

*Chapter 3*

**Where Americans Lived: The Redrawing of America's Social Geography<sup>1</sup>**

*Draft 3.1; January 2005 – for reviewers May 2005*

*(apx. 7,300 words of text + apx. 11,000 words of notes and appendices)*

Many post-mortems of both the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections dwelt on the “red state - blue state” contrast, or even more simply on the cultural distance between the coasts and the heartland. Regions seemed to capture the divisions in American society. This view was, as we shall see, a misperception of America in the early 2000s and even more a misperception of how the nation's social geography had changed over the twentieth century.

Americans were indeed bitterly divided by region – in 1900. That year, perhaps a third could vividly remember the Civil War; it was as recent to them as the much less consequential Vietnam War was to Americans in 2000. Memories of the sectional strife were regularly refreshed by politicians waving “the bloody shirt.” Even before the War Between the States, as southerners called it, Americans had long harped on cultural differences between North and South, East and West. Many Midwesterners, for example, used “Yankee” as a verb that meant to cheat. And long after the war, the South seemed a civilization apart; its racial composition was distinct and its economic backwardness deep. So socially distant were the regions that as late as the 1910s northern employers were more likely to seek workers in Europe than in the South.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter appeared as a working paper with fuller details available from the authors.

<sup>2</sup> Cultural differences: see, e.g., Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*. To “Yankee.” Baron, *Mixed Harvest*, p. 139 (see also, Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, Ch. 12).

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In 1900, urban and rural were also far apart. The isolation of rural Americans drew national concern. A federal commission investigated the “Country Problem,” which it described as comprised of poverty, detachment, cultural backwardness, and an individualism that undercut cooperation. The New Deal tried to bring rural Americans into the national mainstream by, for example, subsidizing electrification and sending out home economists to educate farm wives – with mixed success. Through the century, rural Americans staked out cultural positions distinctly more conservative than those of city people – a contrast dramatized in the 1920s by the Scopes “Monkey Trial.”<sup>3</sup> The tale of city mouse and country mouse had parallels in the real world.

In 1900, a third geographical divide was shallower and less noted: city versus suburb. Suburbanization was not new; affluent families had been leaving downtowns for larger and greener lots since before the Civil War. But it was only after World War II that suburbanization became a mass movement. In 1940, about 19% of all Americans lived in suburbs;<sup>4</sup> by 1970, 37% did, more than the proportion who lived in either center cities or nonmetropolitan areas. Suburbs became, as we will see, demographically distinct – somewhat wealthier and certainly much whiter. Moreover, suburban life was, many observers in the 1950s and 1960s said, culturally

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Labor market: Rosenbloom, “The Extent of the Labor Market in the United States, 1870-1914.”

<sup>3</sup> Country problem: U.S. Senate, *Report of the Country Life Commission*; Larson and Jones, “The Unpublished Data from Roosevelt’s Commission on Country Life;” Ward, “The Farm Woman’s Problem.” New Deal: Kline, *Consumers in the Country*. Social and political differences: Kirschner, *City and Country*; Baker, *The Moral Frameworks of Public Life*.

<sup>4</sup> We define “suburb” in this chapter as the residual metropolitan area, including both what the census counts as incorporated “places” and what it counts as rural parts of metropolitan areas.

distinct: domestic, parochial, and caught up in rounds of sociability.<sup>5</sup>

How Americans sort themselves out across the regions, rural and urban places, and between city and suburb according to their race or social class matters in many ways. Physical distances typically correspond to economic, and social distances – to the availability of jobs and the wealth of a community, for example; to the extent to which different sorts of people come to know and work with one another; and to different political constituencies and agendas. It is one of America’s peculiarities that even small local areas, like suburbs of only a few thousand residents, are financially and politically autonomous.<sup>6</sup> A related but distinct issue is the extent to which types of people concentrate in specific places – this city neighborhood versus another, this suburb versus that one – in patterns of residential segregation. Such segregation by ancestry, or class, or by lifestyle has further implications. Sometimes concentration enriches the wider society. When, for example, students or artists congregate, cultural innovation increases; when immigrants cluster, they help one another adapt to America. But, often, clustering is a problem. Concentrations of disadvantaged families aggravate their problems and isolate them from people and institutions which might help. Concentrations of advantaged people collaborate on sheltering their time, money, and attention from others in the wider community, raising the drawbridge, and accentuating class distinctions. Yet, residential integration may have its own drawbacks;

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<sup>5</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, is the classic one-volume history of American suburbanization. On the suburbs’ cultural image and reality, see, e.g., Donaldson, *The Suburban Myth*; Marsh, “From Separation to Togetherness;” Gans, *The Levittowners*; Fischer, *The Urban Experience*, Ch. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban*, p. 223.

recent studies suggest that economic and ethnic diversity in a community makes collective action difficult.<sup>7</sup>

In this chapter, we explore are how and to what extent geography – regions, urban versus rural, city versus suburb, and even neighborhood versus neighborhood – divided Americans in 2000 and whether those divisions widened or narrowed over the twentieth century. But first we consider whether geography itself remains important. Many twentieth-century commentators described their century as one in which new technologies, from telephones and cars in the early years to planes and the Internet in the later ones, annihilated distance, geography and the importance of location.

### *Place Matters*

In 1900, most Americans got from one place to another the old-fashioned way – on foot. And most Americans' messages also traveled by foot.<sup>8</sup> One hundred years later, most American adults drove vehicles many miles a day and could cross whole states in a few hours, about half of Americans had flown on airplanes, half used the Internet, and all but a handful used telephones

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<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*; Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*; Vinkatesh, *American Project*. On the costs of diversity: Costa and Kahn, "Civic Engagement and Community Heterogeneity."

<sup>8</sup> Aside from city streetcar systems, other conveyances – trains, horse-and-carriages, rail – were available to only a relative few. Outside of business, telegraph systems were used only for emergencies and only a relative handful of Americans had telephones in their homes. (See Fischer, *America Calling*, for some history on these subjects.)

to talk to people miles, sometimes thousands of mile, away.<sup>9</sup> Space seems to have been, as some observers put it, erased; one could be anywhere at any time “virtually,” or there in a short time physically. Space and place did not seem to matter any more.

In reality, where people lived still mattered in 2000. Take residential mobility. Despite the popular image of an ever more rootless society, Americans became *more* rooted in the twentieth century. They moved less often than their ancestors had in the nineteenth century, and by 2000 probably moved less often than Americans had for two centuries or more.<sup>10</sup> Or, take home buying, a major investment in a community, one which roots people. At the beginning of the century, about 50% of Americans lived in homes they owned; at the end, about 70% did.<sup>11</sup> Places mattered in many other, practical ways, too. Zoning, for example, began in New York City in 1916 and became widespread by mid-century. In 2000, living on one side or the other of a zoning boundary – just as living on one or another side of lines demarcating school districts, police precincts, or tax zones – mattered; it was like living on the right or wrong side of “the tracks.” That was one reason that home buyers in 2000 faced huge disparities in prices by neighborhood, town, and metropolitan area. For example, in 2000, median house prices in one

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<sup>9</sup> Airplanes: Gallup Poll, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/topics/airlines.asp>. Internet: Pew Internet and American Life Project, [http://www.pewinternet.org/pdfs/PIP\\_Regional\\_Report\\_Aug\\_2003.pdf](http://www.pewinternet.org/pdfs/PIP_Regional_Report_Aug_2003.pdf) -- p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Fischer, “Ever-More Rooted Americans.” Americans moved a bit farther when they did move, however: interstate migration rose over much of the twentieth century: Rosenbloom and Sundstrom, “The Decline and Rise of Interstate Migration in the United States.”

<sup>11</sup> Calculated from IPUMS data (Ruggles et al, *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0*). These percentages exclude those living in group quarters from the base.

suburban county of San Francisco was 78 percent higher than in another, neighboring one. And Boston area home prices were 85 percent higher than those in and around Providence, only 40 miles south, and 140 percent higher than those in and around Worcester, only 40 miles west. The realtors' slogan of "location, location, location" still rang true.<sup>12</sup>

Americans also cared about their places and the people in them. Surveys show that in 2000 a sizeable majority of American adults felt good about their communities, notably better than they felt about the nation as a whole, that they felt a sense of belonging with their neighbors roughly on par with the fellowship they felt with co-workers and co-parishioners, and that almost half reported having at least a few friends in the neighborhood.<sup>13</sup> The spread of "NIMBY"

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<sup>12</sup> In 2000, neighborhoods were more segregated by house costs than even by race. The top quintile and the bottom quintile of households ranked on house value each had segregation indices of Theils' *H* of .44. (See discussion below on segregation for further explication of this measure). Median sales prices of all homes in the San Francisco area for December, 2000, are from DQNews.com, "Bay Area Home Sales Down," <http://www.dqnews.com/RRBay0102.shtm> (accessed 13 December, 2004) and of existing single-family homes in New England are from the *Statistical Abstract 2001*, table 943.

<sup>13</sup> Felt good: the Harris Poll asked "We'd like to know whether or not you feel good about various things in this country and in your life. Do you feel good about . . . or not?" 82% felt good about the "the city, town, or county in which you live," fewer than for family (95%) or home (91%), but more than for "state of the nation" (63%); only 85% felt good about the "morals and values of people in your community," but that was considerably higher than 39% who felt that way about "morals and values of Americans in general" (39%). On belonging: The Harvard Saguaro Seminar Survey asked, "What gives you a sense of community or a feeling of belonging?" and listed some answers. Over three-fourths said yes to living in their particular town and the people in their neighborhood, fewer than said friends, about the same as said co-parishioners and co-workers (for those who worked) and far more than said people they met on-line. Friends: Peter Hart Associates in 2000 asked Americans, "How many friends do you currently have from ... your neighborhood ... none, one or two, a few, or a large number?" Forty-four percent of respondents said a few or more from the neighborhood, a lower percentage than from work, about the same as from church, and more than from clubs, high school, and other  
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actions (“not in my back yard” protests against outsiders) around the country demonstrated how riled up Americans could get about protecting the places in which they lived.

Did the vast changes in transportation and communications technology do nothing, then, to weaken Americans’ connection to place? The best guess is that over the century the increasingly available means to transcend space encouraged Americans to involve themselves more in far-flung activities, interests, and social relations. Activities in the immediate community, be they shopping, recreation, or social life, shrank proportionally – but not by much.<sup>14</sup> (Readers may recall the 2000 book by Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, which reported general declines in Americans’ social activities after the 1960s. Putnam argued that two major reasons were television and the length of suburban commuting. Both encouraged staying home, which meant that the places people lived mattered all the more.) Thus, over the century geography remained important; it partly structured the nature of American differences. But the axes of difference shifted. Before we turn to those shifts, we lay out the American social geography in 2000.

*Americans in Place, 2000*

Over one-third of Americans lived in the South and about one-fifth of Americans lived in each of the Northeast, Midwest, and West. Over the century, the South and especially the West

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origins. (These data were obtained via the Lexis -Nexis Reference web site.)

<sup>14</sup> See discussion and analysis in Fischer, *America Calling*, Chapter 7.

had taken an extra 20 percent share of the population from the Northeast and Midwest.<sup>15</sup> The kinds of people who lived in the four regions were pretty similar socially. The greatest differences were by ancestral origin: midwesterners hailed overwhelmingly from Europe (81%), while the South had the highest proportion of African origin (19%) and the West a high proportion with roots in the Americas (26%) or in Asia (8%).<sup>16</sup> Southerners made a bit less money than the rest. But no region was particularly different in terms of average age or family arrangements. For example, although Florida attracted many of the elderly, the South was not notably more aged than the rest of the country.<sup>17</sup>

Although the regional comparisons yield only modest contrasts, notably different sorts of people lived in different types of places – small towns versus big ones, cities versus suburbs. To organize our analysis of community differences, we use the 2 X 3 grid below. Metropolitan areas

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<sup>15</sup> The percentage of Americans living in the Northeast shrank from 27% in 1900 to 19% in 2000 and in the Midwest from 35% to 23%, while the percentage in the South rose from 32% to 36% and in the West boomed from 6% to 22%. (The regional definitions for 2000 are: Northeast: CT, ME, MA, NH, RI, VT, NJ, NEW YORK, PA; Midwest: IL, IN, MI, OH, WI, IA, KS, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD; South: DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, SC, VA, WV, AL, KY, MS, TN, AR, LA, OK, TX, DC; West: AZ, CO, ID, MT, NV, NM, UT, WY, AK, CA, HI, OR, WA. In 1900, Hawaii and Alaska are excluded, as they were until 1960, but the mainland territories are included.)

