available to millennials differ widely across the country.

This report, its appendices, and its associated interactive website examine the demographic makeup of millennials for the nation, the 100 largest metropolitan areas, and all 50 states. With an emphasis on its unique racial diversity, this report compares the millennial generation with earlier counterparts at the same stage of life and assesses how different segments of the millennial population are faring, as well as where they are living. Most notably, it postulates how millennials can represent a demographic bridge to the future—helping to close the racial and cultural generation gap that, as recent politics have shown, is dividing the nation.

Table of contents

Introduction

The millennial generation, over 75 million strong is America's largest—eclipsing the current size of the postwar baby boom generation. Now all fully adults, millennials make up nearly a quarter of the total U.S. population, 30 percent of the voting age population, and almost two-fifths of the working age population. While much attention has been given to this generation's unique attributes—its technological savvy, its tolerance and independence, and its aversion to large institutions—one aspect of millennials is most relevant to its future impact on the nation: its racial and ethnic diversity.

The millennial generation is the demographic "bridge" to the nation's diverse future. By the mid-2040s, racial and ethnic minorities are projected to make up over half of all Americans, but the 2020 census will show that the postmillennial generation—people who are younger than millennials—will already be minority white. This means that millennials, now 44 percent minority, will pave the way for the generations behind them as workers, consumers, and leaders in business and government in their acceptance by and participation in tomorrow's more racially diverse America.

As a bridge to the future, this highly diverse generation will face both opportunities and challenges. Race and ethnicity disparities in education attainment, family formation, income, and housing persist among millennials. These differences need to be recognized because they will affect their current and future quality of life—including their health and well-being as this generation ages.

Moreover, the national picture of a population that is diversifying in its younger ages while its white population is rapidly aging is an oversimplification because it does not account for variation among states and metropolitan areas. Although the public and media attention tends to focus on the lives of millennials in high-profile markets such as New York, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, local contexts for the social and economic opportunities available to millennials differ widely across the country.

For example, in Bakersfield, Calif., the millennial population is 59 percent Hispanic and 30 percent white; and among those ages 25-34, 29 percent are in poverty and only 14 percent graduated from college. In Minneapolis-St Paul, 71 percent of millennials are white; and among those ages 25-34, just 10 percent are in poverty and 47 percent are college graduates. By virtue of their distinct demographic profiles, each area provides different opportunities and challenges for millennials to succeed in serving as bridges to the next generation.

At the local level, millennials affect important dynamics that influence housing markets, educational institutions, tax bases, and labor forces, not to mention their implications for altering local economies, levels of income inequality, and needs for promoting greater racial and social inclusion. As such, local political officials, industry leaders, university and community college networks, and nonprofit institutions need to be made aware of changes this new adult generation will bring.

This report, its appendices, and its associated interactive website examine the demographic makeup of millennials for the nation, the 100 largest metropolitan areas, and all 50 states. With an emphasis on its unique racial diversity, this report compares the millennial generation with earlier counterparts at the same stage of life and assesses how different segments of the millennial population are faring, as well as where they are living. Most notably, it postulates how millennials can represent a demographic bridge to the future—helping to close the racial and cultural generation gap that, as recent politics have shown, is dividing the nation.

This report addresses four questions:

1. Who are millennials and how distinct are they?
2. Where are millennials living?
3. How do millennials differ on education and poverty across metropolitan areas and states?
4. How will millennials serve as a bridge across generations?

In answering these questions, this report draws from a variety of U.S. Census Bureau data, including the Current Population Survey, the American Community Survey, census estimates and projections, as well as historical decennial censuses. It also presents metropolitan area projections conducted by the author.[1] Millennials are defined as persons born between 1981 and 1997. In some parts of the report, special focus is given to younger millennials, ages 18-24, and older millennials, ages 25-34, as these groups represent different stages of the young adult cycle.

Who are millennials and how distinct are they?

The "millennial" label is applied to a generation with birth years of 1981 through 1997, which followed the "birth dearth" period of Generation X (born 1965-1980) , which was preceded by the baby boom generation (born 1946-1964). The exact dates of the millennial generation vary among researchers.[2] However, as with the baby boomers, the millennials' distinction is associated not just with their large size—at 75.3 million, the millennial generation has now surpassed the baby boomers—but also with their unique attributes in terms of demographics, tastes, and lifestyles. As their name implies, they are the first generation to reach adulthood in the new millennium, suggesting that they will usher in changes that will be followed by later generations this century.

Millennial size and diversity

Despite their large size, millennials, are not as dominant as a share of the total population today as the baby boomers were when they were young adults. This can be seen in Figure 1, which compares the baby boomers in 1980 with millennials in 2015. In 1980, baby boomers, then ages 16-34, represented 33 percent of the population and vastly outweighed generations that were their seniors. Their demographic imprint alone shows why, at the time, baby boomers held such power in the workplace and marketplace. In contrast, millennial young adults today, while also large in numbers, represent 23 percent of the population and must contend with sizable older generations, including baby boomers, in gaining attention socially, economically, and politically.

Millennials are distinct from earlier young adult generations in one important demographic respect: their racial and ethnic diversity. Overall, millennials are 55.8 percent white and nearly 30 percent "new minorities"– Hispanic, Asian, and those identifying as two or more races. In 2000, when millennials were just beginning to turn 18, young adults were 63 percent white. In 1980, when occupied by baby boomers, young adults were 78 percent white. The large waves of immigration to the U.S. in the 1980s and 1990s, especially from Latin America and Asia,[3] coupled with the aging of the white population,[4] made millennials a far more racially and ethnically diverse generation than any that preceded it.

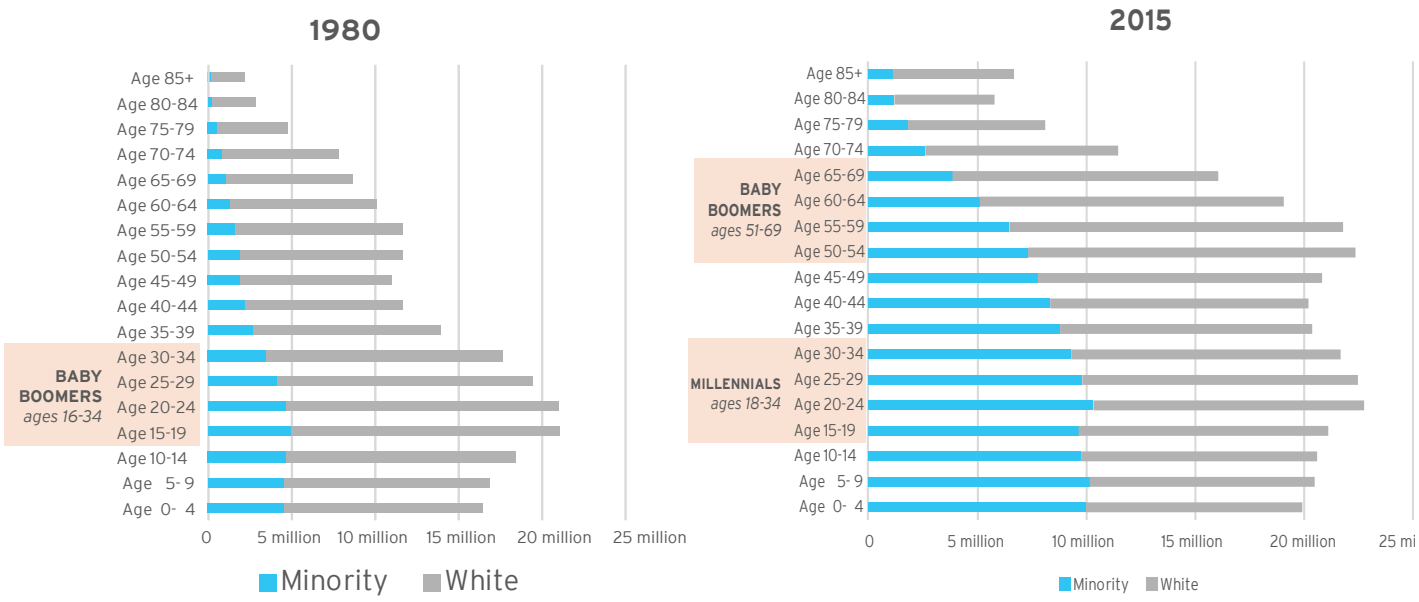
As shown in Figure 2, there is a clear shift in racial and ethnic makeup between millennials and prior generations. In 2015, the 55 and older population, including most baby boomers and those born before them, were "whiter" than the country as a whole (75 percent vs. 61.6 percent), and among them, blacks were the largest racial minority. Those in the 35-54 age group, including Generation X and the tail end of the baby boomers (at 61.5 percent white, 17.6 percent Hispanic, and 12.5 percent black), were roughly representative of the nation's racial and ethnic composition.

Tomorrow's diversity is foreshadowed by the postmillennial generation—persons now under age 18. As Figure 2 indicates, whites make up just over half (51.5 percent) of this generation, of whom people ages one through five are minority white. Over one-third of this group consists of

FIGURE 1

Age and race-ethnic distributions of U.S. population

1980 and 2015

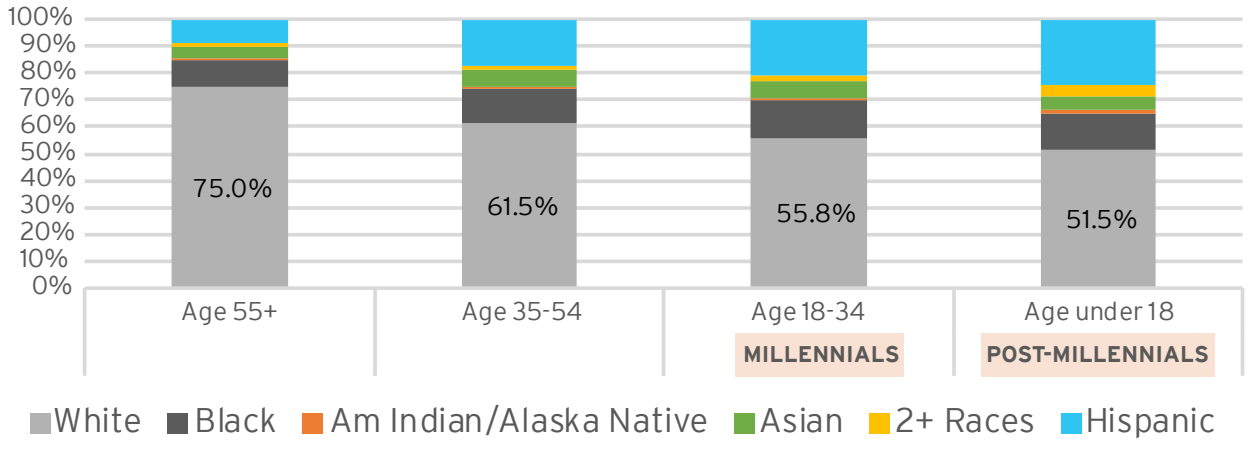


Source: Author's analysis of 1980 U.S. Decennial Census and Census population estimates

FIGURE 2

U.S. race-ethnic profiles for age groups

2015



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

new minorities, and almost a quarter is made up of Hispanics.

Plainly it is the millennial generation that is ushering in the nation's broader racial diversity. This demographic bridge is illustrated by the growth of racial and ethnic minorities among the young adult population, as shown in Figure 3. Between 2000 and 2015, there was a net loss of one quarter-million white young adults as more whites aged out of the young adult (18-34 year old age bracket) than aged into it. Other racial and ethnic groups did the opposite. Over the same period, as millennials entered this bracket, there were net gains of 4.3 million Hispanics and more than 1.5 million each of Asian and black Americans.

Ultimately, the impact of the aging of the white population on younger generations cannot be overemphasized. Census Bureau projections indicate that, for the foreseeable future, postmillennial young adult populations will continue to experience declines in their white populations, with racial and ethnic minorities responsible for all future gains.[5]

Millennials' unique attributes reflect their diversity

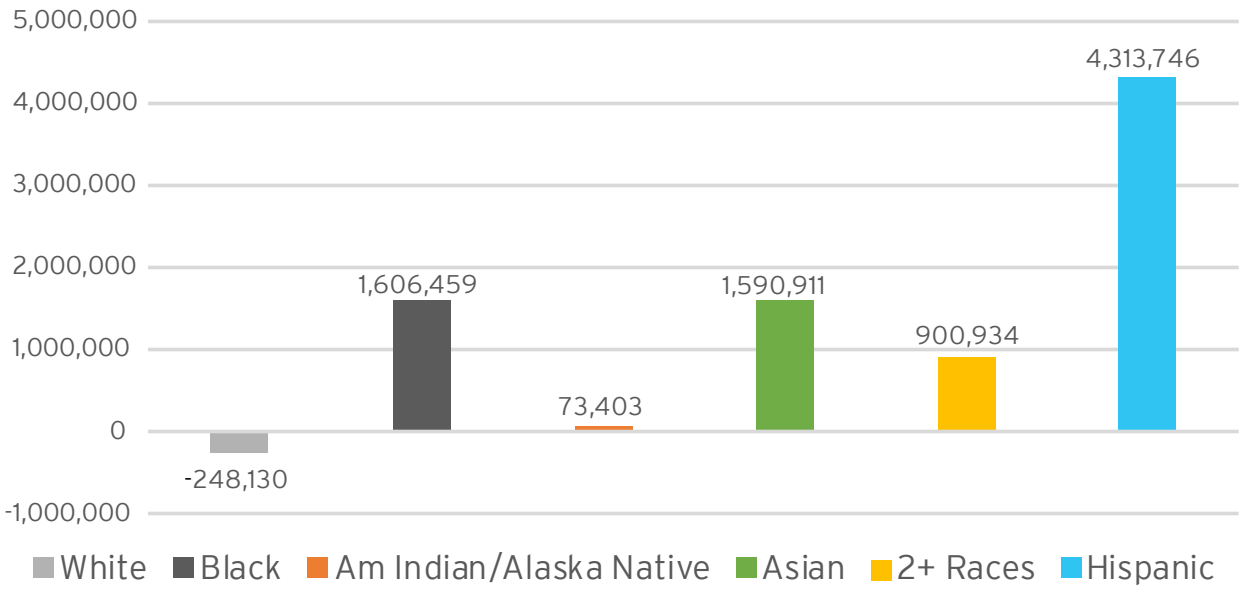
Millennials are distinct in a number of respects when compared with earlier generations. However, the common view of millennials as a well-educated, tech-savvy generation that happened to come of age in a rough economic time must be seen in the context of the generation's broad racial and ethnic diversity. Because minority groups compose a larger slice of the millennial generation than for any prior young adult cohort, it is important to examine how each group fares and contributes to attributes that are associated with millennials.

Millennial comparisons with earlier generations are shown in Table 1 which contrasts key characteristics of millennials in 2015 to those

FIGURE 3

Change in the age 18-34 population by race-ethnicity

2000-2015



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

TABLE 1

Comparisons of young adults of earlier eras with millennials in 2015

Social and demographic profiles	Young adults 1980*	Young adults 2000*	Millennials 2015*
Percent			
Race-ethnicity			
White#	78	63	56
Black#	12	13	14
Asian#	2	4	6
Hispanic	7	17	21
Other Groups#	1	3	3
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*
Speaking language other than English at home	11	23	25
Marriages that are interracial	5	10	14
Currently married			
Age 18-24	29	14	8
Age 25-34	68	55	44
Percent household head or spouse**			
Age 18-24	39	29	24
Age 25-34	85	76	67
College graduates ***			
All	24	29	36
Men	28	29	33
Women	21	30	39
Percent homeowners			
Age 18-24	26	20	20
Age 25-34	55	47	39
Percent of persons in poverty			
Age 18-24	12	17	20
Age 25-34	8	10	15

* Ages 18-34 unless otherwise noted
** Includes persons living alone
*** Ages 25-34
# Pertains to non-Hispanic members of racial group

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau: Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements 1980, 2000, and 2015; 1980 and 2000 Decennial Censuses; and 2015 American Community Survey

TABLE 2

Comparisons of millennials by race-ethnicity, 2015

Social and Demographic Profiles	White#	Black#	Hispanic	Asian#
Percent*				
Nativity				
Foreign born	4	10	36	56
Second generation	5	7	34	36
Third and higher generation	91	83	30	8
	100	*100*	*100*	*100*
Percent speaking language other than English at home	6	9	72	72
Marital status ****				
Currently married	48	23	45	52
Never married	44	69	47	45
Divorced, separated, or widowed	7	8	8	3
	100	*100*	*100*	*100*
Relationship to household head ****				
Household head	48	51	42	41
Spouse of head	23	10	20	24
Child of head	13	21	16	17
Other	16	18	22	18
	100	*100*	*100*	*100*
Education ****				
College graduate	43	23	17	62
Some college	29	35	26	18
High school graduate	23	35	31	15
Not high school grad	5	7	26	5
	100	*100*	*100*	*100*
Percent homeowners ****	56	33	37	43
Percent of persons in poverty				
Ages 18-24	16	29	22	19
Ages 25-34	11	24	21	13

* Ages 18-34 unless otherwise noted
** Ages 25-34
# Pertains to non-Hispanic members of racial group

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement 2015 and 2015 American Community Survey

of young adults, ages 18-34, in 2000 and 1980, roughly corresponding to when Generation X and baby boomers were those ages. Disparities within the millennial generation among white, black, Hispanic and Asian millennials are shown in Table 2.

Language spoken at home, immigration status and interracial marriages

In keeping with their racial and ethnic diversity and association with immigration, young adult millennials are more likely than their earlier counterparts to hold "global" attributes. One of these attributes is linguistic proficiency. Millennials are more likely than young adults in previous generations to speak a language other than English at home. Overall, a quarter of millennials speak a foreign language at home, compared with 23 percent of young adults in 2000 and just 11 percent in 1980 (see Table 1). More than seven in 10 Hispanic or Asian millennials speak a language other than English at home, compared with relatively few blacks and whites. Spanish is spoken at home by 16 percent of millennials and at least 17 percent are bilingual, with strong English proficiency despite speaking another language at home.

Another global attribute of millennials is their recent immigration status. Well over half of Asian millennials are foreign born, compared with 36 percent of Hispanics, 10 percent of blacks, and just 4 percent of whites (see Table 2). Although immigrants compose a smaller share of Hispanic and Asian young adults than in 2000 (75 percent and 52 percent, respectively), both groups are overwhelmingly made up of first- and second-generation Americans.

A third global attribute of millennials, an indicator of racial and ethnic blending, is the pervasiveness of interracial marriages. Interracial marriages have been on the rise, especially over the past three decades.[6] As Table 1 shows, nearly one in seven millennial marriages are interracial—almost three times the share of such marriages among baby boomers at the same age. The impact of the rise of new minorities is apparent: nearly six in 10 of millennials' interracial marriages are between white and either Hispanic or Asian partners. Among married millennials involving Hispanics, 35 percent are interracial. For those marriages involving Asians or blacks, about three in 10 are interracial.

Marital status and household relationships

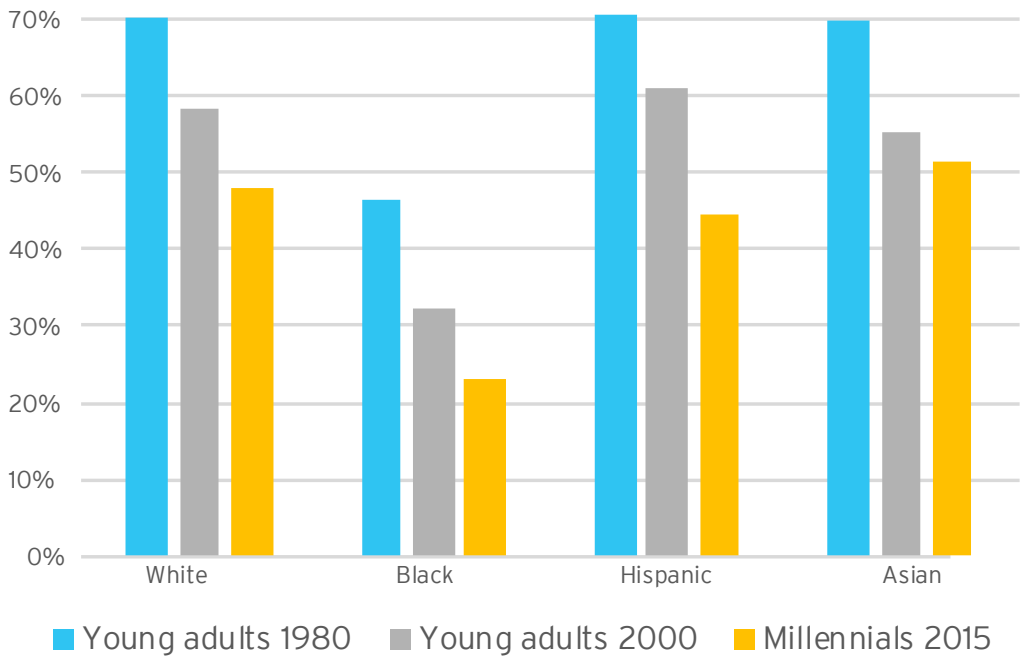
Despite the rise in interracial marriages, millennials are slower than earlier generations to get married, have children, and leave their parents' homes. The median age of marriage was lowest during the family-friendly 1950s—at age 20 for women and 22 for men. By 2015, these rose to ages 27 and 29, respectively. Allowing longer periods for higher education and rising women's labor force participation have pushed up the ages of marriage and childbearing over the decades.[7] However, the Great Recession and resulting housing crash led millennials to even further delay these domestic milestones.

The broad pattern toward delay in marriage has been followed by millennials in each racial and ethnic group (see Figure 4). Blacks continue to exhibit the lowest share of 25-34 year-olds who are currently married—halving their share from 47 percent in 1980 to 23 percent—though unmarried partnerships are common among black couples.[8] Just as with the national patterns, long term shifts toward later marriage have been amplified for all groups by recent economic conditions.

Millennials are not only marrying later than young adults in 2000 and 1980, but are also less likely to be household heads or spouses, as many lived in their parental homes or in multifamily dwellings at uncommonly high levels (see Table 1).[9] Still, as shown in Table 2, the majority of older millennials (ages 25 to 34) in each racial-ethnic group are either household heads (including persons living alone) or spouses. White millennials exhibit the largest combined shares of household heads and spouses, while residing with parents, other relatives, and nonrelatives is more prominent for

FIGURE 4

Percent currently married: Generational differences by race at ages 25-34



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements

blacks and Hispanics. Fewer blacks are married compared to other race and ethnic groups and more (21 percent) are residing with parents than any other group. Hispanic millennials are most likely to have an "other" relationship to the household head, meaning they could be living with a nonrelative, such as a roommate, or another adult relative.

Education attainment

One of the long-term trends that continued with millennials is the increase in education attainment, which, for their generation more than others, is tied to higher future earnings and well-being.[10] Here the story is both good and not so good.

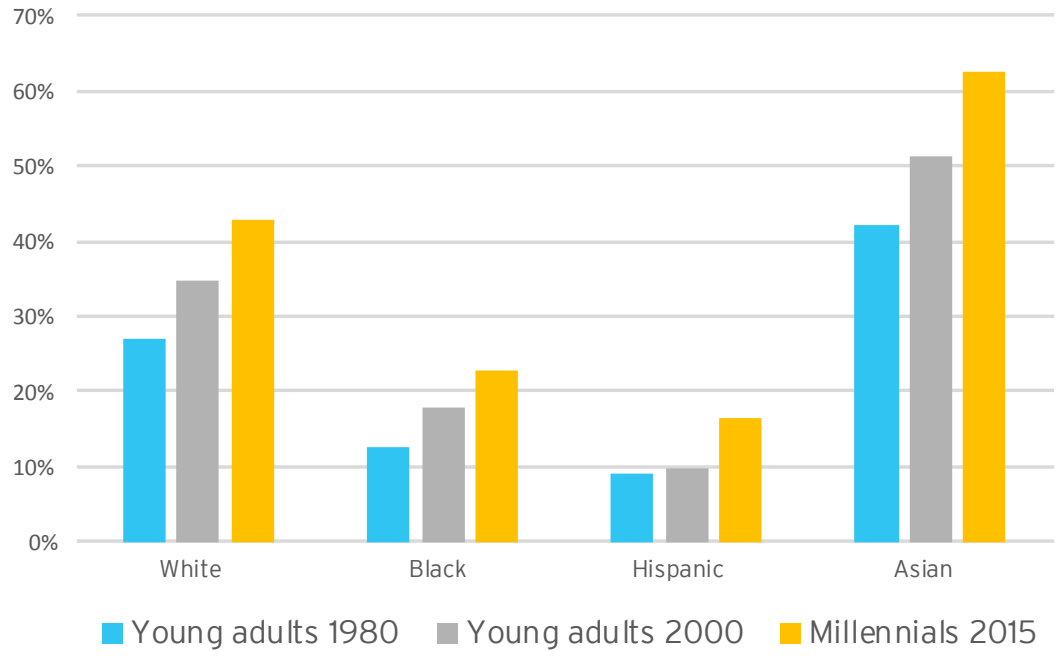
Referring again to Table 1, more than a third of all millennials ages 25-34 achieved college educations by 2015, up from less than 30 percent for comparably aged young adults in 2000 and not quite a quarter for those in 1980. The rise was especially sharp for millennial women who are more educated at the bachelor's degree level than their male counterparts.