<sup>16</sup> Our categories for ancestry are based on geographic origin, but translate roughly as, before 1970, Europe = whites, Africa = blacks, America = American Indian or Alaskan native, Asia = Asian or Pacific Islander, and other. After 1970, all these refer to *non-Hispanic* groups and Hispanics are classified in the America-origin group. See Chapter X for fuller discussion.

<sup>17</sup> The dozen oldest “major” counties (i.e., counties with at least 100,000 people), were all in Florida in 2000. The oldest county was Charlotte County, Florida, north of Fort Myers on the Gulf Coast, where 34 percent of the population was 65 years or older (<http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/age.html#elderly>). Fuller breakdowns regional statistics are in the appendix for this chapter, available from the authors.

are usually contiguous counties with a central city (or in some cases multiple central cities such as Minneapolis and St. Paul) of at least 50,000 people.<sup>18</sup> We separate metropolitan areas with populations of less than 1.5 million from those with more than 1.5 million in each census year. The third category covers all places outside metropolitan areas. For ease of discussion, we often refer to the horizontal axis as the “rural-urban” dimension although that is a simplification. “Suburbs” are all the municipalities and the unincorporated parts of a metropolitan area outside its center city or cities.<sup>19</sup> Because the Census Bureau builds up these categories from counties, the typology is somewhat crude. (For instance, distant parts of Los Angeles county that are in the Angeles National Forest are here technically counted as large metropolitan suburbs.) Nonetheless, this matrix reveals considerable American diversity.

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<sup>18</sup> Metropolitan areas are defined by the Office of Management and Budget as one or more counties containing “a large population nucleus [usually a city of 50,000 or more], together with adjacent communities having a high degree of social and economic integration with that core.” See [http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long\\_metro.htm](http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long_metro.htm).

<sup>19</sup> These categories are not easily constructed and filled out from census data. Jon Stiles undertook the complex task to marrying various sorts of data. The long description of the process is presented in the appendix to this chapter available from the authors. The short description is that the 1900-1920 and some 1940 data were derived from the individual-level IPUMS files, the 1970-2000 data from aggregated census files, and the 1950 and 1960 data from combinations of IPUMS and published census tables. The detailed data sorted by this framework are available in the appendix from the authors.

	<b>Non-Metropolitan Area</b>	<b>Small Metropolitan Area (under 1.5 million)</b>	<b>Large Metropolitan Area (over 1.5 million)</b>
<b>Periphery</b>	<b>Open country and small towns</b> (e.g., farm counties of Iowa)	<b>Suburbs</b> (e.g., Urbandale, IA)	<b>Suburbs</b> (e.g., Highland Park, IL)
<b>Center</b>	<b>Towns over 2,500</b> (e.g., Denison, IA)	<b>Center city</b> (e.g., Des Moines, IA)	<b>Center city</b> (e.g., Chicago, IL)

Figure 1 shows how much the ancestral backgrounds of Americans varied by place of residence in 2000. People of European origin (“whites”) predominated in the less urban and the more peripheral places. Over 8 in 10 residents of small towns or rural places were of European origin, but only about 4 in 10 residents of large center cities were of European origin. All three other groups – African Americans, Americans (Latin, Central, and Native Americans), and Asian Americans – increased in complementary fashion from nonmetropolitan to large metropolitan and from periphery to center. City people were more typically of African, American (especially

Latin American), and Asian origin.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the foreign-born made up barely 1 in 50 residents of the countryside but nearly 1 in 4 residents in the center cities of large metropolises.

– Figure 1 here –

Places differed considerably in social class composition as well. Figure 2 shows that metropolitan American households, especially those living in the suburbs, were most likely, by far, to have household incomes over \$50,000. Similarly, the larger the area, the higher the proportion of adults with advanced education and workers with white-collar or professional jobs. Within metropolitan areas, suburban residents had a bit more education and higher-status jobs than the center-city residents.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The full table is:

Continent of Origin	Non-Metropolitan		Small Metropolitan		Large Metropolitan	
	Periphery	Center	Periphery	Center	Periphery	Center
Europe	84%	79%	81%	62%	69%	43%
Africa	8	9	7	18	9	23
America	6	9	8	14	14	24
Asia	0	1	2	3	5	7

(The residual is “other.” The source is our calculations from the STF3 data file of the 2000 Census.)

<sup>21</sup> In large metropolitan areas, 30% of suburban residents over 25 years of age had graduated college, compared to 27% of center-city residents, but, notably, 25% of all center-city adults never finished high school, the same proportion as in the countryside. (The proportion of residents with exactly a high school degree declined steadily with increasing urbanization.) Particularly in large metro center cities, there is a concentration both of college graduates and of  
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– Figure 2 here –

In 2000, Americans of different ages and stages in the life cycle did not favor any particular type of community, with one noteworthy exception (see Figure 3): unmarried adults concentrated in metropolitan places, particularly cities. This pattern overwhelmingly reflects the distribution of those who had never married. (Were we able to remove from the tables teenagers living with their parents the differences would be no doubt greater). Correspondingly, 18 to-29 years-old also concentrated in city centers (not shown).<sup>22</sup>

– Figure 3 here –

Figures 1 through 3 and related data show how Americans in 2000 were divided by the types of communities in which they lived. From rural and small town America to the large metro areas, residents were increasingly nonwhite, affluent, and not married. And, within metropolitan areas, especially large ones, Americans divided between big city and suburb. The center

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high school dropouts – the “dual city” with a “missing middle” which many urban scholars have described. The occupation data refer to employed civilians aged 16 and over. One marker of status worked in the reverse way: home ownership rates. Eighty-one percent of households in the countryside (peripheral non-metropolitan) owned their homes, but only 46% of large metropolitan center city households did. Clearly the geographical pattern of home ownership says more about space, congestion and housing prices than it does about social status.

<sup>22</sup> For center cities of metropolitan areas, 21% (small metros) and 20% (large metros) of residents were 18 to 29 years old; in all the other categories of places, the percentage was 14 to 17%.

residents were distinctly more often nonwhite, *not* affluent,<sup>23</sup> and not married compared to those outside the centers. These differences help account for cultural and behavioral differences, including the geography of those 2000 and 2004 votes.

### *Residential Segregation, 2000*<sup>24</sup>

In these ways, Americans sorted themselves – or were sorted – into different *types* of communities by ancestry, affluence, and, to a smaller extent, life cycle stage. A related but distinct question is to what extent Americans of various kinds actually lived in different *specific* communities, separated from people of other races, classes, or ages – to what extent they were *segregated*. The most significant instance of segregation is that of African Americans: In the twentieth century, millions of them moved from heavily black, rural counties in the South to predominantly white cities in the North; they became, like most European Americans, city people. But in those cities African Americans ended up separated from whites in different, heavily black neighborhoods.<sup>25</sup>

Scholars have intensively studied this history and we will address it later. Here, we simply describe segregation in 2000. We measure how segregated Americans were from one

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<sup>23</sup> More correctly, the big city residents were divided into well-off and poorly off.

<sup>24</sup> The segregation discussion here and in a later section draw on Fischer et al., “Distinguishing the Geographic Levels and Social Dimensions of U.S. Metropolitan Segregation, 1960-2000.” See the article for details.

<sup>25</sup> This point is explicitly made by Massey and Hajnal, “The Changing Geographic Structure of Black-White Segregation in the United States.”

another only for *metropolitan* (city and suburban) Americans.<sup>26</sup> We use as our measure Theil's  $H$ , which expresses the degree to which people of a certain category, say African Americans or children, are spread out *unevenly* across a geographical area. The lower the number, the more dispersed and integrated the group; the higher the number, the more group members live next to one another and apart from other types of people.<sup>27</sup> In our study, the smallest geographical unit is the census tract, typically a contiguous "neighborhood" of several thousand residents. Figure 4 shows, using Theil's  $H$ , how segregated different kinds of Americans were in 2000.<sup>28</sup>

– Fig 4 here –

We see that groups based on ancestry were heavily segregated. African Americans were most likely to live apart from others, with the highest segregation score,  $H = .43$ . Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites also clustered to a high extent, at .36 each. Researchers have noted that levels of segregation vary substantially by region, particularly for African Americans. In large Midwestern and Northeastern cities like Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee and New York, blacks were very segregated from whites; they were less so in smaller, newer metropolitan areas such as

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<sup>26</sup> Data on small geographical units are not consistently available outside of metropolitan areas, especially in the earlier censuses.

<sup>27</sup> More complete discussions of the measure appear in Fischer et al., "Distinguishing the Geographic Levels"; and James and Taeuber, "Measures of Segregation."

<sup>28</sup> As described in Fischer et al, "Distinguishing the Geographic levels," these calculations are based on all metropolitan census tracts in 2000. The measures are for total segregation from the tract level up.

Portland, Oregon and Tallahassee, Florida.<sup>29</sup> Next, we see that high- and low-income Americans were somewhat segregated from those lower or higher than themselves in the income distribution. American neighborhoods are highly differentiated by the cost of buying or renting, but neighbors often have different incomes in any particular year. Some neighbors may be retired, others may be well-to-do newcomers, some may have bought homes when prices were far lower, some may be subsidized by relatives, and so on. If we knew people's incomes over a long period rather than just in 1999 or, better yet, knew their *wealth*, we would surely see considerably higher segregation scores than the roughly .15 displayed in the figure<sup>30</sup> – in part because homes are most Americans' major asset and in part because having major financial assets make owning easier. Finally, we see that Americans in 2000 were least segregated by age or marital status.

Theil's  $H$  also permits us to assess *where* – at what level of geography – people were segregated. That is, Hispanics tended to live among other Hispanics in large measure because they clustered in particular regions of the country and in particular metropolitan areas within those regions, in areas like greater San Antonio and Miami rather than areas like Pittsburgh or Cincinnati. On the other hand, to the extent that children tended to live near other children – a limited extent of  $H = .02$  – it was not because families with children concentrated in particular

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<sup>29</sup> See Charles, “The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation” for an overview.

<sup>30</sup> Ioannides, “Neighborhood Income Distributions,” using American Housing Survey data on micro-neighborhoods, reports that clustering by income is substantially higher among those under 65 (testifying to distortion introduced by retirees in most analyses of income) and that clustering by property value is substantially higher than by income. In addition to the life cycle variations in income, errors – honest and otherwise – in reporting incomes tend to mask greater class differences. For more on this point, see Dickens, “Comments.” who calculates segregation indices ( $D$ ) for permanent incomes and reports them to be 20 to 30 percent higher than the standard estimates.

regions, metropolitan areas, or towns, but because they clustered in particular neighborhoods within towns. The affluent tended to be separated from other Americans both because they lived in specific, tony towns outside the center city and because they lived in specific, tony neighborhoods within towns. And the unmarried were modestly segregated because, as we saw earlier, they tended to congregate in the center cities of metropolitan areas rather than in the suburbs.<sup>31</sup>

Typical residents of metropolitan America in 2000 who stepped outside their homes were likely to see neighbors racially and ethnically very much like themselves; they'd see a greater mix of neighbors in terms of income – perhaps a widow on Social Security still living in her fully paid-off home next door to a couple of young professionals just moved in – but usually people who lived at roughly the same economic level as themselves; and (excepting young singles in center cities), they'd see neighbors of varying ages. Later, we will consider how segregation by ancestry, class, and life cycle changed over the last several decades of the twentieth century. But first we turn to the large scale of geography: What happened to those deep regional cleavages of America of the early twentieth century?

*Change Across the Century: How the Regions Moved Closer*

In 1942, when Americans first sang, “I’m dreaming of a white Christmas / Just like the ones I used to know,” three of every five of them had grown up where they would have indeed known a white Christmas. By 2000, that had reversed; only about two of every five children

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<sup>31</sup> More details are in Fischer et al., “Distinguishing the Geographic Levels.”

lived in a “White Christmas” region. The American population shifted from the North and Midwest, the “Frostbelt,” to the South and West, the “Sunbelt.” The West, in particular, grew dramatically, from being home to about 1 of every 18 Americans to being home to over 1 of every 4 Americans. As the numbers evened up, so did many long-lasting social differences among regions.