Also on the positive side, postsecondary education attainment has risen for all racial and ethnic young adult groups. As shown in Figure 5, the percentage of people ages 25-34 who received bachelor's degrees or higher rose for whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians between 1980 and 2015. There have also been positive changes in related measures such as declines in high school dropout rates and increased college enrollment for all major ethnic groups.[11]

The not-so-good news is the still-sharp disparities in education attainment among these groups, with Hispanic and black millennials falling behind their Asian and white counterparts. While there is variation across geographic areas in these measures (discussed below), the lower education attainment of many black and Hispanic millennials arises, in part, from poorer

FIGURE 5

Percent currently college graduates: Generational differences by race at ages 25-34



Source: Author's analysis of Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements

preparation in underfunded, segregated school systems along with inadequate advice and career counseling.[12] Furthermore, blacks and Hispanics especially have been more likely to enroll in two-year colleges and less selective four-year colleges and have lower rates of completion.[13] These two groups are also disproportionately represented among the nation's "disconnected youth"—young adults who are neither working nor going to school.[14]

Finally, for this generation, postsecondary education has come at the cost of significant student loan debt. The Great Recession, which began as the first millennials turned 27, led many millennials to choose higher education as an alternative to labor force participation. Covering the costs of expensive tuition during a time when fewer family resources may have been available placed many millennials in debt only to return to a job market that was tepidly coming back to normal.[15]

Homeownership

While the recession and its aftermath have given millennials a late start on careers and family formation, the housing bust has affected their short-term, and potentially long-term, ability to buy homes. Nationally, homeownership rates have not shown long-term declines. They stayed relatively stable since the 1960s except for a housing boom from the late 1990s through 2006. The subsequent housing bust occurred just before most millennials entered the market.[16] This tamped down their homeownership rate compared with young adults at earlier ages, as high interest rates, a reluctance to buy, and debt or low savings prompted many millennials to live with relatives or move to rental housing. This delay in homeownership may be robbing millennials of a head start toward a traditional means of wealth accumulation.

"This delay in homeownership may be robbing millennials of a head start toward a traditional means of wealth accumulation."

All racial groups registered recent housing-bust-related declines in homeownership, but this was especially the case for blacks who, along with many Hispanics, bore the brunt of fewer lower-cost, subprime loans amid a deficit of resources.[17] Both groups have generally exhibited lower homeownership rates than whites and Asians, but the divide for blacks especially has widened more recently.[18] Thus for older millennials in 2015, there were still sharp disparities in homeownership across racial groups, ranging from 56 percent for whites to 33 percent for blacks—with Asians, at 43 percent, and Hispanics, at 37 percent, in the middle.

The prospects for greater homeownership are less encouraging than in the past for each racial-ethnic groups but especially for blacks and Hispanics. Those in the latter groups are less well-equipped in light of their higher poverty and unemployment levels, though those rates have receded recently.[19]

Financial security

While the economy and employment have climbed back from the worst of the recession and post-recession years, as late as 2015, millennials were still more likely to be in poverty than most baby boomers and Gen Xers at similar ages (see Table 1).

Both postsecondary education and homeownership are important markers of financial security for millennials. The former represents a pathway to a higher lifetime earnings trajectory, and the latter has been a key component of wealth appreciation. Yet each has been more difficult to attain for blacks and Hispanics, even before the recession and post-recession period.

One impediment to both postsecondary education and homeownership is the lack of accumulated savings and low credit among blacks and Hispanics. Compared with whites, both groups, as potential students and homebuyers, are less likely to obtain financial support from family members and, in fact, are often relied upon to send money back to their parents.[20]

A 2017 GenForward Survey of millennials of different racial-ethnic groups found that blacks and Hispanics, in particular, consistently report more economic vulnerability than whites or Asians—and experience less of a likelihood of financial assistance from a family member for college tuition or student debt relief.[21] Moreover, it has been estimated that the loss of wealth resulting from the foreclosure crisis between 2007 and 2009 disproportionately affected black and Hispanic families, making them less able to provide support for their own and their children's education and home purchases.[22]

Because racial minorities already compose roughly half of the nation's K-12 public school students and are projected to make up ever greater shares of the nation's potential homebuyers,[23] it is important to monitor the success of different segments of the highly diverse millennial generation as they forge a bridge to the next generation.

Where are millennials living?

There is wide variation among metropolitan areas in terms of the size and growth of their millennial populations. This section presents statistics for the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas and 50 states on growth and share of their millennial populations and their racial and ethnic compositions. It also examines recent changes and attributes of the millennial populations residing in urban core and suburban counties for the nation.

Growth and share of millennials in metropolitan areas and states

The young adult population ages 18-34 grew nationally by 4.7 percent from 2010 to 2015. This represents gains from immigration and the aging of younger millennials into the 18-34 age bracket during that time.[24] However, this pattern of young adult growth differs across metropolitan areas and states in terms of the extent to which: (1) they attract immigrants; (2) young millennials age into the 18-34 age bracket; and (3) these areas gain or lose domestic migrants with other parts of the U.S. The combination of these components yields the overall young adult growth rate for a given metropolitan area or state.

Map 1 displays the metropolitan areas, among the nation's 100 largest, that had the highest and lowest young adult growth in 2010-2015. Each of the 10 fastest-growing areas, with growth rates exceeding 10 percent, was located in the South or West. Two (Colorado Springs and Denver) are located in Colorado, three (San Antonio, Austin, and Houston) are in Texas, and another three (Orlando, Cape Coral, and North Port-Sarasota) are in Florida. Rounding out the list are Honolulu and Seattle.

Several of these areas, including Houston, Denver, Austin, and Seattle, are well-known millennial magnets in that they attracted large numbers of older millennial migrants in 2010-2015.[25]

Only one metropolitan area—Birmingham, Ala.—exhibited a decline in young adults. Most of the other areas with the lowest young adult growth are located in the industrial north and Midwest and include Ohio cities Toledo, Youngstown, and Dayton, along with Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Syracuse, N.Y. Also on this list are Salt Lake City and Jackson, Miss.

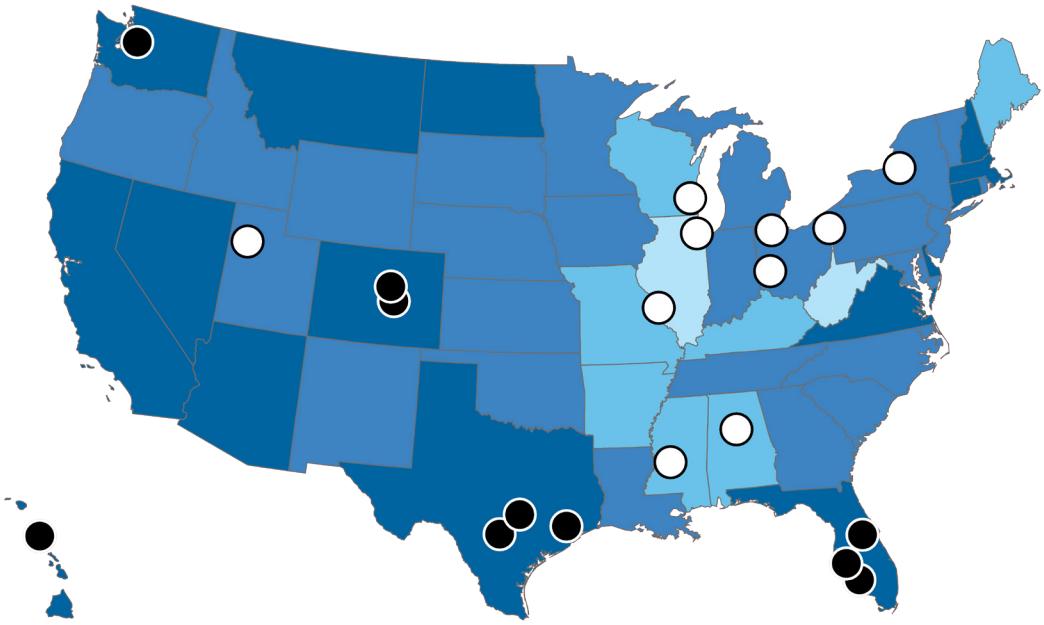
States also vary in their rates of young adult growth. The state with the fastest growth was North Dakota, which experienced an energy-driven economic boom in the first half of the decade. Others in the more rapidly growing group are mostly in the South or West, including the large states of California, Texas, and Florida. Outside those regions, other faster-growing states were Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, increasing by more than 5 percent from 2010 to 2015.

Two states, West Virginia and Illinois, registered losses of young adults in 2010-2015, and seven others, mostly in the middle of the country, showed growth of less than 2 percent. These

MAP 1

Young adult growth and decline

2010-2015



States

- 5% and above
- 2%-5%
- 0-2%
- Negative growth

Metros

Highest growth		Lowest growth	
Colorado Springs	*14.7%*	Birmingham	*-0.6%*
San Antonio	*14.4%*	Chicago	*0.2%*
Denver	*12.8%*	Toledo	*0.5%*
Orlando	*12.7%*	St. Louis	*0.9%*
Honolulu	*12.2%*	Youngstown	*1.0%*
Austin	*11.8%*	Jackson	*1.2%*
Cape Coral, FL	*11.7%*	Milwaukee	*1.4%*
Houston	*11.7%*	Syracuse	*1.5%*
Sarasota	*11.1%*	Dayton	*1.7%*
Seattle	*10.8%*	Salt Lake City	*1.9%*

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

include Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, and Wisconsin, along with, in New England, Maine. With the young adult population growing at 4.7 percent nationally, these states are drawing fewer millennials than others.

Millennials composed 23.4 percent of the national population in 2015, but this share varies widely across metropolitan areas and states. Table 3 lists metropolitan areas with highest and lowest shares of millennials.

Millennials as a share of metropolitan area populations range from 30.4 percent for Provo, Utah, to just 15.9 percent in North Port-Sarasota, Fla. The 15 metropolitan areas with the highest shares of millennials are all in the fast-growing South and West, with the exception of Madison, a university town and state capital—an attribute it has in common with Austin, which has the second-highest millennial share. Four of the areas with the highest shares are in California: San Diego, Bakersfield, Fresno, and Los Angeles.

Metropolitan areas with the lowest millennial shares tend to be in Florida – where millennials are sometimes crowded out by older generations – and in the Northeast and Midwest. Included among the first group are Cape Coral, Palm Bay, Deltona-Daytona Beach, Tampa, Lakeland, and Miami. Among those in the last group are Ohio cities Youngstown, Bridgeport, and Cleveland, Detroit, and the Pennsylvania areas of Allentown, Scranton, and Pittsburgh.

The District of Columbia, an attractive city for young adults that is shown along with states, is a whopping 34.8 percent millennial. North Dakota and Alaska lead all states with high millennial shares of 27.5 and 27.2 percent, respectively, a list which also includes the large states of California (25 percent), Texas (24.7 percent), and New York (24.4 percent). States with lowest shares, beginning with Maine at 20 percent, are mostly in the Northeast and Midwest with the exception of West Virginia and Florida.

Overall, with a few exceptions, the South and West "Sun Belt" areas tend to show the highest growth and largest shares of millennials, while those in the North and West "Snow Belt" areas are more likely to register low growth and smaller millennial shares of their populations.

Racial and ethnic diversity among metropolitan areas and states

The racial and ethnic diversity that is a hallmark of the millennial generation varies widely across the nation's metropolitan areas and states (see Appendix A). Among the 100 largest metropolitan areas, McAllen, Texas, at 4 percent white among millennials, is the most diverse. Thirty of these areas are "minority white," including Miami at 25 percent white and Houston at 32 percent. Several California areas (Los Angeles, Riverside, San Jose, Stockton, Fresno, and Bakersfield) are less than one-third white. Other notable metropolitan areas where whites constitute a minority of millennials are New York, Atlanta, and Chicago.

An additional 18 metropolitan areas have millennial populations that are less than 60 percent white, including Tampa, Philadelphia, Charlotte, and Seattle. In fact, of all the largest 100 metropolitan areas, only four—Knoxville, Tenn.; Provo, Utah; Pittsburgh; and Spokane, Wash—house millennial populations where whites exceed 80 percent.

The mix of racial and ethnic minorities among millennials also varies widely across metropolitan areas, as shown in Figure 6. In Los Angeles, Hispanics compose nearly half of the millennial population, with Asians making up 15 percent and blacks only 7 percent. Among New York and Chicago millennials, the combined black and Asian millennial populations approximately equal the number of Hispanics. In Atlanta, Charlotte, N.C., and Detroit, blacks are the largest minority group among millennials.