In 1900, the South was racially distinct; about one-third of its residents were nonwhite; elsewhere no more than one-tenth of Americans were. In 2000, the regions were, as we saw, much more alike racially. The major contributor to this leveling was the “Great Migration” of African Americans from the South to the Midwest and Northeast which began around World War I. By 1980, 4 million southern-born blacks lived outside the South. The balance of immigrants and the native-born also evened out across the regions, although the West became distinctively the home of the foreign-born starting in the 1980s.<sup>32</sup> So did the distribution of farmers. The proportion of American workers who were farmers changed over the century as shown here:

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<sup>32</sup> On blacks: Tolnay, “The African American ‘Great Migration’ and Beyond.” In 1910, the South was virtually all native-born while the proportion foreign-born ranged as high as 26% in the Northeast. Differences shrank as immigration fell so that in 1980, the West had a high of 11% foreign-born. With renewed immigration starting in the 1970s, differences widened again, but still to a narrower regional variation, from 5% (Midwest) to 19% (West). The detailed numbers on regional differences are provided in the appendix available from the authors.

<i>Percent Farmers</i> <sup>33</sup>	<u>Northeast</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>
1900	13%	36%	54%	25%
1950	3	13	19	10
2000	1	2	1	2

In 1900, most southerner workers were farmers, while only one in eight northeastern workers were. Then, as fewer Americans farmed, regional differences based on the economic and social features of farming – both as an occupation and as a way of life – narrowed. In a similar way, the regions converged in income. After the Civil War, the South fell even farther behind the industrializing North, but in the twentieth century, the South approached levels of affluence typical elsewhere.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the regions became more similar in urbanization. In 1910, over half of northeasterners were in metropolitan areas, but only one-tenth of southerners; by 2000, the difference had narrowed to about 85 and 70 percent respectively.<sup>35</sup> Over the century, then, the South became more like the rest of the nation racially, ethnically, and economically (see also Chapter X).

The West was distinctive in 1900 for its family arrangements. It had almost 13 men for every 10 women (compared to ratios under 11:10 elsewhere), which was probably the major reason many western adults in 1900 had never married and many of them lived as singles. By

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<sup>33</sup> Percentage of employed civilians, aged 16 and over, who were farm owners, managers or laborers. Source: IPUMS.

<sup>34</sup> Kim, “Economic Integration and Convergence: U.S. Regions, 1840-1987”; Easterlin, “Regional Income Trends.”

<sup>35</sup> Hobbs and Stoops, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*, p. 41.

1960, however, the westerners were pretty much like everyone else.<sup>36</sup>

The wide social differences among the regions in 1900 (and before) contributed to cultural differences. Academics as well as essayists and novelists described distinctive ways for the different regions: the chivalrous, violent South; the individualistic, untamed West; the civic culture and Babbitry of the small-town Midwest; the mercantile, cosmopolitan Northeast. By the end of the century, many social differences had shrunk, although they were not fully erased.<sup>37</sup> Political differences by region, in particular, narrowed and were then rearranged. The South's Democratic allegiance, rooted in slavery and Jim Crow, persisted for the first half of the twentieth century. Beginning with the 1948 presidential election, Democrats from outside the South began courting the votes of blacks and liberal whites with pledges to support desegregation. Republicans reacted slowly, but eventually appealed to southern whites who felt betrayed by the Democrats, winning first the presidency in 1968 (through Nixon's "southern strategy"), then Senate seats, governorships, and, ultimately, the House of Representatives in 1994.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> The sex ratio data are from Hobbs and Stoops, *Demographic Trends of the Twentieth Century*, p. 63. In 1900, 28 percent of Westerners 15 and older were living alone or as unattached adults, compared to 20 percent or fewer in other regions. By 1960, the rate was 13 to 15 percent across all regions.

<sup>37</sup> On convergence: One study of spending patterns, for example, showed a convergence across regions over the century – Stanley Lebergott, *Consumer Expenditures*, Ch. 4. Data on racial attitudes also show substantial regional convergence (see Chapter X; also Schuman et al., *Racial Attitudes in America*). But there is also a literature that documents continuing regional differences, especially between the South and the rest of the country, on matters such as violent behavior and attitudes toward violence, religiosity, and individualism.

<sup>38</sup> See Brooks and Manza, *Cleavage Politics*. Note that, although Republican terrain covers many (continued...)

This political history stimulated the post-2000 red state, blue state discussion we mentioned earlier. Closer examination of the voting patterns reveals that “red county, blue county” more accurately describes that political division. Moreover, statistical analysis shows that region, as a predictor of people’s votes, declined over the last 30 years of the twentieth century while *place* as we described it earlier became a stronger predictor of presidential choice.<sup>39</sup> (In Chapter X, we pursue the question of how Americans divided on controversial issues.) *Why* social and cultural differences by region narrowed is another and large subject. Migration from one region to another certainly contributed, particularly to the increasing similarity by ancestry. The expansion of national markets and national media probably contributed. But economic development, occupational shifts, and urbanization, particularly in the South, seem central.

*Change Across the Century: How the Suburbs Moved Away*

More dramatic even than the movement of Americans from northern areas to the Sunbelt was their movement from rural areas to suburban places. We again use the 2 X 3 layout which captures the rural-to-urban dimension (non-metropolitan, small metropolitan, and large metropolitan) and the center-periphery distinction.<sup>40</sup> Figure 5 shows the distribution of

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(...continued)

more square miles than Democratic terrain, the populations of the two zones were about equal.

<sup>39</sup> This comment is based on our analysis, using the GSS, of voting for President in the 1970s, ‘80s, and ‘90s (including 2000). See, also, Brooks and Manza, *Cleavage Politics*.

<sup>40</sup> The metropolitan area (MA) classification for recent decades, the one we used earlier for the 2000 data, is familiar, but it did not exist before 1950. For 1950 through 2000, we use the actual population of the MAs as they were defined in those years by the Office of Management and

(continued...)

Americans across these types of places from 1900 to 2000. It reveals how Americans shifted from living in the open countryside toward metropolitan areas and especially the peripheries of those areas. The percentage of Americans who lived in nonmetropolitan peripheral communities, the countryside, shrank from a majority of 55% to only 10%, while the percentage who lived in outside small and large metropolitan areas together grew from 11% to 50%. (The percentage living in center cities grew from about 22% in 1900 to 32% in 1930 and stayed about there for the rest of the century.) The late nineteenth century and the twentieth century were both eras of rural depopulation, but in the nineteenth century Americans became city people and in the twentieth century they became suburban people.

– Figure 5

The net shift of population from rural to suburban happened for a few reasons. For one, the immigrant waves prior to 1920 and after 1970 overwhelmingly swept into metropolitan areas; relatively few newcomers became farmers. For another, individual Americans moved: country boys and girls went to the cities and, years later, their children and grandchildren

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(...continued)

Budget to distinguish large from small. The 1940 PUMS, created in a collaboration between the Census Bureau and the Center for Demography and Ecology at the University of Wisconsin, identified the same set of MAs as existed in 1950, and the IPUMS staff eliminated identification of any of those MA's which did not meet the criteria applied in 1950. For 1900 through 1920, IPUMS applied the 1950 criteria to groups of counties to create MA equivalents. For all of these pre-1950 data, we divided large from small MAs according to population estimates based on the IPUMS microdata. The exception to this was for total counts, which we derived more directly, using Donald Bogue's classifications from the Appendix of "Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900-1950," Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1953. See appendix available from authors for more details.

decamped to the suburbs. In addition, communities themselves changed. Small towns grew into cities and their suburbs spread to engulf surrounding villages and countryside.<sup>41</sup> Across the nation, farm houses that in 1900 had nestled in fields and orchards by 2000 huddled besides tract homes and shopping malls. From a society split between rural and urban – in 1900, 2/3 of all Americans were outside metropolitan areas, and 2/3 of the rest were in the center cities of metropolitan areas – America became one divided between city and suburb – in 2000, only 1/5 of Americans were outside metropolitan areas and most of the rest lived in suburbs. Moreover, this massive shift coincided with a re-arrangement of American social differences.

*Ancestry.* The shift mattered ethnically. Figure 6 uses a three-box chart to show what happened to the geographical distribution of European-origin Americans. Note that there are in this case, and will be in others, missing data for certain decades. The first box displays what happened outside metropolitan areas, the second what happened inside small metropolitan areas, and the third what happened in large metropolitan areas. Within each box, the filled-in dots represent central places – small towns or center cities – and the open dots represent the peripheries – countryside or suburbs.<sup>42</sup>

– Figure 6 –

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<sup>41</sup> Technically, the latter sorts of changes show up in the re-classification of places. When the Census Bureau identifies a new metropolitan area, it recognizes the emergence of an urban center; when it adds a formerly rural county to an existing metropolitan area, it is recognizing suburbanization on the ground.

<sup>42</sup> Full tables for the data reported here are available in the appendix from the authors.

In the early twentieth century, European-origin Americans did not concentrate in any particular kind of place; they comprised from 83 to 97 percent of the residents in all kinds of places. In contrast, African Americans (not shown) concentrated in the rural areas, composing 16% of the nonmetropolitan-periphery residents but only 2% of the large center city residents. Then, major population movements of blacks from the rural South after about 1940 and of Hispanic and Asian immigrants after about 1970 made the large metropolitan areas and especially their center cities increasingly distinctive from the rest of America. The larger the area and the more central the population, the fewer the European-Americans. As we saw earlier in figure 1, by 2000, less than half of people living in the center cities of large metropolises were of European origin, while they remained more than 4 of 5 people living in the countryside. From 1930 to 1970, African Americans replaced European Americans in large center cities, but after 1970, increasingly Latinos did. In these ways, Americans of differing ancestry increasingly divided up by type of community, with European Americans concentrating in the less metropolitan and other Americans in more metropolitan areas.

Researchers have pointed out how blacks, Asians, and Hispanics in the last years of the century increasingly moved to the suburbs, typically those just across the center city line. True, but that move has not kept pace with the national growth of the minority population, nor with the declining number of whites in the center cities.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, Americans also increasingly

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<sup>43</sup> For example, Frey, “Melting Pot Suburbs”; Berube and Foreman, “Racial Change in the Nation’s Largest Cities.” Some research suggests that Asian immigrants were not as likely to move through center cities on their way to assimilation, nor were as segregated from whites as blacks and Latinos were (Alba et al/, “Strangers Next Door;” Massey and Denton, “Suburbanization and Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas”).

divided themselves racially and ethnically between city and suburb. Indeed, in the later twentieth century, the terms “urban” and “city” became code words for ethnic and racial minorities, as in marketing slogans like “urban fashion” or “urban music.”<sup>44</sup>

*Class.* In contrast to the story for ancestry, urban-rural differences in the locations of the rich and poor narrowed. But city-suburban differences still widened. We can only chart household incomes precisely from the 1950 census on, but other studies suggest what the century-long trend was. At mid-century, the median family living in nonmetropolitan areas earned about one-third less than did the median metropolitan families.<sup>45</sup> Had we comparable data for earlier decades, they would show an even larger rural disadvantage in those years. Before modern farming and the New Deal, rural life was – despite occasional periods of prosperity such as World War I – especially poor, which helped spark the “Country Life” concern. As figure 7 shows, over the last half-century, the gap narrowed, so that by the 2000 census, the (now many fewer) families of rural America earned only about one-fifth less than urban families did. (See also the discussion of inequality, pp. 000-000).

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<sup>44</sup> Note that these widening distinctions among places by ancestry are not simply the result of immigration flowing to urban centers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the foreign-born also congregated in larger metropolitan areas and city centers. (In fact, the concentration was greater then. In 1900, 33% of residents in large metro-center cities were foreign-born, compared to 7% of residents in the open countryside– a 26-point difference; in 2000, it was 23% versus 2% – a 21-point difference. The center-periphery difference within large metropolitan areas stayed about the same, at 8 points.) But in 1900, the foreign-born were largely European and at the end of the century, they were overwhelmingly “people of color.”

<sup>45</sup> Although the data do not allow us to estimate median household income for nonmetropolitan towns and countryside separately in 1950, they do allow us to estimate median household income for the nonmetropolitan population as a whole: \$13,900, which was more than \$5,000 under that of any other category of place.