Table 4 lists, for each racial and ethnic group, the metropolitan areas that house the largest

TABLE 3

Highest and lowest shares of millennials, 2015: Large metropolitan areas and states

Highest shares of millennials			Lowest shares of millennials	
Rank		Share (percent)		Share (percent)
		Metropolitan areas*		
1	Provo-Orem, UT	30.4	North Port-Sarasota	15.9
2	Austin	27.2	Cape Coral, FL	18.0
3	San Diego	27.0	Palm Bay, FL	18.7
4	Virginia Beach	26.9	Deltona-Daytona Beach	18.8
5	Madison, WI	26.8	Youngstown	19.9
6	Colorado Springs	26.4	Bridgeport, CT	20.7
7	Bakersfield	26.3	Winston-Salem	20.9
8	Honolulu	26.3	Allentown, PA	21.1
9	Salt Lake City	26.2	Tampa	21.2
10	Baton Rouge	26.1	Scranton	21.2
11	El Paso	26.0	Cleveland	21.2
12	Fresno	25.8	Lakeland, FL	21.2
13	Columbia, SC	25.4	Detroit	21.6
14	Los Angeles	25.4	Pittsburgh	21.6
15	Charleston	25.4	Miami	22.0
		States		
1.	District of Columbia	34.8	Maine	20.0
2.	North Dakota	27.5	West Virginia	20.8
3.	Alaska	27.2	New Hampshire	21.4
4.	Utah	26.1	Florida	21.6
5.	California	25.0	New Jersey	21.7
6.	Colorado	24.8	Connecticut	22.1
7.	Texas	24.7	Ohio	22.1
8.	Hawaii	24.6	Michigan	22.3
9.	New York	24.4	Vermont	22.3
10.	Rhode Island	24.3	Wisconsin	22.4

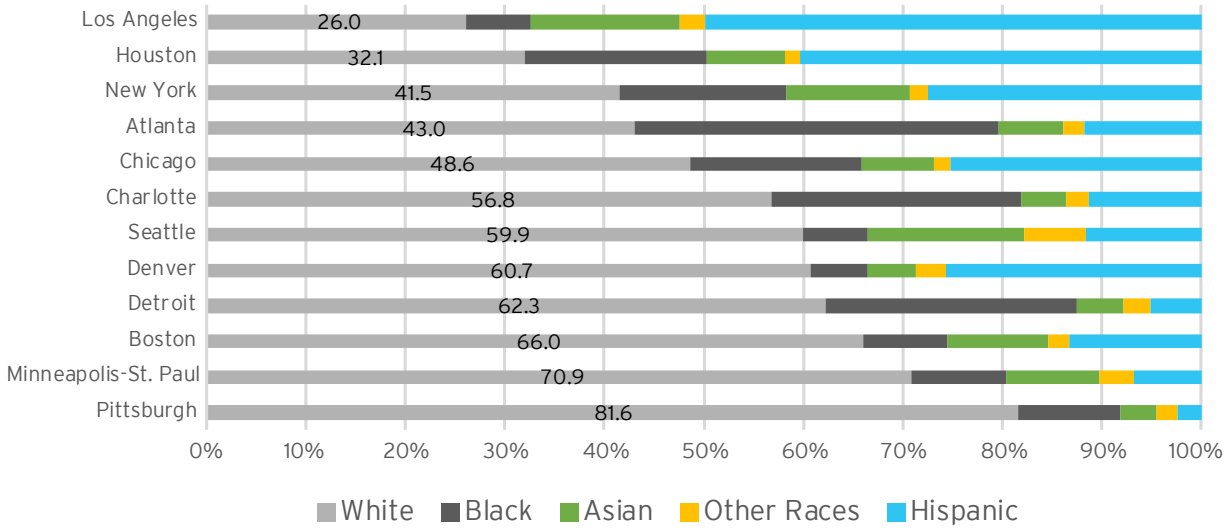
*Among the 100 largest metropolitan areas. Names are abbreviated.

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

FIGURE 6

Millennial race-ethnic makeup in selected metropolitan areas

2015



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

millennial population for that group and the areas that showed the greatest young adult gains between 2010 and 2015. While there is some overlap, there are clearly some differences in the settlement and gain patterns for racial and ethnic minority groups.

The largest white millennial settlements are in the biggest metropolitan areas—New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles—as well as Philadelphia, Boston, Dallas, and Washington, D.C. However, when it comes to recent gains in the young adult population, there is a South and West bias among whites—with Texas areas Houston and Dallas among the top three gainers (Denver ranking second), and Seattle, San Francisco, and Nashville in the top six. New York, ranking seventh, rounds out the list.

The largest black millennial settlement and young adult gain areas have a distinctly Southern bent. In keeping with its role as a top destination over the past several decades in the black reverse migration back to the South,[26] Atlanta ranks first in black young adult gains and second in the size of black millennial settlement. (It does not appear on either list for other groups.) Other metropolitan areas that saw black young adult gain are Dallas, Houston, Washington, D.C., and Miami in the South, as well as New York and Philadelphia.

Both Hispanic and Asian millennials share New York and Los Angeles as major settlement areas. Beyond that, they differ somewhat with Hispanic millennials being more numerous in Southern areas—Houston, Miami, and Dallas—along with Riverside, Calif., and Chicago. Asian millennial settlements take more of a Western bent with San Francisco, San Jose, Calif., and Seattle among the top seven, which also includes Chicago and Washington, D.C. In general, Hispanics settle more often in Southern areas, while Asians do so in the West. New York, Los Angeles, and Houston are top gainers among both groups.

Quite a few states exhibit more diversity in their millennial populations than the national numbers show, as indicated by Map 2.

TABLE 4

Metropolitan areas with largest number of millennials, 2015, and young adult gains, 2010-2015 race-ethnic groups

	Largest number of millennials 2015		Greatest young adult gains 2010-15*	
Rank	**Area****	**Size**	**Area****	**Gain**
		WHITES		
1	New York	1,995,732	Houston	46,785
2	Chicago	1,104,304	Denver	43,368
3	Los Angeles	882,851	Dallas	31,965
4	Philadelphia	813,308	Seattle	31,930
5	Boston	774,846	San Francisco	28,950
6	Dallas	720,776	Nashville	27,982
7	Washington, DC	652,577	New York	26,973
		BLACKS		
1	New York	808,252	Atlanta	53,666
2	Atlanta	488,678	Dallas	41,331
3	Chicago	392,556	Houston	40,107
4	Washington, DC	370,210	New York	31,969
5	Miami	321,799	Washington, DC	29,682
6	Philadelphia	316,683	Miami	29,540
7	Houston	300,845	Philadelphia	20,856
		HISPANICS		
1	Los Angeles	1,689,364	Riverside	76,029
2	New York	1,326,722	Los Angeles	55,237
3	Houston	665,537	Miami	51,961
4	Riverside	633,619	Houston	48,875
5	Miami	607,635	San Antonio	45,663
6	Chicago	571,674	New York	43,017
7	Dallas	553,216	Orlando	38,923
		ASIANS		
1	New York	595,604	New York	63,306
2	Los Angeles	508,470	San Francisco	46,963
3	San Francisco	300,108	Los Angeles	35,851
4	Chicago	164,969	Houston	29,759
5	San Jose	164,208	Seattle	29,173
6	Washington, DC	154,516	Dallas	27,314
7	Seattle	147,279	San Jose	22,504

* 2010-15 change in age 18-34 year old population of group
** Metropolitan area names are abbreviated.

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

In California, less than one-third of millennials are white, and more than 60 percent are new minorities. Racial and ethnic minorities make up more than half of the millennial populations in 10 states, including Texas, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, and New Jersey. In another 10 states, including New York, Illinois, Virginia, and North and South Carolina, minorities comprise more than 40 percent of millennial residents. Other states have "whiter" millennial populations, but only nine states are home to largely (over 80 percent) white millennial populations, including Wyoming, Iowa, West Virginia, and Maine.

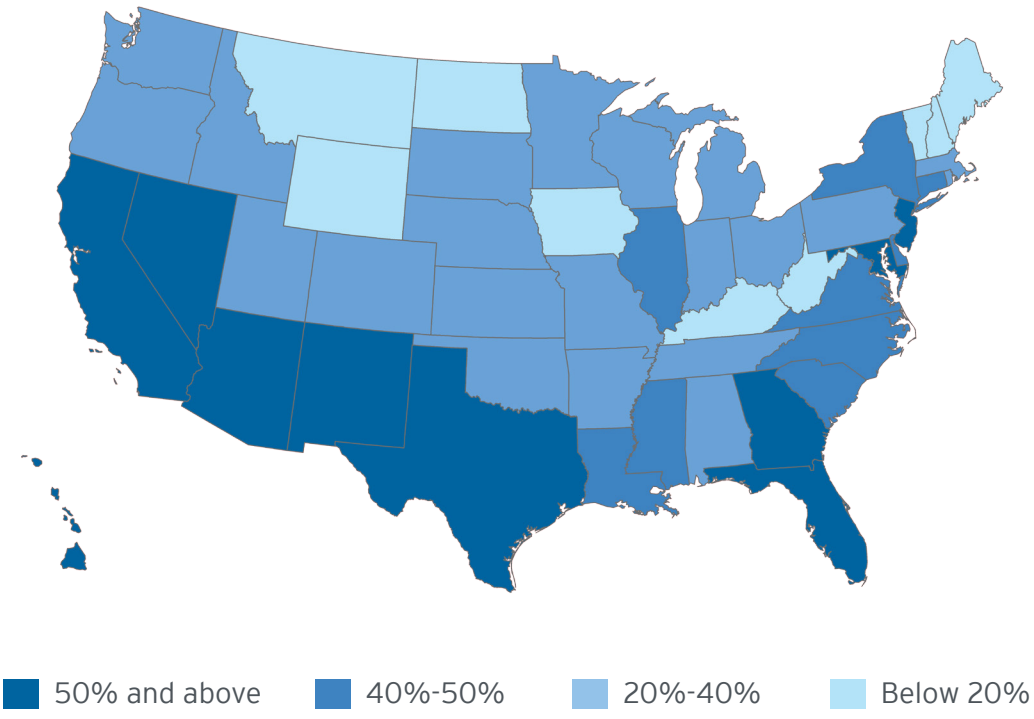
The future young adult population will become diverse in more states when the post-millennial population replaces millennials. Fourteen states are now home to "minority white" under-18 populations. In California, nearly three-quarters of post-millennials are minorities; in Texas it is two-thirds. Overall, 25 states are home to post-millennial populations that are more than 40 percent minority, and in only four (New Hampshire, Maine, West Virginia, and Vermont) is this generation largely white.

Millennials in urban cores, suburbs, and exurbs

There is much discussion of millennials being attracted to cities as a combination of generational preferences and the slowdown in the suburban housing market. While not all cities have benefited from renewed urban growth, this phenomenon clearly came to light during the first part of this decade.[27]

MAP 2

States showing greatest percentage of minorities among millennials



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

TABLE 5

Millennial profiles of urban suburban categories*, large metropolitan areas, 2015

Social and demographic profiles	Urban core	Mature suburbs	Emerging suburbs	Exurbs
Millennial share of population 2015	24.7	23.6	22.7	20.9
Millennial racial composition (percent), 2015				
White#	41.8	51.9	61.7	72.3
Black#	18.3	13.7	10.2	10.5
Hispanic	26.2	24.6	20.9	12.9
Asian and Other#	13.7	9.8	7.2	4.3
Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Young adult growth 2010-15	4.9	6.9	7.9	5.0

* Based on classification of metropolitan counties devised by Brookings Institution
# Pertains to non-Hispanic members of racial group

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau population estimates

It is, therefore, useful to examine the racial-ethnic aspects of millennial presence in urban cores and outer parts of large metropolitan areas. Table 5 provides some insights by looking at the millennial residence and 2010-15 young adult growth for urban core and suburban county categories—mature suburbs, emerging suburbs and exurbs—based on population density, within the nation's largest metropolitan areas.[28]

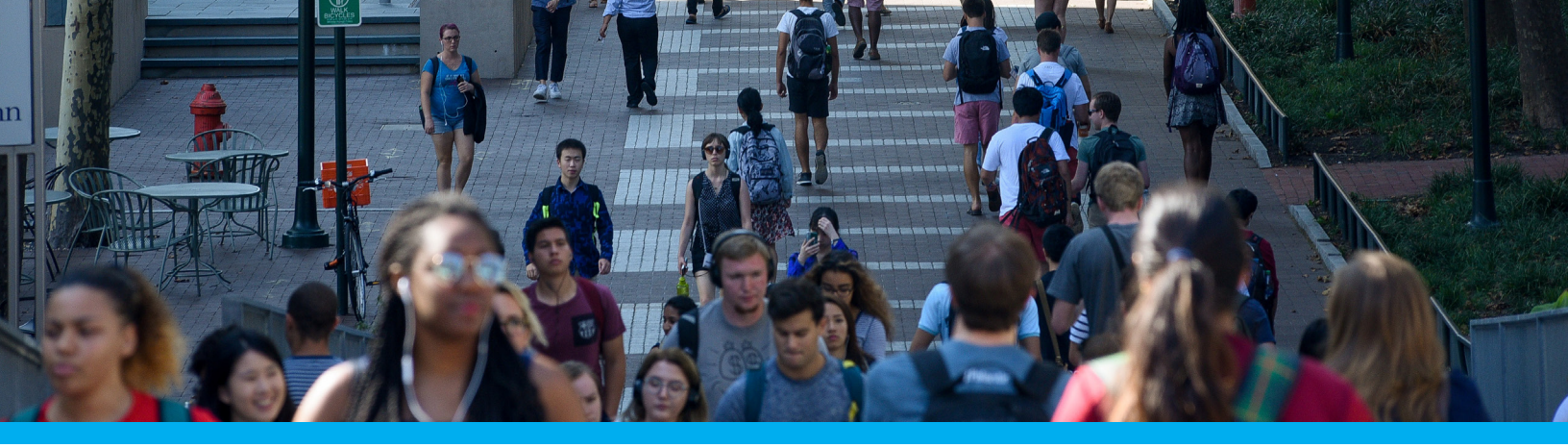
Millennials make up a modestly higher share, at 24.7 percent, of urban core county populations than is the case for each of the suburban categories. This is to be expected, because many suburban areas have more middle-aged and child populations as a result of the suburbanization of families from earlier generations.

What is noteworthy is the racial and ethnic differences among millennials residing in each urban category. Millennial populations living in urban cores are decidedly more diverse, at just 41.8 percent white, than those in each suburban category. More than a quarter of urban core millennials are Hispanics, and nearly another third are represented by the other minority groups.

Suburban categories get less diverse as distance from the core increases. Mature, largely inner-suburb millennials are only slightly less white—51.9 percent—than the national millennial population. But in emerging suburbs and exurbs, whites are far more prevalent at 61.7 percent and 72.3 percent, respectively.

The growth of young adults, ages 18-34, is somewhat higher in each of the suburban categories than the urban core. Not all of this growth is due to migration and, especially in the suburbs, it is partly due to younger millennials aging into the 18 to 34 year old young adult category over the 2010-15 period. Nonetheless, these rates show that the young adult population has been growing in all parts of the metropolitan area.

To the extent that young adult populations—millennials or post-millennials—continue to grow in urban cores, they will have a strong racial-ethnic dimension. Additional analyses of the 2010-15 growth rates indicate that fully 87 percent of millennial urban core growth is attributable to racial and ethnic minorities, compared with their contributions of 78, 67, and 66 percent, respectively, to the millennial growth rates of mature suburbs, emerging suburbs, and exurbs. This suggests that the more racially diverse post-millennial generation may lead to even greater growth and diversity for young adult populations in each part of the metropolitan area and especially in urban cores.



How do millennials differ on education and poverty across metropolitan areas and states?

Educational attainment and poverty are two significant measures of how millennials, as young adults, are likely to contribute to economic outcomes in metropolitan areas and states. The former is an indicator of their human capital potential. The latter is an indicator of their economic needs. The sections below show how older millennials, ages 25-34, differ on these measures across the 100 largest metropolitan areas and 50 states.[29]

Education

Education attainment, as measured by the percentage of older millennials with at least a college degree, varies across metropolitan areas, from 58 percent for Boston to 14 percent for Bakersfield, Calif. Those areas with the greatest percentages of millennial college graduates, aside from Boston, are Madison; San Jose, Calif.; San Francisco; Washington, D.C.; Hartford, Conn.; New York; Raleigh, N.C.; Minneapolis-St. Paul; and Denver (see Map 3). In each of these, as well as Austin and Seattle, more than 45 percent of older millennials graduated from college.

While a great deal of attention is given to the highly educated millennials in those areas, the fact is that older millennials in 60 of the 100 metropolitan areas have college graduate percentages ranging between 30 to 45 percent; and in 28 areas, the percentages are less than 30. Among large metropolitan areas in the latter category are Phoenix, Las Vegas, San Antonio, and Riverside, Calif. In fact, those areas with the lowest percentage of millennial college graduates—below 25 percent—include other interior California areas of Bakersfield, Stockton, and Fresno; the Florida areas of Lakeland, Cape Coral, and North Port-Sarasota; as well as McAllen, Texas and Spokane, Wash.

Map 3 also depicts state variations in education attainment. Those states that are home to the most educated older millennials are largely in the Northeast and on the Eastern Seaboard, led by Massachusetts, where 51 percent hold college degrees. Highly ranked states outside this region are Minnesota, Illinois, and Colorado.

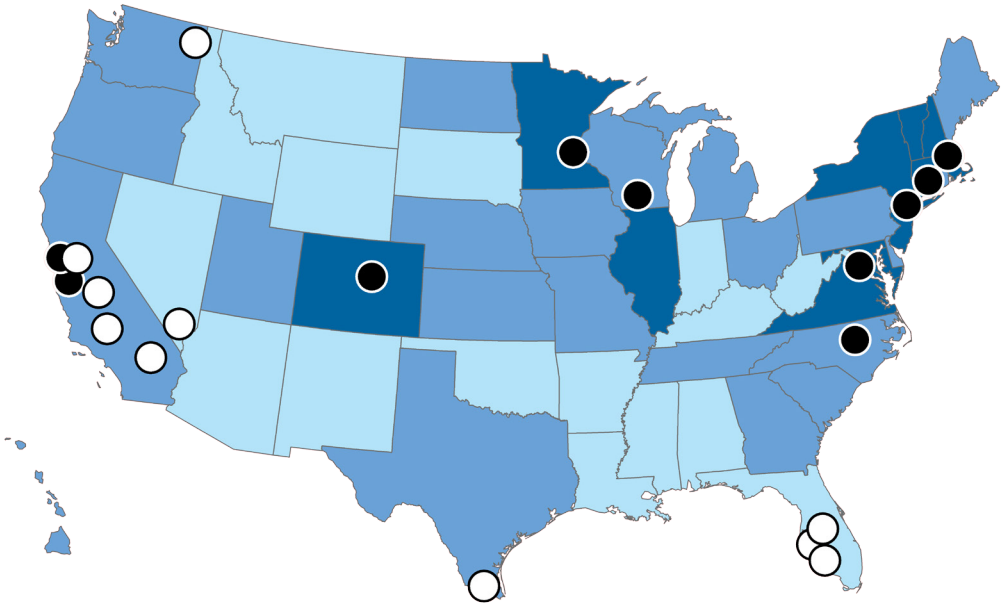
At the lower end of the millennial education spectrum are states in the Deep South, the Southwest, Appalachia, and the Rocky Mountain region along with Florida, South Dakota, Indiana, and Alaska. Each of these exhibits millennial college graduate percentages of less than 30 percent with Nevada, at 22 percent, registering the lowest.

These overall patterns do not necessarily apply to each racial and ethnic group. Table 6 lists metropolitan areas with highest and lowest percentages of college graduates among white, black, Hispanic, and Asian older millennials in metropolitan areas with at least 10,000 older millennials in their respective groups.[30]

MAP 3

Percent college graduates among older millennials

2015 (ages 25-34)



States

- 40% and above
- 30%-40%
- Below 30%

Metros

Largest percent		Smallest percent	
Boston	*58%*	Bakersfield	*14%*
Madison, WI	*58%*	Stockton	*17%*
San Jose	*55%*	Riverside	*17%*
San Francisco	*55%*	Fresno	*18%*
Washington, D.C.	*54%*	McAllen	*19%*
Hartford	*50%*	Lakeland, FL	*19%*
New York	*47%*	Cape Coral, FL	*20%*
Raleigh	*47%*	Las Vegas	*21%*
Minneapolis-St. Paul	*47%*	North Port-Sarasota	*24%*
Denver	*46%*	Spokane	*24%*

Source: Author's analysis of 2015 American Community Survey

TABLE 6

Metropolitan areas with highest and lowest percentages of college graduates among older millennials, for race and ethnic groups, 2015

	Highest percentages of college graduates#		Lowest percentages of college graduates#	
Rank		Percent		Percent
		WHITES		
1	Washington, DC	69.9	Stockton	19.9
2	San Francisco	69.3	Bakersfield	22.5
3	Boston	65.1	Lakeland, FL	22.6
4	Madison, WI	63.8	North Port-Sarasota	24.4
5	New York	63.4	Cape Coral, FL	24.4
6	Bridgeport, CT	62.4	Deltona-Daytona Beach	25.5
7	San Jose	60.0	Spokane	26.1
		BLACKS		
1	Washington, DC	35.2	Milwaukee	6.4
2	San Francisco	32.0	Akron	8.7
3	Boston	31.0	Toledo	9.3
4	Hartford	30.9	Las Vegas	11.2
5	Omaha	30.4	Sacramento	11.4
6	Charlotte	29.9	Riverside	11.5
7	Atlanta	29.7	Rochester, NY	11.8
		HISPANICS		
1	Baltimore	30.4	Memphis	7.6
2	Jacksonville	28.9	Bakersfield	7.8
3	Miami	27.8	Boise	8.3
4	Boston	26.6	Stockton	8.3
5	Washington, DC	24.8	Allentown, PA	8.3
6	Hartford	24.7	Cleveland	8.6
7	San Francisco	23.8	Springfield, MA	9.4
		ASIANS		
1	Raleigh	79.9	Fresno	22.6
2	Austin	79.7	Stockton	34.2
3	San Jose	78.4	Las Vegas	35.3
4	Boston	77.6	Honolulu	43.9
5	Columbus	77.1	Riverside	44.4
6	Chicago	75.1	San Antonio	45.1
7	St. Louis	75.0	Sacramento	46.2

* Among the 100 largest metropolitan areas with greater than 10,000 older millennials in race-ethnic group. Names are abbreviated.
# Ages 25-34

Source: Author's analysis of 2015 American Community Survey

There is a large overlap between the education attainment rankings of white older millennials with the overall rankings presented above, though for whites, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco register the highest college graduate percentages—each exceeding 69 percent. White older millennials with college degrees seem to have a strong affinity for the Eastern Seaboard and the Bay Area in Northern California. Those areas with the lowest college graduate percentages also mirror overall patterns, with a strong interior California and Florida presence.

Rankings for highest college graduate percentages among black older millennials follow those of whites for the top three areas—Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Boston—suggesting a selective movement of both groups to these strong knowledge-based areas. Also ranking high for blacks are the Southern growth areas of Atlanta and Charlotte, N.C. The list of areas with the lowest percentage of black older millennial college graduates is distinct, leading with the Midwestern areas of Milwaukee, Ohio cities Akron and Toledo. Rochester, N.Y., Las Vegas, and California cities Sacramento and Riverside are also on the list of areas where college graduate percentages, among black older millennials, stood below 12 percent.

The most educated areas for Hispanic older millennials are Baltimore, at 30.4 percent college graduates, along with Jacksonville and Miami in Florida. Yet, four familiar brain-gainers, Boston, Washington, D.C., Hartford, and San Francisco, round out the top seven. The areas with the lowest college graduate percentages are led by Memphis, Tenn., at 7.6 percent. The list also includes two interior California areas, Bakersfield and Stockton; Boise, Idaho; and the industrial cities of Cleveland; Allentown, Pa.; and Springfield, Mass.

The percentages of college graduates among Asian older millennials exceed 75 percent in each of the top-ranking metropolitan areas: a mix of high-tech centers (Austin, San Jose, Calif., and Boston), college towns (Raleigh and Columbus, Ohio), and Midwestern centers (Chicago and St. Louis). Areas with the lowest percentages are mostly located in interior California (Fresno, Stockton, Riverside, and Sacramento) as well as Las Vegas, Honolulu, and San Antonio.

Millennial human capital, as measured by the presence of college graduates among 25-34 year olds, tends to be "lumpy" in that it varies sharply across the country. This is also the case among the four racial and ethnic groups. Boston is the only metropolitan area that ranked among the top seven college graduate percentages for each group, although Washington, D.C. and San Francisco ranked high for three of the groups. Among areas with low percentages of millennial college graduates, each group listed at least one interior California area, where Stockton was included for three of the groups.

Poverty

Poverty rates among older millennials also differ widely across metropolitan areas. The highest rate, 31 percent, is registered for McAllen, Texas. San Jose showed the lowest rate at 7 percent. The 10 areas with the highest poverty rates, depicted on Map 4, are located in all parts of the country, including California (Bakersfield, Fresno), Washington (Spokane), Arizona (Tucson), Tennessee (Knoxville), Ohio (Youngstown), Georgia (Augusta), Florida (Cape Coral), and Mississippi (Jackson). These metropolitan areas, along with New Orleans and Dayton, are home to older millennial populations with poverty rates exceeding 20 percent.

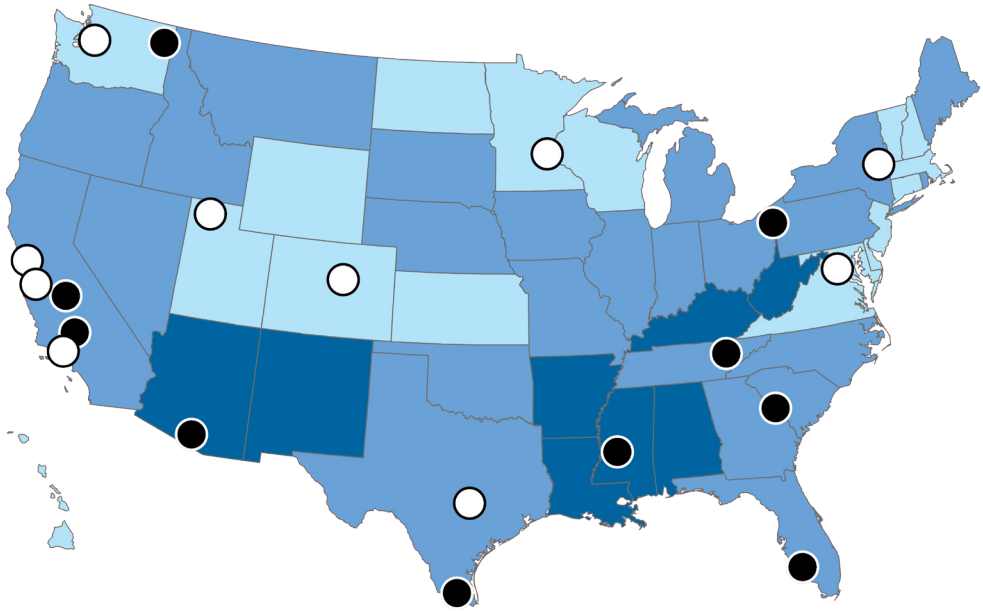
An additional 56 metropolitan areas have older millennial poverty rates ranging from 14 to 20 percent, and 22 areas have rates lower than 14 percent. Among larger areas in the latter group are New York, Nashville, Salt Lake City, and Boston.