– Figure 7 –

At mid-century, city and suburban families reported similar incomes. Before then, city families had probably earned *more* than suburban ones. Aside from a relative handful of high-status suburbs, most places right around the major cities were industrial, market-gardening or -dairying towns and villages. Their residents were economically modest.<sup>46</sup> The suburban disadvantage narrowed to inconsequence by 1950 and then turned into a substantial advantage. By 2000, suburban households' median income was one-fourth greater than that of center-city households.<sup>47</sup>

Looking more closely, we find that both the narrowing of the rural-urban gap in income and the widening of the city-suburban gap in income after mid-century largely reflected changes among the lowest-income Americans. Rural Americans at the twentieth percentile of income became substantially more affluent quite quickly, mostly because good-paying industrial jobs moved to the countryside and partly because many of the poorest and poorest-skilled residents left the countryside. The extremely poor became rarer. But this improvement at the bottom did *not* happen in the large center cities. There, the income of the twentieth-percentile household hardly changed in 40 years. Indeed, inner-city saw the departure of some of those same blue-

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<sup>46</sup> See, e.g., Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*; Binford, *The First Suburbs*.

<sup>47</sup> Corroborating evidence for the widening of the city-suburb differences comes from Schwirian, et al., “The Residential Decentralization of Social Status Groups, 1950-1980.” In 1950, in most metropolitan areas, center-city residents were more educated than those outside the center city; by 1980, the difference had flipped.

collar employers who showed up in rural places. Thus, in 1900 the geography of the haves and the have-nots corresponded roughly to the split between city folk and country folk; in 2000 it corresponded more to the split between suburbanites and center-city dwellers.<sup>48</sup>

When we assess social class by education or occupation rather than income, the picture is a bit more complex but still consistent with the description of shifting axes. In the last 40 years of the century, basic education improved so rapidly in the non-metropolitan periphery that the rural-urban gap in high school graduation rates *narrowed*. In the same years, college education, which had been rare, became somewhat more common but mainly in metropolitan places, so that the rural-urban gap in B.A. degrees *widened*.<sup>49</sup> Because farming virtually disappeared, the occupational distributions of different types of places became more alike. But more metropolitan residents found high-status jobs outside of farming than did nonmetropolitan Americans, and so

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<sup>48</sup> To be specific about the dynamics: Between 1960 and 2000, the household income of the 20<sup>th</sup>-percentile person in the countryside grew by a factor of 2.6, substantially faster than in any other place category, but the household income of the 20<sup>th</sup>-percentile person in large center cities grew by 15%, substantially slower than any other place category. The incomes of 80<sup>th</sup>-percentile households rose about the same amount in all community categories, by factors of 1.7 to 2.1 times. One consequence is that economic inequality, the 80:20 ratio (see chapter X), declined in rural areas, but widened in metropolitan areas, and did so especially in large center cities. In the center cities of large metropolises, the 80:20 ratio rose from 2.7 in 1950 to 4.0 in 1980 and 4.6 in 2000. Among whites only (non-Hispanic whites in 2000), the pattern is similar, but the scale of the change was much smaller, meaning that the concentration of blacks and Latinos in the center cities explains a large part – but not all – of the increasing inequality in center cities.

<sup>49</sup> In 1960, the difference in (the percent of residents, 25 and older, with) high school degrees between the large metropolitan periphery and the nonmetropolitan periphery was 20 points (31% versus 51%); in 2000, it was 9 points (75% versus 84%). In 2000, the college graduate difference was 7 points (4% versus 11%) and in 2000 it was 16 points (14% versus 30%). City-suburb differences in large metropolitan areas for both high school and college graduation rates widened and then narrowed modestly. See Appendix table B.6, available from the authors.

they became more different.<sup>50</sup> One way to assimilate these patterns is to think of Americans nationwide moving from less educated to more educated and from farming to blue-collar, white-collar, and then professional work. Metropolitan residents led and rural Americans trailed in these transitions. The distinction between urban and rural Americans therefore fell in different places in different eras – dividing at high school graduation earlier in the century and at college graduation later in the century, dividing between farm and nonfarm earlier or between blue- and white-collar work later. In any case, low-status rural Americans substantially closed the gaps between themselves and comparable urban Americans, but low-status inner-city Americans did not close the gaps between themselves and comparable suburban residents. Again, the rural-urban contrast shrank relative to the to the urban-suburban one.

The relative impoverishment of center-city residents coincided with the increasing concentration there of non-European Americans. Which was the driver in this correlation, money or race? Did non-Europeans concentrate in the urban centers because they were poor? Or did many poor families concentrate in urban centers because they were non-European? The likely answer is both.<sup>51</sup> Ancestry partly accounts for the widening city-suburb gap in median income,

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<sup>50</sup> From 1900 to 1920, about 30% of non-farm workers in all sorts of places held white-collar or better jobs. At the end of the century, however, about 50% of nonmetropolitan workers were in these careers, while over 60% of metropolitan workers were. (The percentages are of employed civilian adults aged 14 and over for 1900 through 1970 and 16 and over for 1980 through 2000, excluding those employed in farm work.) See Appendix table B.5. The patterns of occupational and educational change were similar even if we look at whites only

<sup>51</sup> That is, differences in disposable income partly explain why minorities concentrated in centers and whites in suburbs, but race-based housing markets also partly explain why low-income people concentrated in center cities.

but even among whites suburban median income came to exceed that of city residents (although not nearly by as wide a margin). Among *non-Hispanic* whites alone, suburbanites slightly widened their advantage over city-dwellers over the last 50 years of the century. The income polarization was not simply a racial one.<sup>52</sup>

In sum, where along the rural-urban dimension Americans lived became less indicative of their affluence or class position over the century. But where along the center-periphery dimension Americans lived became more indicative, especially in the large metropolitan areas.

*Life Cycle.* While Americans rearranged themselves spatially according to ancestry and class, the American geography of the life-cycle changed little. Early in the century, children lived disproportionately in nonmetropolitan areas, but that difference narrowed as rural birth rates dropped to levels common in cities. Similarly, earlier on, children were especially likely to live in suburbs rather than the center cities, but that pattern disappeared with the concentration of black and Latino families in center cities. The most substantial change in the connection between geography and life cycle over the century was the increasing concentration of never-married

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<sup>52</sup> Educational differences by suburb are more complicated. The differences between city and suburb in the proportion who were college graduates changed little over a half-century, but that fact may be misleading, because, as we saw earlier, young adults – many of whom were recent college graduates – concentrated in the center cities. They then moved to the suburbs during their years of parenting. At the same time, for other reasons, high school dropouts increasingly concentrated in the center cities, too. Occupational changes saw a widening city-suburban gap in non-professional white-collar workers, not for professional workers. (In 1950, 35% of large city workers were white-collar versus 32% of suburban workers; in 2000, the respective percentages flipped to 41 and 44 in favor of the suburbs. For professionals, the differences were +4 for the suburbs in 1960 and 0 in 2000.) Again, these are signs of the emerging “dual city” of “hourglass” character of the large cities.

people in metropolitan city centers. Until about 1960 or 1970, the proportion of adults who were never married was about the same in all kinds of places. In 1950, roughly 10 percent of Americans aged 15 or older in all types of places had yet to marry. But by 2000, the kind of disparities shown back in figure 3, with more than half of center-city residents being unmarried (never-married, widowed, or divorced) had appeared. A smaller but noticeable concentration of 18-to-29-year-olds also developed in center cities.<sup>53</sup> The singles life brings with it a distinct culture often identified with urban centers – active public spaces, entertainment businesses, and a slightly anti-establishment lifestyle. The concentration of this lifestyle in the big cities accelerated in the last decades of the century.

*Conclusion.* The community patterns of America changed sharply over the twentieth century. In 1900 America had been a majority rural nation and by 2000 it was about to become a majority suburban nation. Within urban areas, deconcentration – growth on the outskirts eclipsing growth in the centers – accelerated. Along with the shift of numbers came shifts in social composition. The contrast of country and city became strongly connected to the contrast of white and colored, mainly because of the Great Migration northward of blacks. But probably

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<sup>53</sup> We do not have usable age numbers for the mid-century, but in 1970 there was a 2-point difference between large metropolitan centers and their suburbs in the proportion of residents who were 18 to 29 (19% vs. 17%); by 2000, the difference had more than doubled to 5 points (20% vs 15%). A similar change occurred in small metropolitan areas: (20% vs. 18% in 1970 to 21% vs. 14% in 2000). Here is another way to see the change in the distribution of the unmarried: In 1900 and 1970, unmarried adults were 1.1 times more likely than other Americans to live in center cities of metropolitan areas; in 2000, they were 1.3 times more likely. (See Appendix table B.8, available from authors.) Research covering 1955-75 suggests that the spatial separation was more a matter of married couples being drawn to the suburbs than of the unmarried being drawn to the cities (Frey and Kobrin, “Changing Families and Changing Mobility”), but that may have changed after 1970.

the most striking evolution was the widening difference between city and suburb. At the beginning of the century, the foreign-born congregated in the centers, but the residents of the centers and of the suburbs differed much less in race and class than they were to later on. The story of the latter part of the century is the opening up of the social distance between city and suburb. This divergence appeared in many realms: the new malls and light industry of the suburbs contrasted with the old, abandoned plants and stores in the centers; politicians increasingly catered to a suburban voting bloc rather than city voters; the popular media found itself marketing “urban” styles to suburban youth. The old polarities of North and South and of city and country resonated less and less, while the division of the inner and outer metropolis became more meaningful.<sup>54</sup>

*Coming Together, Drifting Apart: Change in Segregation*<sup>55</sup>

Paradoxically, even as whites and non-whites increasingly lived in distinct types of places, they became more integrated at the neighborhood level. This paradox is revealed by taking our analysis of segregation in 2000 and extending it back forty years to 1960. Black-white segregation declined at the neighborhood level, but whites increasingly moved behind the walls of separate suburban communities. Separation by income widened as well.

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<sup>54</sup> Scholars have identified yet newer, complex developments in the city-suburban contrast during the last decade or two of the twentieth century. Aging suburbs nearer to metropolitan centers have taken on some characteristics of center cities. And pockets of middle-class, family revitalization in center cities have emerged. These events suggest that new spatial arrangements may develop in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

<sup>55</sup> This section also draws from Fischer et al, “Distinguishing the Geographic Levels...;” see the article for more details.

*Segregation by Ancestry*. Douglas S. Massey and Nancy Denton, in their award-winning book, *American Apartheid*, described how African Americans in 11 of the nation's largest northern cities became much more segregated over most of the twentieth century up to 1980 – many eventually living in “hyper-segregated” ghettos. Figure 8 is a schematic presentation, again using Theil's *H* index, of what happened in the more recent decades across all of metropolitan America. Had we comparable data for the earlier decades, they would show that the segregation of African Americans increased substantially from 1900 to 1960.<sup>56</sup> However, as Figure 8 shows, nationwide segregation declined substantially after 1970. The top line of the figure traces the *total* residential segregation between blacks and nonblacks in metropolitan United States from 1960 to 2000; blacks were increasingly likely to live near nonblacks. (Segregation patterns for Hispanics changed much less – not shown.)

– Figure 8 –

The layers of this figure allow us to distinguish *the geographic level* at which desegregation occurred. The bottom layer shows how much segregation between blacks and others can be accounted for by their living in different regions of the nation, the next layer up how much by their living in different metropolitan areas, the next by their living in center cities versus suburbs, the next by their living in different places (essentially, municipalities) within the suburban rings, and the top layer shows how much segregation was neighborhood-by-neighborhood – neighborhoods defined as census tracts. Had we comparable data for the years

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<sup>56</sup> Extrapolating from Massey and Denton's work.

before 1960, they would probably show that much of the black-white segregation in the early decades was a result of regional differences (blacks were concentrated in the South) and that the source of segregation shifted toward the neighborhood in the middle decades.<sup>57</sup> The message of Figure 8 is that neighborhood-level segregation between blacks and whites declined substantially since 1970, but segregation by municipality increased modestly. We interpret this to mean that black Americans' neighborhoods have become more mixed, but that some nonblacks have avoided integration by living in heavily white suburban municipalities.

But there is a seeming contradiction: How do we reconcile the trend for whites and blacks to increasingly live in separate *kinds* of places, cities versus suburbs (as shown in figure 6) with the trend for them to live closer to one another in *specific* neighborhoods (as shown in figure 8)?<sup>58</sup> One part of the answer is the timing: The major center-city concentration of African Americans and the major suburban dispersal of European Americans happened from 1950 to 1970; the major desegregation happened afterwards. Another part of the answer is that figure 6 lumps diverse suburbs and cities into the same categories – for example, the suburbs of Houston and Seattle in one box and Chicago and Los Angeles the other. The segregation analysis of Figure 8, on the other hand, in effect matches and analyzes racial differences by city and suburb within specific metropolitan areas. Part of what we are seeing, then, in Figure 6's widening

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<sup>57</sup> We infer this from the analyses of Massey and Hajnal, “The Changing Geographic Structure of Black-White Segregation in the United States.”

<sup>58</sup> As others, too, have found declining neighborhood segregation – for example, Iceland, et al., “Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980-2000;” Charles, “The Dynamics of Residential Segregation.”

differences is the movement of whites from the eastern cities to western suburbs. For example, 6% fewer whites lived in the Middle Atlantic states in 2000 than did in 1960, while 60% more whites lived in the Pacific states in 2000 than did in 1960.<sup>59</sup>

For these reasons (and a technical one, as well<sup>60</sup>), we believe both the story of greater racial differences by type of place and of greater neighborhood integration to be true. Nationally, European-Americans increasingly clustered in suburban communities (notably in Sunbelt suburbs) while “people of color” moved more slowly from city to suburb. And it was also true that in particular metropolitan areas the city-suburban line became a slightly less important barrier to racial integration. As minorities moved into the inner suburbs around the big cities, the city-suburban line, which had obsessed urban sociologists in the 1960s and ‘70s, became less important. But specific municipality boundaries within the suburban regions became more important, a greater source of separation.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless, at the neighborhood-level integration was real and probably the result of black economic advances, lowering levels of prejudice, and of fair-housing legislation.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Sources: *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1961, p. 31, and 2001, p. 26. The latter refers to single-race identities-- using the count of one race only).

<sup>60</sup> The decomposition of the Theil index is such that city-suburban differences, such as those seen in figure 6, get appropriately distributed to higher levels. The contrast between, say, suburban Scottsdale, AZ, and center Detroit, MI, gets apportioned to regional and metropolitan effects.

<sup>61</sup> The Theil  $H$  associated with segregation between places within the suburban rings went up from 1970 to 2000 in all regions except the West (.02 in the Northeast, .05 in the Midwest, .03 in the South and -.05 in the West).

<sup>62</sup> Blacks’ segregation from non-blacks declined in all regions. The total Theil  $H$  dropped .12, .18, .23, and .35 in the Northeast, Midwest, South, and West respectively between 1970 and

(continued...)

*Segregation by Income.* Widening economic inequality since 1970 (discussed in Chapter X) was reflected on the ground, especially in the increasing concentration of the poor people. The ghettoization of poverty increased in the 1970s and 1980s and then dissipated somewhat during the booming 1990s. Paul Jargowsky estimates that in 1990 15% of poor, urban Americans (30% of poor, urban, black Americans) lived in neighborhoods in which at least 2 of 5 residents were poor; in 2000, only 10% (19% of blacks) lived in neighborhoods with so much concentrated poverty.<sup>63</sup> Our calculations show similar but more modest trends toward first more and then later less segregation by income. Between 1970 and 1990, low-income urban Americans – those in the lowest quintile of household income – became modestly more segregated from other urban Americans, but their concentration abated slightly in the 1990s, consistent with Jargowsky’s findings. At the other end of the spectrum, affluent Americans – those in the highest quintile – also became more segregated from middle-class Americans between 1970 and 1990 (see Figure 9), largely because they concentrated in certain prospering metropolitan areas and in certain suburban municipalities.<sup>64</sup>

– Figure 9

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(...continued)

2000; the tract-level *H* dropped .13, .22, .24, and .25 respectively. See also Charles, “The Dynamics of Residential Segregation,” table 1.

<sup>63</sup> Jargowsky, “Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems.”

<sup>64</sup> Massey and M. Fischer, “The Geography of Inequality in the United States 1950-2000,” report consistent trends.

The trends in both racial and income segregation point to the growing importance of segregation by municipality. Affluent and white people separated themselves from others, not by keeping them out of their neighborhoods – that became relatively less important or perhaps less possible – but by retreating to suburban towns where the local housing patterns and zoning effectively blocked others from moving in. Correspondingly, even though American students become more integrated *within* school districts – particular schools became more mixed – they also became more segregated *between* school districts.<sup>65</sup>

*Life Cycle.* There has been talk of the increasing segregation of the elderly, particularly by their own migration to the Sunbelt, and of children, notably by developers and communities trying to exclude families.<sup>66</sup> But we found little change between 1960 and 2000 in the clustering or dispersion of either the elderly or children. On the other hand, the segregation of the unmarried from the married and of 18-to-29 year-olds from others, although modest in comparison to ancestral or class segregation, did increase slightly after 1960. This corresponds to

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<sup>65</sup> Suburban moat-building started before the period highlighted in Figure 9, the 1970s. For example, historian Lizabeth Cohen describes various efforts to zone out buyers of modest income by New Jersey suburbs in the 1950s (*A Consumer's Republic*, Ch. 5). On the coordination of planning and segregation, see, e.g., Weiss, "Planning Subdivisions"; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*. There is a sizeable literature on "suburban persistence," the ability of suburbs, especially affluent ones, to maintain their exclusivity over decades. See, e.g., Logan and Schneider, "Racial Segregation and Racial Change in American Suburbs, 1970-1980;" Stahura, "Suburban Socioeconomic Status Change." On school district segregation: James, "City Limits on Racial Equality;" Reardon and Yun, "The Changing Structure of School Segregation."

<sup>66</sup> For example, a 2003 *New York Times* story describes efforts by suburban towns to discourage housing for families because they bring in children whose education then requires much taxing and spending (Mansnerus, "Great Haven for Families, but Don't Bring Children").

our earlier finding that they tended to cluster in metropolitan center cities.<sup>67</sup>

Our evidence cannot address segregation for the whole century, but in roughly the last half of the century, Americans were segregated far more by race than by income and by income much more than by life cycle. Racial separation declined substantially, however, while income and life cycle segregation rose moderately. These are further signs, noted also in other chapters, that the lines of division in America, while still marked heavily by race, were in the last decades of the century moving toward divisions of class and lifestyle.

### *Conclusion*

Sorting through the detail, we can see that differences of ancestry, class, and marital status once corresponded with region – the South was native-born, black, and poor, the West unmarried; and corresponded with urbanism – people in the country tended to be farmers, poor, black, and to have large families. Most of these regional and rural-urban contrasts faded during the twentieth century, with the very notable exception of ancestry – and there, the rural-urban contrast reversed. African Americans once concentrated in rural and small town America and European Americans in urban places, but by the end of the century, African Americans and other nonwhites were very much city people, European Americans rural and suburban. Given the powerful role of race in America, this new and strong connection between ancestry and type of community has profound consequences, from pop culture to political strategies. Yet, over the

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<sup>67</sup> The increase in marital status and age segregation occurred at the tract, place, and suburb vs. city level (see Fischer et al., “The Geographic Levels,” for more detail).

century, most differences among increasingly fell, neither along regional nor along rural-urban lines, but along the city-suburb dimension. City people were more often non-European, of lower social class, and unmarried. The geographic axes of American differences was re-mapped.

Our examination of metropolitan residential segregation from 1960 through 2000 casts further light on this reorientation. Segregation – and, by far, the greatest segregation in America is by race and ethnicity – became relatively less important at the neighborhood level, while it became more important at the level of specific towns: center city versus suburban ring in mid-century and between towns within the suburban ring later. These late-twentieth-century developments suggest that, with the aging of inner suburbs and the beginning movement of minorities and poor people beyond the center city, the newer form of residential differentiation that is coming is by specific municipality. In some cases, the enclaves are not even municipalities at all but the private governments of residential associations – “gated communities.” The old and simple polarities of America’s social geography are dissolving into finer-grade politically-based mosaics. This, too, is of major consequence, because so much of America’s civic life and the fortunes of its citizens are still shaped by the places we live.

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## **Appendices for Community Chapter**

### *I. Location Types (Metropolitan X Center-Periphery) and Population Characteristics: Data Sources and Methods* Prepared by Jon Stiles

Our intent was to construct a time series of population characteristics -- including measures of ancestry/nativity, class, and life cycle -- for a consistently defined set of areas. We made primary distinctions between non-metropolitan areas, small metropolitan areas, and large metropolitan areas, and within each type of area differentiated between core and periphery components of the area type. For the non-metropolitan areas, the differentiation is between urban and rural populations; for the small and large metropolitan areas, the distinction is between central cities residents and suburban residents. (The suburban component includes both rural populations and non-central city urban populations in the metropolitan areas.)

Because confidentiality rules require the masking of the geographic identifiers we needed to construct these area types for the censuses after 1920, we turned to the aggregate data counts from census summary files in later years. These summary counts are available in machine readable form from 1970 onward. To span the interim period, from 1930 - 1960, we relied on a mix of machine readable summary files, microdata for non-masked geographies, printed reports for selected metropolitan, urban, and rural areas, and printed summary totals for the nation as a whole. The table below provides a summary of the methods used to construct counts in each area over the century. The following section discusses the methods in more detail.

Note that because we needed to use the summary data, and at the same time retain consistently defined measures, the manner in which characteristics were defined (and the universes for which they were defined) in the summary files set the standard for the measures we use. As a result, the measure used here may not correspond exactly to those reported in other chapters where we retained more control over how characteristics were defined.

Principal method of constructing population characteristics by area types for each census year, 1900 - 2000.

	<u>Non Metropolitan</u>		<u>Small (&lt; 1.5M) MA</u>		<u>Large (1.5M+) MA</u>	
	Rural	Urban	Suburb	CC	Suburb	CC
1900	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata
1910	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata
1920	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata
1930	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1940	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata
1950	n/a	n/a	Microdata + Print	Microdata + Print	Direct-Microdata	Direct-Microdata
1960	Print	Print	Residual: Print - Agg	Residual: Print - Agg	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts
1970	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component
1980	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component	Aggregated MA/non-MA component
1990	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts
2000	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts	Aggregated Tracts

Summary of availability of selected measures, 1900-2000

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Population	All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All	All
Race (W/B)	All	All	All		All	All	All	All	All	All	All
Hispanic								All	All	All	All
Foreign born	All	All	All		All	All	All	All	All	All	All
Education					25+	25+	25+	25+	25+	25+	25+
Tenure	HH	HH	HH				HH	HH	HH	HH	HH
Family Income						Fam HH	Fam HH	Fam HH	Fam HH	Fam HH	Fam HH
Occupation	14+	14+	14+		14+	14+	14+	14+	16+	16+	16+
Household Type	All	All	All					All	All	All	All
Age	All	All	All		All	All	All	All	All	All	All
Marital Status	14+	14+	14+		14+	14+	14+	14+	15+	15+	15+

1900, 1910, 1920, 1940

Sources:

Machine-Readable DataFiles:

Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et. al. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 2.0*, Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects [distributor] , University of Minnesota, 1997. (www.ipums.org)

Procedure:

Microdata files provide the basis for estimates of population characteristics by area type between 1900 and 1940. Because the 72 year moratorium period for the release of census data has passed for the 1900, 1910, and 1920 censuses, no masking of geography prevents the identification of cities or counties. Pseudo-metropolitan areas and central cities, as defined for the IPUMs project, are used to distinguish between our six area types. However, for 1940, confidentiality concerns made it impossible to fully identify either the non-metropolitan urban and rural populations, or the central city and suburbs of all MA's with less than 1.5 million in population. Because SMA's were not formally defined until the 1950 census, estimates for these area types cannot be supplemented from census print publications (with the exception of total counts, discussed in the following section).

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1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950

Print Publications:

Donald Bogue, "Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas 1900-1950, with an Exploratory Analysis of Urbanized Areas", Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C., 1953. (Appendix Table 1).

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970. Bicentennial Edition: Part I*, Series A 57-72. (Population in Urban and Rural Territory, by Size of Place: 1790-1970). p. 11, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, DC, 1975.

Procedure:

Although SMAs were not formally defined before the 1950 census, Donald Bogue created comparable county-based areas extending back to 1900. For each such area, he identified the population in each census year living in central cities, living in urban areas, and living in rural portions within the metropolitan counties. Based on these counts, the proportion of the entire nation living in the core and peripheries of large and small metropolitan areas can be calculated. Subtracting the urban and rural populations in those areas from national counts of total urban and rural populations allows us to fill in the counts for the remaining two area types. The counts do not match those estimated from the 1900 - 1940 IPUMS exactly, but do correspond fairly closely, and permits us to fill in core counts for 1930 as part of a consistently defined series.