The 10 areas with the lowest poverty rates, 11 percent and below, include San Jose, Washington, D.C., Minneapolis-St. Paul, Denver, Austin, Seattle, and San Francisco.

MAP 4

Percent in poverty among older millennials

2015 (ages 25-34)



States

- 20% and above
- 15%-20%
- Below 15%

Metros

Highest percent

McAllen	*31%*
Bakersfield	*28%*
Fresno	*26%*
Spokane	*23%*
Knoxville	*23%*
Youngstown	*22%*
Augusta	*22%*
Cape Coral, FL	*22%*
Tucson	*22%*
Jackson	*22%*

Lowest percent

San Jose	*7%*
Ogden, UT	*9%*
Washington, DC	*9%*
Oxnard, CA	*10%*
Minneapolis-St. Paul	*10%*
Denver	*11%*
Austin	*11%*
Seattle	*11%*
Albany	*11%*
San Francisco	*11%*

Source: Author's analysis of 2015 American Community Survey

TABLE 7

Metropolitan areas with highest and lowest poverty rates among older millennials, for race and ethnic groups, 2015

	Highest poverty rates#		Lowest poverty rates#	
Rank		Rate		Rate
		WHITES		
1	Spokane	22.3	Minneapolis-St. Paul	5.9
2	Knoxville	20.8	Bridgeport, CT	6.1
3	Bakersfield	20.4	Allentown, PA	6.1
4	Tucson	19.4	Milwaukee	6.3
5	Youngstown	19.3	San Jose	6.4
6	Cape Coral, FL	18.9	Ogden, UT	6.7
7	Augusta, GA	17.4	Hartford	7.1
		BLACKS		
1	Portland OR	42.7	Washington, D.C.	14.2
2	Dayton	40.8	Lakeland, FL	14.6
3	Pittsburgh	40.7	Winston-Salem	16.8
4	Toledo	39.3	Boston	17.0
5	Cleveland	37.2	San Antonio	17.1
6	Akron	36.0	Orlando	17.3
7	New Haven	33.5	Providence	18.1
		HISPANICS		
1	Rochester, NY	37.5	San Jose	8.6
2	North Port-Sarasota	36.5	Washington, D.C.	10.9
3	Raleigh	35.2	Richmond	12.5
4	Cincinnati	33.7	Colorado Springs	12.5
5	Fresno	32.7	Oxnard, CA	12.6
6	Bakersfield	31.8	Austin	13.2
7	Cape Coral, FL	31.1	Ogden, UT	13.9
		ASIANS		
1	Salt Lake City	29.1	Washington, D.C.	4.5
2	Pittsburgh	28.4	Seattle	5.3
3	Columbus	24.2	San Jose	5.5
4	Kansas City	22.5	Jacksonville, FL	6.6
5	Fresno	19.1	Austin	7.1
6	Cleveland	18.2	Orlando	7.3
7	Providence	17.8	Phoenix	7.8

* Among the 100 largest metropolitan areas with greater than 10,000 older millennials in race-ethnic group. Names are abbreviated.
# Ages 25-34

Source: Author's analysis of 2015 American Community Survey

State variations in older millennial poverty show the highest rates in the Deep South, led by Mississippi at 26 percent, along with states in the Southwest and the Appalachian states of Kentucky and West Virginia. New Hampshire, at 11 percent, registered the lowest millennial poverty rate. Other states with low rates are located in New England, some on the Eastern Seaboard, and in the Midwest, and Mountain West.

As with education, the overall metropolitan rankings for poverty among older millennials differ somewhat for each racial and ethnic group. Table 7 lists the poverty rate rankings, both highest and lowest, for white, black, Hispanic, and Asian older millennials.

The metropolitan areas with the highest poverty rates for white older millennials are similar to those of the overall high poverty ranks; however, for whites, Spokane stands at the top at 22.3 percent. Areas that rank lowest on white poverty rates, led by Minneapolis-St. Paul with 5.9 percent, also include several that are on the overall list, plus Bridgeport, Allentown, Milwaukee, and Hartford.

The areas with high millennial poverty rates among blacks are distinct from those of whites. Led by Portland, Ore., with a rate of 42.7 percent, others are industrial areas in Ohio (Dayton, Toledo, Cleveland, and Akron) and Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh) as well as New Haven, Conn. Areas with the lowest poverty rates for blacks are mostly in the South, led by Washington, D.C., with a rate of 14.2 percent.

Aside from Fresno and Bakersfield, areas with the highest poverty rates among Hispanic older millennials are in the eastern part of the U.S., including Rochester, N.Y., Raleigh, and Cincinnati, as well as two Florida areas (North Port-Sarasota and Cape Coral). Areas with the lowest poverty include the tech-knowledge economy centers of San Jose, Washington, D.C., and Austin, as well as Richmond, Va.; Colorado Springs, Oxnard, Calif. and Ogden, Utah—all with rates below 14 percent.

Highest poverty rates for Asian older millennials span the country, from the West (Salt Lake City and Fresno); to the center (Kansas City, Mo., Columbus, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh); to New England (Providence, R.I.). Yet as with Hispanics, the lowest poverty rates for Asian older millennials concentrate in tech-knowledge economy centers (Washington, D.C., Seattle, San Jose, Austin) as well as Phoenix, Jacksonville, and Orlando.

How will millennials serve as a "bridge" across generations?

Much has been written about the differences between millennials and older generations on a variety of attitudinal and demographic measures.[31] They are the first generation to fully embrace social media, they are more socially liberal in favoring abortion rights, same-sex marriage, interracial marriage, and marijuana legalization. They are also more likely than older generations to eschew traditional institutions such as government, political parties, and organized religion.

These distinctions between millennials and their elders harken back to the generation gaps of the 1960s, associated with divides between activist and socially rebellious baby boomers who resisted long-standing traditions of their World War II-era parents. Yet beyond these generational differences on social conventions and attitudes is a more fundamental cultural gap between millennials and the generations before them. It is related to their distinctly different racial and ethnic makeup.

Millennials and the cultural generation gap

As shown in Figure 2, millennials are the most racially and ethnically diverse generation to pass through these young adult ages and, in light of the aging of the white population, will be followed by an even more diverse generation. Thus, millennials are ushering in a very different America from the one in which today's older generations grew up.

Most white baby boomers, a large share of today's seniors, were born in an era when immigration was at an historic low point and when the immigrants who did arrive in America were mostly white Europeans. Then, the nation's much smaller minority population was composed mostly of black Americans, residing in highly segregated cities, leading to little day-to-day contact between most white and minority families.

The rapid demographic shifts over the past three decades, led by immigrants and other minorities as the white population aged, has created what might be characterized as a "cultural generation gap." Evident of this gap, many older whites are fearful of what the changing racial and ethnic demography means for the nation's future, possibly their own safety, and that government programs funded by their taxes will benefit members of a younger generation that are not "their" children and grandchildren.

An analysis of Pew Research Center surveys from as early as 2012 is suggestive.[32] More than half of white baby boomers and seniors believed that increasing numbers of newcomers from other countries represented a threat to traditional American values. They were less likely than minorities or younger whites to hold a positive opinion of the growing numbers of Hispanics

and Asians in the United States. A more recent 2016 survey shows that whites over age 50 are decidedly unsupportive of the Black Lives Matter movement, compared with younger generations.[33]

Disparate generational views are also apparent from the data in Table 8, taken from the Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI) 2015 American Values Survey, which included a question on whether America's culture and way of life since the 1950s has mostly changed for the better or worse. Among all respondents, only the youngest group, millennials, show more than half answering "changed for the better." In contrast, more than half of those ages 35-54 and 55 and above answered "changed for the worse."

The fear of the unknown associated with the nation's changing demographics and what it implies for immigration policy, affirmative action, and related issues was a subtext of the 2016 presidential election. Understanding these attitudes, Republican candidate Donald Trump ran on a "Make America Great Again" theme, harking back to an earlier time in which older white Americans felt more comfortable. The results of the past three presidential elections were decided along widening age divides—with Democrats winning the increasingly minority young population and Republicans winning those over age 40.[34] As distinct from 2008 and 2012, older whites and Donald Trump won in 2016.

Yet the generational divide is not totally due to racial and ethnic composition. Support for a more diverse America and for politicians who embrace it does not come only from minorities among the millennial generation. It comes from

TABLE 8

Generational attitude differences about change in America

Since the 1950s, do you think American culture and way of life has mostly changed for the better, or has it mostly changed for the worse?			
		For the better	**For the worse***
All respondents			
	Age 18-34	55%	44%
	Age 35-54	43%	56%
	Age 55+	42%	56%
White respondents			
	Age 18-34	51%	47%
	Age 35-54	40%	59%
	Age 55+	39%	60%
Minority respondents			
	Age 18-34	59%	41%
	Age 35-54	49%	51%
	Age 55+	54%	45%

* Respondents who refused to answer or answered "don't know" are not shown.

Source: Author's analysis of Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI) 2015 American Values Survey microfile

millennial whites as well. Table 9 shows that white millennials also believe America has changed for the better. In other PRRI survey questions, they are more supportive than older whites in the belief that immigrants strengthen our country and that America's best days are ahead.[35] Moreover, the 2016 Pew survey showed that, in contrast to their elders, 60 percent of white millennials support the Black Lives Matter movement.

"Support for a more diverse America and for politicians who embrace it does not come only from minorities among the millennial generation. It comes from millennial whites as well."

The 2016 presidential election also showed that white support for Donald Trump was not uniformly strong across age groups. White margins for Trump (percent voting for Trump minus percent voting for his opponent Hillary Clinton) were high for white age groups 65 and over (19 percent), 45-64 (28 percent), and 30-44 (7 percent)—but only 4 percent for the 18-29 age group. The very low white millennial support for Trump, coupled with the strong minority millennial support for Clinton, allowed her to win young millennials overall by a margin of 19 percent.[36]

Clearly, there is still a racial-ethnic divide on attitudes and voting patterns within the millennial generation, but it is less severe than among the older generations. Millennials are less wedded to specific political parties than to issues that help to unite them. Moreover, a 2017 Harvard Institute of Politics Youth Poll finds that well over half of all millennials of different ages, parties, and regions of the country want to help to unite, not divide, America.[37]

Geography of the cultural generation gap

Since the millennial generation represents a bridge between an older, largely white America and a much more diverse post-millennial America, it is informative to look at the current geography of this "cultural generation gap" by a simple measure:

Percent white among pre-millennials (age 35+) minus percent white among post-millennials (under age 18)

Because the U.S. over-35 population is 68 percent white, and its under-18 population is 52 percent white, the national cultural generation gap takes a value of 16.

Although the cultural generation gap is forming throughout the nation, it is occurring at different speeds in different regions. The most youthful and racially diverse populations are in the Southeast, Southwest, and urban centers, where immigrant minorities have had an established presence.

Arizona leads all states with a gap of 27. This is because its pre-millennial population is 67 percent white and its post-millennial population is only 40 percent white. Nevada and New Mexico have the next largest gap values at 23.

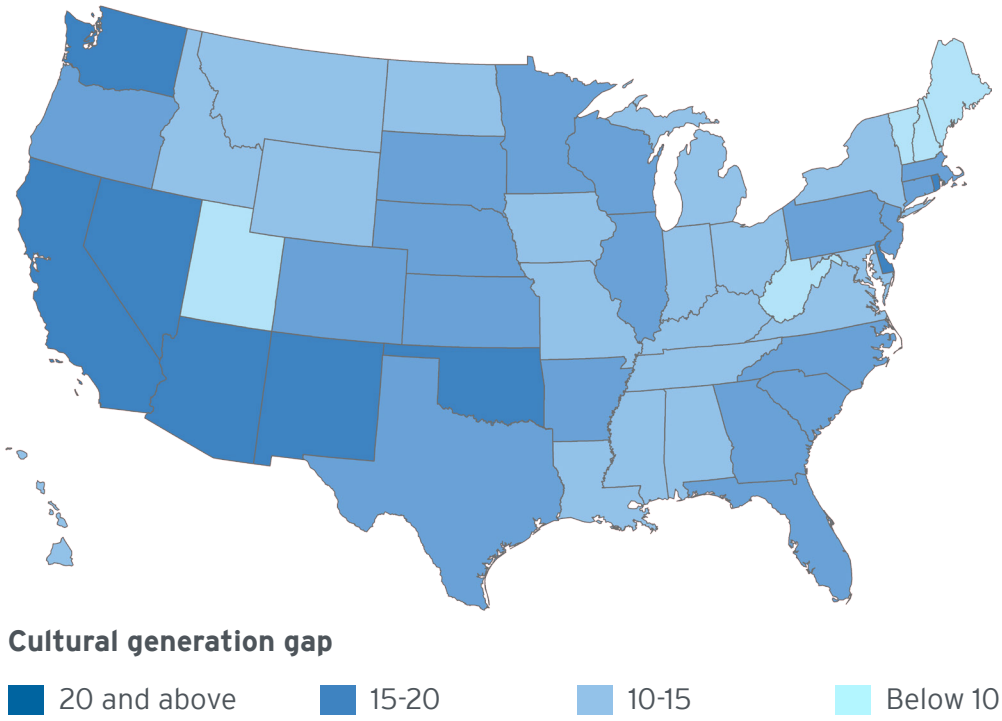
However, not all states with large gaps have "minority white" post-millennial populations. For example, Rhode Island, with a gap of 22, has a post-millennial population that is 60 percent white, while its pre-millennial population is 82 percent white. California has minority white populations among its pre-millennials (46 percent white) and post-millennials (26 percent white) for a sizable gap of 20. Map 5 ranks all states by their cultural generation gaps.