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1950

Sources:

Machine-Readable Data Files:

Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et. al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 2.0*, incorporation of the CENSUS OF POPULATION, 1950 [UNITED STATES]: PUBLIC USE MICRODATA SAMPLE initially produced by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census and Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, Center

for Demography and Ecology. Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects [distributor] University of Minnesota, 1997. (www.ipums.org)

Print Publications:

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970. Bicentennial Edition: Part 1. Series A 276-287. (Population of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, by Region, Size, and Race: 1950-1970)*. p. 40, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, DC, 1975. (Race)

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: Volume II Characteristics of the Population - 1950*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington DC, 1952.

Tables used: "Income in 1949 of families and unrelated individuals for standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more" (Income); "General Characteristics of the population, for standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more: 1950." (Education, Marital Status, and Nativity); "Economic characteristics of the population, by sex, for standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more: 1950." (Occupation); "Age by color and sex, for standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more: 1950." (Age Distribution).

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Housing: Volume I General Characteristics- Table.*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington DC, 1952. Tables: "Occupancy characteristics, type of structure, and plumbing facilities, for standard metropolitan areas and constituent counties, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more: 1950." (Tenure).

Procedure:

In 1950, we used a mix of counts drawn from printed publications for 54 individual SMAs and the central cities of those SMAs in combination with tabulations based on IPUMS microdata to estimate characteristics of the core and periphery areas in large and small SMAs; we cannot distinguish between urban and rural portions of non-metropolitan areas. We began by determining which metropolitan areas in 1950 either could not be identified in the IPUMS, or which could not be separated into their central city and suburban components. For those MAs, we hand entered counts of the population by age, sex, marital status, family income, educational attainment, nativity, occupation, and tenure from printed tables in each state-specific volume of the characteristics of the population or housing for 1950. We separately tabulated equivalently defined counts for all persons not in those areas from the IPUMS. Counts were then aggregated into each of the definable area types, and summed across data sources.

A slightly different procedure was used for race, since counts of whites and blacks summed to the national level for metropolitan areas and central cities were available. For this characteristic, counts for the core and periphery of large MAs were subtracted from the national counts to arrive at corresponding counts for the small SMA category.

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1960

Sources:

Machine-Readable DataFiles:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. CENSUS TRACT-LEVEL DATA, 1960 [Computer file]. ICPSR version. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 1971. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 1999.

42 data files . Note: Data for New Jersey were unavailable from ICPSR, and were supplied by Anne Grey at Princeton.

Bogue, Donald. CENSUS TRACT DATA, 1960: ELIZABETH MULLEN BOGUE FILE [Computer file]. ICPSR version. University of Chicago, Community and Family Study Center [producer], 1975. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2000.

175 data files.

Print Publications:

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-23, No.37, "Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population in Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Areas: 1970 and 1960," U.S. GPO, Washing DC, 1971. Tables drawn on include Table 1 (Age) and Table 5 (Marital Status).

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Housing, 1960, Volume I: States and Small Areas, Part I: United States Summary*, US Department of Commerce, Washington DC, 1961. Tables drawn on include Table 11 (Tenure) and Table G (Race).

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Housing, 1960, Volume I: Characteristics of the Population, Part I: United States Summary*, US Department of Commerce, Washington DC, 1961. Tables used is Table 101 (Social and Economic Characteristics - esp family income).

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960 Final Report PC(3)-1E, Selected Area Reports: Type of Place: "Demographic, Social, and Economic Data for States, by Urban-Rural and Metropolitan-Nonmetropolitan Residence"*, US Department of Commerce, Washington DC, 1961. Tables drawn on include Table 4 (Education) and Table 6 (Occupation and Nativity).

Procedure:

For 1960, we calculated totals for the large metropolitan center (central cities) and periphery (suburbs) by aggregating summary counts from the tract level data for the SMAs with 1.5 million or more in population. To estimate counts for the small metropolitan center and periphery, counts for U.S. totals of SMAs and central cities by characteristic were entered, and the counts for the large metropolitan areas subtracted from those totals. Counts for the non-metropolitan center (urban places) were taken from published totals for the non-metropolitan urban population, and periphery (rural) counts were summed from non-metropolitan rural farm and rural non-farm totals. Counts were, as necessary, collapsed into comparable groupings across data sources; linear interpolation was used when calculating cut-points within categories (as when identifying medians or 20th/80th percentiles of income).

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1970

Sources:

Machine-Readable Data Files:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING, 1970 [UNITED STATES]: SUMMARY STATISTIC FILE 4C -- POPULATION [FOURTH COUNT] [Computer file]. 2nd ICPSR version. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 197?. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2001.

51 data files.

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING, 1970 [UNITED STATES]: MASTER ENUMERATION DISTRICT (MED) LISTS [Computer file]. ICPSR version. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 197?. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2001.

Procedure:

Data in this summary file provide counts of characteristics for the population in SMSA's, large cities inside SMSAs and non-SMSA areas within states. Counts for each state are identified for total, white, Negro, and "Spanish-American" populations identified as living in urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm areas. Counts for the total metropolitan population are summed across urban and rural components to the SMSA level, and classified into large and small MAs based on total population counts. Large cities were matched by FIPS code to MEDlist files to identify central cities, and summed across urban/rural components to a central city (core) summary level for each SMSA. Suburban (periphery) counts were calculated by subtracting the central city counts from total counts within each SMSA. The center and periphery counts for the large and small SMSA were summed to the national level. Non-metropolitan areas were summed across rural farm and nonfarm populations, and aggregated to the national level, as were counts for the urban non-metropolitan population. A similar process, using population counts for the Negro record iterations, was used to generate counts of African-Americans; Hispanics were identified using table 24 for the total, white, and Negro records, which reflect the 5% question on Hispanic origin or descent, rather than using the Spanish-American record iterations.

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1980

Sources:

Machine-Readable Data Files:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING, 1980 [UNITED STATES]: SUMMARY TAPE FILE 4B EXTRACT [Computer file]. 2nd ICPSR version. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 1983. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 1999.  
51 data files.

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING, 1980 [UNITED STATES]: MASTER AREA REFERENCE FILE (MARF) 2 [Computer file]. ICPSR version. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 1983. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 1999.

There are 51 files, one for each state and the District of Columbia.

Procedure:

The STF 4B data provides coverage for the total population and six racial/ethnic groups (whites, blacks, American Indian/Eskimo/Aleuts, Asian/Pacific Islanders, "other" races, and Hispanics). The geographies for which data are provided in each state file include the state, SMSA components and cities with population of 2,500+ within the state, as well as urban, rural, and rural farm components of some of these geographies. We used the urban and rural components of the state as a whole; the total city/place level summaries, and total SMSA level summaries, in combination with FIPS identifiers of central cities in SMSAs from the MARF files, to construct our 6 area types. Counts for the total metropolitan population were used to identify large and small MAs, and the central city components of those MA's were identified from MARF files and summed to the MA level. Suburban (periphery) counts were calculated by subtracting the central city counts from total counts within each SMSA. Urban and rural components outside of SMSAs of each state are directly identifiable, and were simply aggregated across states to the national level.

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1990:

Sources:

Machine-Readable Data Files:

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING, 1990 [UNITED STATES]: SUMMARY TAPE FILE 3A [STATE FILES] [Computer file]. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 1992. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 1994.

Procedure:

Creation of the population and characteristic counts for the six area types in 1990 was based upon aggregation of the summary tape file 3 counts at the tract level to the metropolitan area level to determine the size of MA, and then to the national level. Tracts boundaries may cross place boundaries, and may incorporate both urban and rural territory; tracts were assigned to central city/suburbs based upon the proportion of the tracts' total population which resided inside or outside of the central city boundaries. Similarly, non-metropolitan tracts were identified as urban or rural based upon the whether the majority of the population in the tract was urban or rural.

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2000:

Sources:

Machine-Readable Data Files:

Summary File 1, 2000: Summary File 1 contains 100-percent Census data, which is the information compiled from the questions asked of all people and about every housing unit. Population items include sex, age, race, Hispanic or Latino origin, household relationship, and group quarters occupancy. Housing items include occupancy status, vacancy status, and tenure (owner occupied or renter occupied).

Summary File 3, 2000: These files (1 per state) contain the sample data, which is the information compiled from the questions asked of a sample of all people and housing units. Population items include basic population totals, urban and rural, households and families, marital status, grandparents as caregivers, language and ability to speak English, ancestry, place of birth, citizenship status, and year of entry, migration, place of work, journey to work (commuting), school enrollment and educational attainment, veteran status, disability, employment status, industry, occupation, and class of worker, income, and poverty status. Housing items include basic housing totals, urban and rural, number of rooms, number of bedrooms, year moved into unit, household size and occupants per room, units in structure, year structure built, heating fuel, telephone service, plumbing and kitchen facilities, vehicles available, value of home, monthly rent and shelter costs.

Procedure:

Creation of the population and characteristic counts for the six area types in 2000 was based upon aggregation of the summary file 31 and summary file 3 counts at the tract level to the metropolitan area level, to determine the size of MA, and thence to the national level. Tract boundaries may cross place boundaries, and may incorporate both urban and rural territory; tracts were assigned to central city/suburbs based upon the proportion of the tracts' total population which resided inside or outside of the central city boundaries. Similarly, non-metropolitan tracts were identified as urban or rural based upon the whether the majority of the population in the tract was urban or rural.

## Appendix Tables

Prepared by Gretchen Stockmayer

Appendix Tables A: Regional Population Characteristics<sup>68</sup>

Table A. 1. Percent of National Population by Region

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Northeast	27.4	28.0	27.8	28.0	27.6	26.2	24.9	24.1	21.7	20.4	19.0
Midwest	34.7	32.2	32.3	31.4	30.7	29.4	28.8	27.8	26.0	24.0	22.9
South	32.2	32.1	31.2	30.8	31.6	31.4	30.7	30.9	33.3	34.4	35.6
West	5.6	7.7	8.7	9.7	10.1	13.0	15.6	17.1	19.1	21.2	22.5

Table A. 2. Percent of Regional Population by Ancestry<sup>69</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Europe:</u>											
Northeast	97.9	97.9	97.2	--	95.3	93.6	91.5	87.2	83.5	79.5	73.4
Midwest	97.8	97.8	97.3	--	95.9	94.3	92.8	89.7	87.5	85.9	81.4
South	66.4	69.2	71.4	--	74.1	76.0	76.1	76.2	74.2	71.8	65.8
West	91.8	91.6	88.8	--	88.9	89.2	84.4	81.3	73.6	66.8	58.3
<u>Africa:</u>											
Northeast	1.8	1.9	2.1	--	3.6	4.9	6.6	8.4	9.6	10.3	10.7
Midwest	1.9	1.8	2.3	--	3.5	5.0	6.6	7.9	9.1	9.5	9.9
South	32.7	29.7	27.0	--	23.6	21.6	20.6	18.9	18.5	18.4	18.6
West	0.5	0.7	0.9	--	1.3	2.9	3.7	4.7	5.2	5.1	4.6
<u>America:</u>											
Northeast	0.2	0.2	0.6	--	1.0	1.4	1.7	4.0	5.6	7.5	10.0
Midwest	0.3	0.3	0.4	--	0.6	0.6	0.5	2.1	2.6	3.3	5.4
South	0.8	0.9	1.6	--	2.2	2.3	3.2	4.7	6.5	8.5	12.2
West	5.6	3.1	6.5	--	8.5	6.8	8.8	10.8	16.2	20.7	25.8

<sup>68</sup> All regional data for 1900-1990 are from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS). Data for 1930 are not available. Population data for 1930 in Table A.1. are from Census 2000 Special Report "Demographic Trends in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century," <http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/censr-4.pdf>. Data for 2000 are from Census Bureau summary tape files. Regions are defined as follows:

Northeast: CT, ME, MA, NH, RI, VT, NJ, NY, PA;

Midwest: IL, IN, MI, OH, WI, IA, KS, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD;

South: DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, SC, VA, WV, AL, KY, MS, TN, AR, LA, OK, TX, DC;

West: AZ, CO, ID, MT, NV, NM, UT, WY, AK, CA, HI, OR, WA.

In 1900, Hawaii and Alaska are excluded (as they are until 1960), but the mainland territories are included.

<sup>69</sup> Categories for ancestry are based on geographic origin, but translate roughly as, before 1970, Europe = whites, Africa = blacks, America = American Indian or Alaskan native, Asia = Asian or Pacific Islander, and other. After 1970, all these refer to non-Hispanic groups and Hispanics are classified in the America origin group. In 2000, those checking more than one race are classified as "Other."

Table A. 2 (continued). Percent of Regional Population by Ancestry

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Asia:</u>											
Northeast	0.1	0.1	0.1	--	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	1.2	2.5	3.9
Midwest	0.0	0.0	0.0	--	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.7	1.2	1.8
South	0.1	0.0	0.0	--	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.6	1.2	1.9
West	2.1	3.9	3.9	--	1.2	1.1	2.5	3.0	4.8	7.3	8.2

Table A. 3. Percent of Regional Population Foreign-Born

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
Northeast	22.3	26.2	23.3	--	17.8	13.6	10.2	8.4	9.0	10.4	13.5
Midwest	15.9	15.7	13.6	--	9.1	6.1	4.4	3.5	3.6	3.9	5.5
South	2.2	2.5	2.7	--	2.1	1.7	1.7	2.5	4.0	5.9	8.6
West	20.7	21.6	19.2	--	11.8	8.5	6.8	7.1	10.7	15.3	18.6

Table A. 4. Regional Family Income Percentiles (1999\$)<sup>70</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>20th Percentile:</u>											
Northeast	--	--	--	--	--	11,538	17,718	22,763	21,947	25,595	26,207
Midwest	--	--	--	--	--	9,763	14,806	20,817	22,777	22,672	26,659
South	--	--	--	--	--	5,030	8,981	14,591	18,117	18,735	21,876
West	--	--	--	--	--	10,355	17,233	20,428	21,936	23,346	24,866
<u>Median:</u>											
Northeast	--	--	--	--	--	19,231	29,369	39,883	43,617	51,881	55,138
Midwest	--	--	--	--	--	18,639	28,398	39,105	44,489	45,006	51,771
South	--	--	--	--	--	13,314	21,602	31,323	38,064	40,208	45,722
West	--	--	--	--	--	20,414	30,340	39,105	44,287	47,717	51,763
<u>80th Percentile:</u>											
Northeast	--	--	--	--	--	30,473	46,359	62,840	70,532	88,197	98,530
Midwest	--	--	--	--	--	29,882	43,932	59,728	70,043	74,287	88,812
South	--	--	--	--	--	23,964	37,621	51,556	63,851	71,336	84,016
West	--	--	--	--	--	31,065	47,330	62,451	72,894	82,460	94,434

<sup>70</sup> Year shown is Census year of data collection, dollar figures given are for income in previous year. All figures are shown in constant 1999 dollars (deflated using CPI-U-RS inflation series). Data for 1950 to 1990 represent percentiles of family incomes sampled in the IPUMS (represented as midpoints of small intervals). Data for 2000 are linear interpolations between grouped family income category cutoff points.

Table A. 5. Percent of Regional Population by Occupation (for Employed Civilians Age 16+)<sup>71</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Farmer:</u>											
Northeast	12.6	9.7	6.9	--	4.1	2.9	1.8	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.6
Midwest	35.5	30.6	24.9	--	17.6	13.2	8.0	4.3	3.3	2.3	1.7
South	54.4	52.9	44.0	--	28.9	18.7	8.8	3.7	2.2	1.5	1.2
West	24.7	27.2	24.4	--	14.7	9.8	5.7	3.0	2.3	1.9	1.7
<u>Blue Collar:</u>											
Northeast	64.9	64.1	63.2	--	60.0	56.6	52.9	48.1	43.8	38.1	36.1
Midwest	44.2	45.9	48.1	--	51.0	50.5	51.0	50.3	47.3	43.1	41.0
South	34.5	33.4	37.8	--	47.3	49.5	52.7	51.2	47.0	42.8	40.2
West	54.5	49.0	47.6	--	49.3	48.4	47.8	44.9	41.8	38.8	37.1
<u>White Collar:</u>											
Northeast	17.7	20.9	23.7	--	28.0	30.8	33.0	34.5	37.0	39.5	40.7
Midwest	15.2	18.3	21.1	--	24.7	28.0	30.1	31.3	33.8	36.0	38.3
South	8.1	10.4	14.0	--	18.2	24.2	28.4	31.0	34.9	37.1	39.2
West	15.3	18.1	21.1	--	27.5	31.4	33.1	34.8	38.0	38.8	40.5
<u>Professional:</u>											
Northeast	4.8	5.2	6.2	--	7.9	9.6	12.4	16.4	18.5	21.8	22.5
Midwest	5.1	5.3	6.0	--	6.7	8.3	10.9	14.1	15.6	18.6	19.0
South	3.1	3.3	4.2	--	5.5	7.5	10.1	14.0	15.9	18.6	19.4
West	5.6	5.6	6.8	--	8.5	10.4	13.4	17.2	17.9	20.5	20.7

<sup>71</sup> The categories are based on the major occupation groups first used in the 1950 census:

Farmer: farmers, farm managers, and farm laborers  
Blue Collar: craftsmen; operatives; service; laborers (non-farm)  
White Collar: managers, officials, and proprietors; clerical and kindred; sales  
Professional: professional, technical, and kindred.

Table A. 6. Percent of Regional Population by Education (for Persons Age 25+)

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>High School Graduates:</u>											
Northeast	--	--	--	--	18.8	28.8	33.0	41.4	49.9	57.4	54.1
Midwest	--	--	--	--	20.8	29.7	34.9	43.9	53.3	61.8	60.6
South	--	--	--	--	16.2	21.4	28.1	35.0	45.2	56.0	55.2
West	--	--	--	--	28.4	37.6	41.3	49.0	55.3	59.9	54.2
<u>College Graduates:</u>											
Northeast	--	--	--	--	5.2	6.7	8.1	11.1	17.2	22.6	27.5
Midwest	--	--	--	--	4.3	5.7	6.8	9.7	14.7	18.2	22.9
South	--	--	--	--	4.1	5.4	7.0	9.8	15.0	18.5	22.5
West	--	--	--	--	6.3	7.8	9.5	13.2	19.3	22.4	26.2

Table A. 7. Percent of Regional Population by Age <sup>72</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Age 0-14:</u>											
Northeast	29.5	28.3	29.4	--	22.1	23.6	28.7	27.4	21.4	20.0	20.3
Midwest	33.7	30.4	30.1	--	23.8	26.0	31.5	29.4	23.3	22.3	21.4
South	40.2	38.2	36.8	--	29.8	30.2	32.9	29.3	23.4	21.9	21.3
West	29.9	27.4	28.8	--	22.8	26.4	32.0	28.8	23.1	23.0	22.6
<u>Age 18-29:</u>											
Northeast	22.5	23.2	20.6	--	20.9	18.4	13.8	17.1	20.4	18.9	15.2
Midwest	21.7	22.8	20.9	--	20.2	18.1	14.3	17.6	21.7	18.5	16.2
South	22.4	22.0	21.3	--	22.0	19.4	15.6	18.5	21.7	19.1	16.7
West	21.9	24.1	20.2	--	20.8	18.5	15.4	19.2	22.9	19.4	17.2
<u>Age 65+:</u>											
Northeast	4.9	4.9	4.9	--	7.1	8.7	9.8	10.8	12.4	14.1	13.8
Midwest	4.2	4.8	5.3	--	7.7	9.0	9.5	10.3	11.3	13.2	12.8
South	3.2	3.4	3.9	--	5.5	6.9	8.1	9.7	11.2	12.8	12.4
West	3.9	3.8	4.8	--	7.5	8.2	8.3	9.0	9.9	11.2	10.9

<sup>72</sup> Includes those with some college but no degree. In 1990, includes those with high school diploma or equivalency, regardless of years of schooling completed. Other years reflect data on years of schooling only.

Table A. 8. Percent of Regional Population by Marital Status (for Persons Age 15+)

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Never Married:</u>											
Northeast	36.9	36.5	33.0	--	32.6	23.8	21.9	25.0	28.7	29.2	29.3
Midwest	35.3	35.1	31.1	--	28.7	20.5	19.6	23.1	25.8	25.7	26.8
South	34.4	31.9	29.8	--	27.7	20.3	19.8	22.1	24.0	24.5	25.3
West	40.8	39.1	31.8	--	27.1	18.6	18.8	22.9	26.3	27.2	28.3
<u>Currently Married:</u>											
Northeast	54.3	55.0	58.4	--	58.7	65.9	67.7	63.6	57.9	55.7	55.1
Midwest	57.1	57.3	60.6	--	62.0	69.0	69.9	65.5	60.6	58.2	56.6
South	56.5	59.2	61.4	--	62.9	69.6	69.6	66.1	61.9	59.0	57.6
West	51.6	53.2	59.0	--	61.9	69.7	70.1	65.1	59.5	56.9	55.9
<u>Widowed or Divorced:</u>											
Northeast	8.9	8.5	8.6	--	8.7	10.3	10.4	11.4	13.4	15.1	15.6
Midwest	7.6	7.6	8.2	--	9.3	10.5	10.5	11.4	13.6	16.2	16.5
South	9.1	8.8	8.8	--	9.4	10.1	10.6	11.8	14.1	16.5	17.1
West	7.5	7.7	9.2	--	11.0	11.7	11.1	12.0	14.2	15.9	15.8

Appendix Tables B: Metropolitan Location Population Characteristics<sup>73</sup>

Table B. 1. Percent of National Population by Metropolitan Location

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
NMP	54.7	48.4	42.1	36.3	34.6	24.1	22.3	18.4	15.7	13.5	10.1
NMC	13.4	14.1	14.3	13.4	14.2	19.2	14.4	13.0	9.5	9.0	9.6
SMP	6.6	8.1	8.7	9.5	10.7	12.8	16.8	20.9	23.4	19.4	22.4
SMC	11.2	14.1	17.1	18.2	17.9	18.3	19.1	18.4	16.8	14.9	14.3
LMP	4.1	4.5	6.1	8.4	8.7	11.1	13.9	16.3	21.5	26.8	27.3
LMC	10.0	10.9	11.7	14.2	13.9	14.5	13.4	13.0	13.1	16.4	16.3

Table B. 2. Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Ancestry<sup>74</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Europe:</u>											
NMP	83.2	83.3	83.6	--	--	--	94.1	87.8	88.1	87.4	84.4
NMC	89.0	89.4	89.3	--	--	--	95.4	86.9	83.4	81.6	79.4
SMP	94.0	94.3	93.5	--	--	93.3	94.2	90.9	89.0	86.3	81.2
SMC	91.4	91.4	90.1	--	--	86.7	85.4	77.1	72.3	69.7	61.9
LMP	96.9	97.2	97.4	--	96.6	95.8	95.7	90.4	83.7	79.2	69.5
LMC	97.2	97.2	95.4	--	92.4	87.7	78.3	62.4	53.3	50.4	42.8
<u>Africa:</u>											
NMP	15.6	15.2	14.4	--	--	--	--	9.0	7.9	7.7	8.4
NMC	10.3	9.2	8.6	--	--	--	--	9.1	10.0	9.9	8.6
SMP	5.6	5.1	5.0	--	--	6.3	4.8	4.4	5.3	6.0	6.6
SMC	7.7	7.9	8.2	--	--	13.1	13.5	15.3	17.6	17.7	18.3
LMP	2.8	2.6	2.2	--	3.3	3.9	4.1	5.0	6.8	7.3	9.1
LMC	2.3	2.4	3.6	--	7.3	11.6	20.5	26.8	28.2	24.8	23.0

<sup>73</sup> Metropolitan location categories are as follows: NMP = Non-Metro Periphery (countryside); NMC = Non-Metro Center (towns); SMP = Small Metro Periphery (suburbs of metro areas with <1.5mm people); SMC = Small Metro Center (central cities of metro areas with <1.5mm people); LMP = Large Metro Periphery (suburbs of metro areas with >1.5mm people); LMC = Large Metro Center (central cities of metro areas with >1.5mm people). See the text for data sources and availability details.

<sup>74</sup> Categories for ancestry are based on geographic origin, but translate roughly as, before 1970, Europe = whites, Africa = blacks, America = American Indian or Alaskan native, Asia = Asian or Pacific Islander, and other. After 1970, all these refer to non-Hispanic groups and Hispanics are classified in the America origin group. In 2000, those checking more than one race are classified as "Other." Decades for which data are available for Europe but not Africa, America or Asia are due to excessive suppression of data on small groups of people at the tract-level to prevent the identification of individuals in Census data.