Large metropolitan areas with the greatest cultural generation gaps, as shown in Table 9, tend to be in Southern and Western states including retirement areas (Florida cities Cape Coral, North Port-Sarasota, Lakeland, Tampa, and Deltona-Daytona Beach; plus Tucson, Phoenix, and Albuquerque,). They also comprise of areas at or inland from coastal California (San Diego, Oxnard, Riverside, Fresno, Bakersfield, Stockton, and Las Vegas); and selected Northern areas that

MAP 5

States classed by cultural generation gaps

Gap = Age 35+ percent white minus under age 18 percent white



Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census population estimates

have attracted younger minorities (Springfield, New Haven, Allentown, and Milwaukee).

At the other end of the spectrum, areas with the smallest gaps are largely white areas: in New England, the noncoastal North, and selected parts of the West. These areas have yet to experience a great deal of youthful diversity and are holding onto large numbers of baby boomers and seniors. Among states with modest "gap" measures are West Virginia, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Utah, and Kentucky. Metropolitan areas with small gaps include Knoxville, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis.

It is worth noting that places where the cultural generation gap has generated the most heated debates are those where youthful minority growth has been large. Arizona is a good example, as it increased its minority population by two-thirds between 2000 and 2015, during which time the state became a flashpoint for harsh immigration measures and enforcement. This was made prominent by the 2010 signing of the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, also known as Arizona Senate Bill 1070. Although the Supreme Court struck down key parts of the law and its most severe provisions have since been turned back, it was one of the strictest immigration laws ever enacted by a state—initially subjecting individuals who did not carry citizenship papers to arrest, detention, and possible deportation.[38]

Negative impacts of the cultural generation gap for all minority children have shown up in a study that shows that states with high cultural generation gaps along with diverse child

TABLE 9

Greatest racial generation gaps among large metropolitan areas

	Percent white			Generation gap:
Metropolitan area*	**Age 35 and above** "Pre-millennials"	**Age 18-35** "Millennials"	**Under age 18** "Post-millennials"	**Pre-millennials minus post-millennials**
Cape Coral, FL	78	56	48	30
Tucson	64	44	35	29
North Port-Sarasota	85	66	58	27
Phoenix	68	48	42	26
Lakeland, FL	70	53	46	24
Oxnard, CA	56	38	32	24
Albuquerque	50	33	26	24
Springfield, MA	78	63	55	23
Milwaukee	76	61	53	23
Las Vegas	54	37	31	23
New Haven	72	56	50	23
Fresno	41	24	19	22
Tampa	73	56	50	22
Bakersfield	46	30	24	22
Tulsa	75	60	53	22
Stockton	43	27	22	21
Deltona-Daytona Beach	80	64	59	21
Allentown, PA	82	67	61	21
Riverside	43	26	22	21
San Diego	54	41	33	21
US	68	56	52	16

* Among 100 largest metropolian areas. Names are abbreviated.

Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau population estimates, 2015

populations show less effort in support of public education.[39]

As young new minorities continue to move away from immigrant gateways, the cultural generation gap will emerge in both public and private arenas, creating conflict over issues that are important to young minorities (such as immigration reform, improved public schools, affordable housing) and those that are important to the middle-aged and seniors (lower taxes, medical and retirement benefits). The gap will be widest in states and communities where the growth of young minorities is new and the racial and ethnic profile of the younger generation differs most from pre-millennials. As a bridge generation, millennials will play a key role in negotiating these differences.

Projecting millennials' role into the future

Although the millennials today are young adults, this generation will continue to play a pivotal role as a bridge to a more diverse America even as it advances into middle age. This is made plain by examining Figure 7, which contrasts the projected age structure of the U.S. population in 2015 with those projected for 2025 and 2035.

The profile of the millennial population sticks out in each of these years as it progresses from ages 18-34 in 2015 to ages 28-44 in 2025 and to ages 38-54 in 2035. Just as with the baby boomers, they are larger than their immediately preceding and succeeding generations.

As millennials progress into middle age, they become more of the center of the population. For example, in 2015, over half of the U.S. population was older than millennials, and less than a quarter of Americans were younger. But in 2035, less than a third of Americans (including Generation Xers and baby boomers) will be older than millennials and 46 percent of the population will be their junior. Clearly, by then, millennials will have made their marks as leaders in business, politics, and other realms.

Yet what is especially noteworthy is that they will continue to be the bridge between those older, "whiter" generations and increasingly diverse younger generations. This is because the size of the white population in the post-millennial generation will continue to shrink in the 20 years beyond 2015. At the same time, the combined racial and ethnic minority populations will account for all of the gains in post-millennial populations.

Of course, the pre-millennial populations will remain "whiter" than either the millennial or post-millennial populations as the large, mostly white baby boomer generation populates the older ages. In 2035, the pre-millennial population—then ages 55 and older—will be almost two-thirds white (see Figure 8). Even then at middle age, the millennial population will represent a bridge population to younger generations as racial and ethnic diversity becomes more pervasive among professionals, managers, and influence-makers in America. Then, whites will compose slightly more than half of millennials and less than half of the population under age 38, while Hispanics will constitute about 28 percent of the latter population and blacks, Asians, and other nonwhite groups will make up 26 percent of the young adult and child populations.

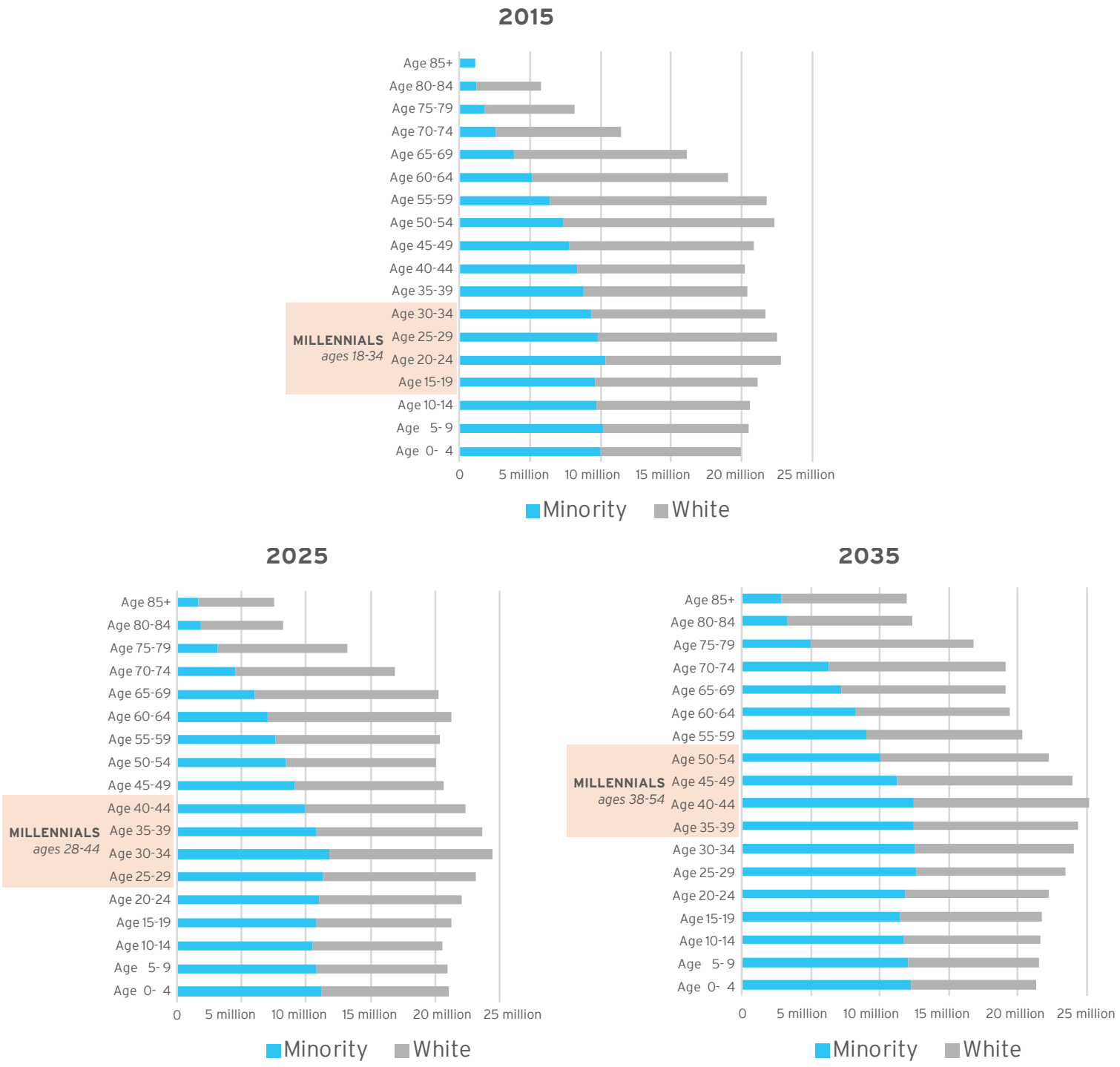
As discussed earlier, these national patterns will play out differently across metropolitan areas. As an illustration, Figure 9 displays the projected 2025 populations for four somewhat distinct areas—Los Angeles, Atlanta, Chicago, and Minneapolis-St. Paul—showing the racial-ethnic makeups of pre-millennials, then 45 and older; millennials, 28 to 44; and post-millennials, younger than 28.

In highly diverse Los Angeles, racial and ethnic minorities dominate the 2025 populations of pre-millennials, millennials, and post-millennials. Yet the Hispanic population share increases from 39 to 58 percent from the oldest to the youngest generation, just as the white share declines from 32 to 19 percent. Los Angeles millennials will advance into young middle age as the first generation that is nearly half-Hispanic—paving

FIGURE 7

Age and race-ethnic distributions of U.S. population

2015 and projected 2025 and 2035

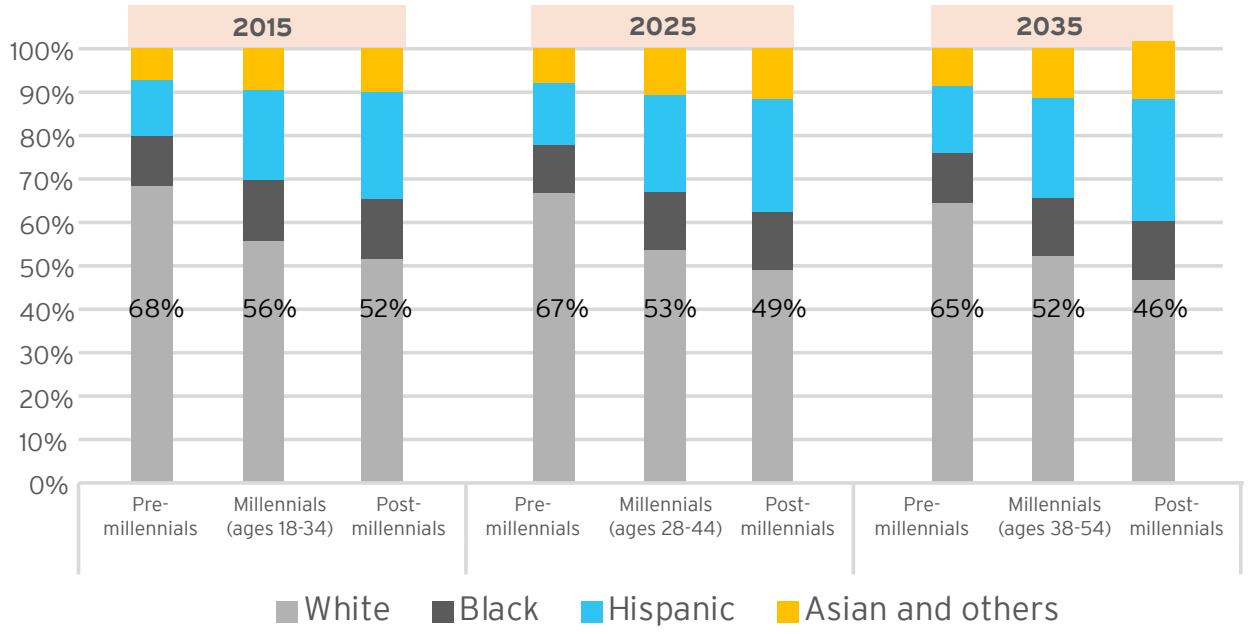


Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census national population projections

FIGURE 8

Race-ethnic distributions of pre-millennials, millennials, and post-millennials

U.S. 2015 and projected 2025 and 2035

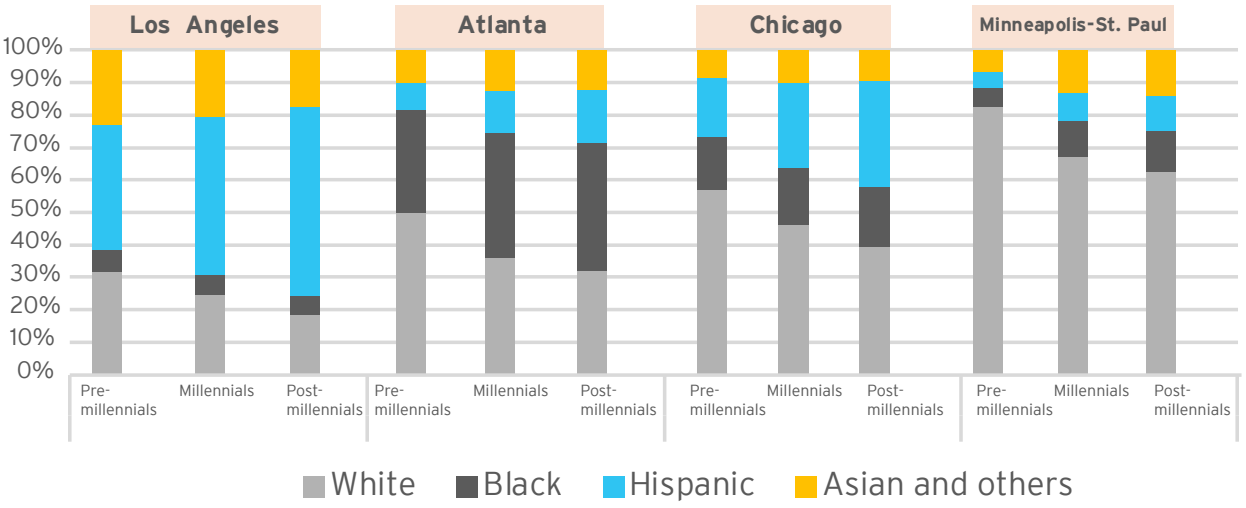


Source: Author's analysis of U.S. Census national population projections

FIGURE 9

Race-ethnic distributions of pre-millennials, millennials, and post-millennials

Projected to 2025: Los Angeles, Atlanta, Chicago, Minneapolis-St Paul



Source: Author's projections

the way for more Hispanic-dominant generations to follow.

In Atlanta, young middle-age blacks would outnumber whites for the first time in 2025. However, as a bridge to the area's post-millennial population, it also ushers in larger shares of Hispanics, who will compose 16 percent of Atlanta's young adults and youth.

The projected 2025 young middle-age population in metropolitan Chicago would be the first one in which whites were a minority. Chicago's largest racial minority is Hispanics, who expand to comprise one-third of the area's post-millennial population, compared with blacks, who would make up less than one-fifth.

Minneapolis-St. Paul stands in contrast to the first three areas because of the dominance of whites in each generation. Still, there is sharp distinction between its pre-millennial generation, which is 82 percent white, and the millennial and post-millennial generations at 67 percent and 63 percent white, respectively. As young middle-age adults, Minneapolis-St. Paul's millennials will be ushering in larger shares of blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and other races, which, in 2025, will be even more prevalent among the area's youth.

Conclusion

Millennials are already making an indelible imprint on the nation as evident from the tremendous publicity they receive and the consumer base they represent. Yet their most lasting legacy is yet to be determined, based on how successfully they serve as a social, economic, and political bridge to the next racially diverse generation.

Racial minorities make up well over two-fifths of the millennial population nationally, and more than half the population in 10 states and in 30 of the largest metropolitan areas. They follow "whiter" pre-millennial generations—Gen Xers, baby boomers, and their seniors. In so doing, they face challenges of integration and acceptance into America's mainstream and to serve as role models and provide ladders of success for later generations.

They have already made an impressive start, by holding more racially tolerant attitudes than earlier generations and leading the way among young adults in forming interracial marriages. As a generation, they are also the most educated of all those that came before them, which should bode well for future success.

Yet beyond the good-news scenario of millennials is a continued racial socioeconomic divide that puts some millennial groups behind others. Black and Hispanic millennials are faring decidedly worse on measures such as education, homeownership, and income than whites and many Asian millennials—a divide that is particularly wide in several large metropolitan areas. This is especially concerning given that black and Hispanic families possess fewer resources to draw from to lift up their younger generations. Racial and ethnic poverty disparities are even wider among children than for millennials or the population as a whole.

These racial and ethnic divisions are compounded by the one-two punch that hit millennials and their parents directly, from which many are still recovering: the Great Recession and subsequent housing market crash. These two events affected all millennials. Long-term societal trends toward later marriage, childbearing, and homeownership were accentuated as young people saddled with high student debt, faced with poor job prospects, and frozen out of the mortgage market were stalled in creating home equity and obtaining jobs that would lead to careers. However, these stalled patterns became even bigger impediments to racial and ethnic minorities whose parents took major hits in wealth that were tied to homeownership. This is especially troubling since millennials and post-millennials from these minority groups will make up ever-increasing shares of future student, homebuying, and workforce populations.

Despite this late start and predictions that future generations will earn less than their parents,[41] millennials tend to be optimistic about the future. A majority of them say that they want to get married, have children, and purchase a home.[42] Most members of each major racial and ethnic group are optimistic about their own future; and

Hispanic, Asian, and black millennials are more likely than whites to say both that they personally will do better financially than their parents and that the life of their generation will be better than that of their parents.[43]

There are reasons for optimism as the employment situation is improving, and there are signs that housing affordability is reviving.[44] These patterns may be especially favorable to younger millennials and post-millennials when they enter improving labor and housing markets under circumstances with less competition from their smaller-cohort peers.[45]

As a bridge generation between a whiter, older America and the more multihued country of the future, millennials will play an important role toward achieving their own success and that of subsequent generations. One challenge will be to assist in bridging the "cultural generation gap" that exists in much of today's politics in which older generations are reluctant to embrace the nation's younger, diverse generations in terms of providing much-needed investment and political support for them.[46]

By example and as advocates, millennials of all racial and ethnic backgrounds can make the case that investing in a more inclusive America is essential to the nation's economic success and will, as well, benefit these older populations. In this regard, the millennials' population size is important, as it already comprises the largest generation of eligible voters.[47] Beyond that, as they move into middle age, millennials will represent the new face of America in politics, in business, in popular culture, and as the nation's image to the rest of the world.

Millennials are indeed worthy of attention. They are smart. They are creative. They are passionate about many issues. But the most consequential characteristic embodied by the members of this unique generation, as the country evolves demographically, is their racial and ethnic diversity.

Appendix A

TABLE 1A

Race-ethnic composition of millennial population, 100 largest metropolitan areas

Metropolitan area	Percent of population			
	White#	Black#	Asian#	Hispanic
Akron, OH	77.3	13.7	3.8	2.5
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	75.1	9.7	5.7	6.8
Albuquerque, NM	32.6	2.6	2.4	53.5
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	67.2	6.3	3.5	21.0
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	43.0	36.5	6.5	11.8
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	50.2	37.7	2.3	7.1
Austin-Round Rock, TX	48.9	7.3	6.3	35.3
Bakersfield, CA	29.5	6.2	4.2	57.7
Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	53.5	30.8	6.2	6.8
Baton Rouge, LA	53.4	37.7	2.9	4.6
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	59.4	32.2	1.7	5.4
Boise City, ID	76.0	1.3	2.7	16.9
Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	66.0	8.5	10.1	13.3
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	52.9	13.3	6.7	25.3
Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls, NY	72.4	13.9	4.9	6.1
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	55.9	11.3	1.9	29.1
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	62.7	26.5	2.1	6.3
Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	56.8	25.1	4.6	11.4
Chattanooga, TN-GA	74.7	15.7	2.1	5.5
Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	48.6	17.3	7.3	25.2
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	77.5	13.8	3.0	3.6
Cleveland-Elyria, OH	64.8	22.5	3.2	7.2
Colorado Springs, CO	65.7	7.5	3.2	19.0
Columbia, SC	52.6	35.6	2.9	6.7
Columbus, OH	71.6	16.3	4.9	4.6
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	42.0	16.5	7.1	32.3

Metropolitan area	Percent of population			
	White#	Black#	Asian#	Hispanic
Dayton, OH	73.5	17.5	2.8	3.4
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	64.1	14.7	2.6	16.3
Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	60.7	5.8	4.7	25.7
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	78.3	6.2	4.9	8.5
Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	62.3	25.2	4.6	5.2
El Paso, TX	13.5	4.1	1.5	79.6
Fresno, CA	24.1	5.1	11.9	56.5
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	76.4	7.4	3.2	10.4
Greensboro-High Point, NC	52.0	31.5	4.4	9.6
Greenville-Anderson-Mauldin, SC	69.7	18.2	2.3	8.0
Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	73.0	11.9	4.6	7.8
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	60.2	12.5	6.5	18.7
Honolulu, HI	25.4	5.4	37.9	12.8
Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	32.1	18.2	7.9	40.3
Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	69.8	16.9	3.5	7.5
Jackson, MS	39.8	54.5	1.5	3.2
Jacksonville, FL	59.0	23.9	4.2	10.2
Kansas City, MO-KS	69.1	13.9	3.6	10.4
Knoxville, TN	84.0	7.0	2.2	4.6
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	53.0	17.4	1.9	25.7
Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	37.0	12.2	10.5	36.0
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	63.3	25.9	2.2	6.3
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	26.0	6.6	15.0	49.8
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	73.8	16.0	2.5	5.4
Madison, WI	78.3	5.0	7.7	6.4
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	4.2	0.6	0.9	94.2
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	38.9	51.1	2.3	6.2
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	25.4	24.4	2.8	46.0
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	61.0	18.9	5.0	12.5
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	70.9	9.5	9.4	6.8

Metropolitan area	Percent of population			
	White#	Black#	Asian#	Hispanic
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	69.3	17.5	3.1	7.9
New Haven-Milford, CT	56.0	14.5	5.5	21.8
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	47.4	37.0	3.4	10.3
New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	41.5	16.8	12.4	27.6
North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	65.9	10.2	2.4	19.3
Ogden-Clearfield, UT	78.7	1.5	2.4	14.5
Oklahoma City, OK	60.6	11.6	4.0	14.7
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	73.1	8.6	3.7	11.7
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	43.7	17.3	5.0	31.9
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	37.9	1.9	6.4	50.8
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	68.2	12.9	2.9	12.8
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	57.3	22.3	7.0	11.3
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	47.8	6.0	4.5	36.6
Pittsburgh, PA	81.6	10.2	3.6	2.5
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	69.8	3.2	7.9	14.2
Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	71.0	6.3	4.6	15.4
Provo-Orem, UT	82.3	0.7	3.2	11.0
Raleigh, NC	58.4	21.4	5.9	11.9
Richmond, VA	52.8	32.4	4.6	7.5
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	26.5	7.6	6.4	56.7
Rochester, NY	71.4	13.1	4.2	8.9
Sacramento--Roseville--Arden-Arcade, CA	45.9	7.9	15.8	25.2
Salt Lake City, UT	69.9	1.7	6.4	19.0
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	29.7	7.1	2.9	58.5
San Diego-Carlsbad, CA	41.5	5.5	12.0	37.0
San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA	35.7	7.6	26.7	25.5
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	27.8	2.7	34.6	31.4
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre--Hazleton, PA	79.9	5.0	2.2	11.4
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	59.9	6.5	15.7	11.7
Spokane-Spokane Valley, WA	81.2	2.4	3.2	7.2

Metropolitan area	Percent of population			
	White#	Black#	Asian#	Hispanic
Springfield, MA	62.5	7.5	4.8	23.0
St. Louis, MO-IL	69.9	20.9	3.3	3.8
Stockton-Lodi, CA	27.2	7.1	16.0	45.8
Syracuse, NY	76.9	9.8	4.6	5.5
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	56.2	14.8	3.9	22.7
Toledo, OH	71.1	16.2	2.1	7.9
Tucson, AZ	43.5	4.1	4.1	42.9
Tulsa, OK	60.2	9.4	3.1	11.5
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	52.1	31.1	4.1	8.9
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	44.0	25.0	10.4	17.5
Wichita, KS	67.7	8.6	4.8	14.8
Winston-Salem, NC	62.9	20.6	2.3	12.2
Worcester, MA-CT	73.0	5.1	5.4	14.2
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	78.7	13.4	1.0	4.5

Pertains to non-Hispanic members of racial group
* Other racial groups are not shown

Source: Author's analysis of US Census 2015 population estimates

Note: These and other metropolitan area and state data for millennials are available for download at www.brookings.edu/research/millennials.

Endnotes

1 Analyses are drawn from public use micro files of the Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement for 1980, 2000, and 2015, from the 1980 and 2000 U.S. Decennial Censuses and from the 2015 American Community Survey. Also used are Census population estimate data for 2010 and 2015 and analyses of files from the Census Bureau's 2014 national population projections. The metropolitan area projections use U.S. Decennial Census and American Community Survey data as inputs to a multistate cohort component projection methodology described in William H. Frey, "A Multiregional Population Projection Framework that Incorporates Both Migration and Residential Mobility Streams: Application to Metropolitan City-Suburban Distribution," *Environment and Planning A* 15, no. 12 (December 1983): 1613-1632.

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For More Information

William H. Frey
Senior Fellow
Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings
wfrey@brookings.edu

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Metropolitan Policy Program
at BROOKINGS

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036-2188
telephone 202.797.6139
fax 202.797.2965
www.brookings.edu/metro