Table B. 2 (continued). Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Ancestry

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>America:</u>											
NMP	1.0	1.0	1.7	--	--	--	--	1.9	3.7	4.4	5.7
NMC	0.6	0.7	1.5	--	--	--	--	3.2	5.8	7.1	9.2
SMP	0.3	0.3	1.1	--	--	--	--	3.7	4.5	5.5	8.4
SMC	0.4	0.3	1.3	--	--	--	--	6.2	8.2	10.5	14.3
LMP	0.1	0.1	0.4	--	--	--	--	3.7	7.5	9.6	14.3
LMC	0.3	0.2	0.9	--	--	--	--	9.0	15.1	19.3	24.4
<u>Asia:</u>											
NMP	0.1	0.3	0.4	--	--	--	--	--	0.4	0.4	0.4
NMC	0.2	0.6	0.6	--	--	--	--	--	0.9	1.4	1.3
SMP	0.1	0.2	0.4	--	--	--	--	--	1.3	2.3	2.3
SMC	0.5	0.4	0.3	--	--	--	--	--	1.9	2.1	3.3
LMP	0.2	0.1	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	2.1	3.9	5.1
LMC	0.2	0.2	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	3.4	5.6	7.2

Table B. 3. Percent of Metropolitan Location Population Foreign-Born

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
NMP	7.1	7.0	6.0	--	--	--	1.9	1.4	1.5	1.4	2.3
NMC	13.7	13.5	10.5	--	--	--	3.1	2.4	2.9	2.9	4.1
SMP	17.8	19.3	15.6	--	--	6.0	4.6	3.9	4.0	4.0	6.7
SMC	21.9	20.9	17.7	--	--	7.4	5.3	4.7	5.4	5.5	8.9
LMP	25.3	25.7	22.2	--	16.0	11.4	6.7	6.1	8.6	10.6	14.4
LMC	33.3	36.8	31.1	--	23.7	19.3	13.7	11.6	15.4	18.6	22.9

Table B. 4. Metropolitan Location Family Income Percentiles (1999\$)<sup>75</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>20th Percentile:</u>											
NMP	--	--	--	--	--	--	7,859	13,190	16,971	17,335	20,424
NMC	--	--	--	--	--	--	12,981	16,835	18,316	17,396	20,166
SMP	--	--	--	--	--	10,644	17,325	23,176	23,784	24,657	27,692
SMC	--	--	--	--	--	10,838	15,170	18,895	19,022	18,568	20,380
LMP	--	--	--	--	--	13,680	22,199	29,335	28,488	32,137	31,873
LMC	--	--	--	--	--	12,352	16,825	19,278	16,936	18,506	19,347
<u>Median:</u>											
NMP	--	--	--	--	--	--	19,121	28,551	34,476	35,344	40,393
NMC	--	--	--	--	--	--	25,709	33,357	36,810	36,623	40,716
SMP	--	--	--	--	--	19,475	30,087	40,669	44,882	46,917	53,564
SMC	--	--	--	--	--	19,773	28,126	36,409	39,629	40,350	43,877
LMP	--	--	--	--	--	22,503	35,704	47,706	52,685	59,745	62,481
LMC	--	--	--	--	--	21,164	29,942	37,884	38,436	43,098	44,670
<u>80th Percentile:</u>											
NMP	--	--	--	--	--	--	32,947	46,429	56,602	59,820	69,051
NMC	--	--	--	--	--	--	40,223	53,579	60,369	62,640	70,107
SMP	--	--	--	--	--	30,530	45,854	65,106	70,513	76,710	92,080
SMC	--	--	--	--	--	31,565	43,850	57,488	65,805	70,020	80,005
LMP	--	--	--	--	--	35,179	54,029	79,747	82,774	97,937	108,229
LMC	--	--	--	--	--	33,764	47,291	64,143	68,051	79,415	88,129

<sup>75</sup> Year shown is census year of data collection, dollar figures given are for income in previous year. All figures are shown in constant 1999 dollars (deflated using CPI-U-RS inflation series), and are the results of linear interpolation between grouped family income category cutoff points.

Table B. 5. Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Occupation (for Employed Civilians Age 16+)<sup>76</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Farmer:</u>											
NMP	60.5	63.0	60.4	--	--	--	25.3	13.4	8.8	8.2	4.8
NMC	4.1	4.0	3.8	--	--	--	1.9	1.3	1.6	2.7	3.2
SMP	24.4	22.4	19.4	--	--	7.9	4.6	2.5	2.3	2.7	1.4
SMC	1.1	1.0	0.8	--	--	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	1.2	0.7
LMP	10.1	10.1	6.1	--	1.3	2.0	1.1	0.5	0.9	1.2	0.4
LMC	0.6	0.7	0.2	--	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.9	0.2
<u>Blue Collar:</u>											
NMP	29.9	26.1	27.6	--	--	--	48.5	54.8	49.7	50.0	49.4
NMC	68.9	66.9	64.1	--	--	--	53.7	51.4	45.3	46.0	46.7
SMP	59.3	58.7	58.6	--	--	56.5	50.8	47.7	41.1	40.5	39.1
SMC	69.1	67.2	63.5	--	--	56.0	51.5	47.9	40.2	38.9	39.3
LMP	65.6	61.6	61.8	--	61.1	54.8	46.2	41.9	34.3	33.2	33.6
LMC	68.0	65.5	62.2	--	59.2	55.4	51.2	46.1	37.9	38.3	37.2

<sup>76</sup> In some analyses underlying the text, we calculated occupational distributions as percentages of non-farm workers. Prior to 1980, data refers to employed civilians age 14+. The categories are based on the major occupation groups available for each decade as follows:

1900 - 1970:

Farmer: farmers, farm managers, and farm laborers  
 Blue Collar: craftsmen; operatives; service; laborers (non-farm)  
 White Collar: managers, officials, and proprietors; clerical and kindred; sales  
 Professional: professional, technical, and kindred.

1980 - 1990:

Farmer: farm, forestry and fishing (incl. owners and managers)  
 Blue Collar: precision production, craft and repair; operators, fabricator, laborers; service  
 White Collar: executive, administrative, managerial; administrative support incl. clerical; sales  
 Professional: professional specialty

2000:

Farmer: farm, forestry and fishing (incl. owners and managers)  
 Blue Collar: construction, extraction, maintenance; production, transport; service  
 White Collar: management, business and finance; sales and office  
 Professional: professional and related (incl. technicians)

Table B. 5 (continued). Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Occupation (for Employed Civilians Age 16+)

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>White Collar:</u>											
NMP	6.3	7.4	8.3	--	--	--	18.9	22.2	29.6	29.3	30.8
NMC	20.7	22.8	24.7	--	--	--	32.0	32.4	37.4	35.1	33.1
SMP	12.5	14.9	16.9	--	--	27.2	32.3	34.2	41.0	39.9	39.6
SMC	24.3	26.0	28.9	--	--	34.0	35.5	36.1	42.1	40.7	38.9
LMP	19.2	22.4	25.0	--	29.1	32.5	37.0	39.0	47.3	45.9	44.2
LMC	25.5	28.4	30.9	--	33.2	35.1	36.8	38.6	44.8	41.8	40.6
<u>Professional:</u>											
NMP	3.3	3.5	3.8	--	--	--	7.3	9.6	11.9	12.5	15.0
NMC	6.3	6.3	7.4	--	--	--	12.4	14.9	15.7	16.2	17.1
SMP	3.7	4.0	5.1	--	--	8.4	12.4	15.5	15.6	16.9	19.9
SMC	5.6	5.8	6.8	--	--	9.7	12.6	15.7	16.9	19.2	21.2
LMP	5.1	5.9	7.2	--	8.6	10.8	15.6	18.5	17.5	19.6	21.7
LMC	5.9	5.5	6.6	--	7.5	9.3	11.8	15.2	16.8	19.0	22.0

Table B. 6. Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Education (for Persons Age 25+)

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>High School Graduates (and Some College):</u>											
NMP	--	--	--	--	--	--	26.9	35.9	47.5	56.6	61.7
NMC	--	--	--	--	--	--	34.1	41.6	48.3	55.6	60.8
SMP	--	--	--	--	--	30.6	35.3	45.3	53.1	58.4	59.1
SMC	--	--	--	--	--	31.4	33.6	41.6	49.2	54.1	55.0
LMP	--	--	--	--	23.4	34.8	39.9	47.2	53.6	55.5	54.7
LMC	--	--	--	--	19.0	29.6	30.7	37.7	45.5	48.7	48.2
<u>College Graduates:</u>											
NMP	--	--	--	--	--	--	4.0	5.7	9.4	11.1	13.7
NMC	--	--	--	--	--	--	7.9	10.5	14.1	15.8	17.2
SMP	--	--	--	--	--	7.1	7.1	11.5	15.8	18.7	23.7
SMC	--	--	--	--	--	7.2	7.5	11.3	17.1	21.2	24.8
LMP	--	--	--	--	6.6	8.6	11.3	14.9	21.1	26.0	29.8
LMC	--	--	--	--	5.2	6.5	7.5	10.4	17.5	22.2	27.0

Table B. 7. Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Age<sup>77</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Age 0-14:</u>											
NMP	38.0	36.6	36.8	--	--	--	33.3	30.0	24.7	22.7	20.7
NMC	29.8	27.7	28.7	--	--	--	30.5	27.0	22.0	21.6	20.6
SMP	32.3	31.1	31.1	--	--	--	33.9	30.3	23.6	22.0	21.5
SMC	28.5	26.0	25.8	--	--	--	29.4	27.3	21.7	21.4	21.0
LMP	29.3	28.1	30.7	--	22.7	--	32.2	29.7	22.2	21.2	22.2
LMC	29.8	27.5	28.2	--	19.9	--	25.9	25.5	20.7	20.6	21.4
<u>Age 18-29:</u>											
NMP	21.0	20.9	19.2	--	--	--	--	15.2	18.6	15.6	13.6
NMC	23.9	24.4	21.9	--	--	--	--	19.7	23.2	19.6	17.0
SMP	20.9	21.9	19.8	--	--	--	--	17.9	20.8	17.8	14.5
SMC	25.2	26.0	23.6	--	--	--	--	20.1	25.3	22.2	20.6
LMP	22.3	22.5	19.7	--	20.6	--	--	17.2	20.9	18.4	14.7
LMC	24.0	25.5	22.8	--	21.5	--	--	19.1	23.4	21.6	19.8
<u>Age 65+:</u>											
NMP	4.2	4.5	4.9	--	--	--	9.6	11.0	12.2	14.1	13.8
NMC	4.2	4.5	5.2	--	--	--	10.3	11.7	14.3	15.6	15.6
SMP	5.1	5.0	5.5	--	--	7.1	7.1	8.1	9.9	12.0	12.8
SMC	3.4	3.6	4.2	--	--	8.3	9.2	10.4	11.6	12.6	12.3
LMP	4.9	5.2	4.8	--	6.8	7.8	7.6	7.8	9.8	11.3	11.5
LMC	3.0	3.3	3.5	--	6.1	7.8	10.4	11.3	12.2	12.1	10.9

<sup>77</sup> Decades for which data are available for the 65+ group but not others arise due to the different age groupings published in Census files from decade to decade, i.e. not all age groups are identifiable for all years at necessary levels of geography.

Table B. 8. Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Marital Status (for Persons Age 15+)<sup>78</sup>

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
<u>Never Married:</u>											
NMP	34.3	32.9	30.1	--	--	--	--	23.4	21.2	20.2	20.6
NMC	36.5	35.0	30.3	--	--	--	--	25.9	25.5	24.9	24.8
SMP	35.2	34.7	31.2	--	--	21.8	19.6	24.3	23.6	22.6	23.0
SMC	39.3	37.1	32.1	--	--	21.9	22.2	26.6	29.3	30.0	32.1
LMP	38.5	37.8	33.0	--	30.2	21.6	20.5	25.1	25.9	25.6	25.6
LMC	39.0	39.1	34.8	--	31.8	24.0	24.5	28.5	32.9	35.0	36.2
<u>Currently Married:</u>											
NMP	57.8	59.4	62.1	--	--	--	--	66.9	67.1	65.1	63.1
NMC	53.8	55.8	60.1	--	--	--	--	61.5	58.5	57.0	56.5
SMP	56.3	57.3	60.6	--	--	69.0	69.4	66.7	64.4	63.1	61.3
SMC	51.7	53.9	58.1	--	--	65.5	69.0	60.2	54.6	52.0	49.8
LMP	53.3	54.7	58.9	--	61.3	68.4	70.4	65.4	61.5	60.2	59.2
LMC	52.5	52.5	56.9	--	58.7	64.0	62.6	57.5	50.2	47.7	47.4
<u>Widowed or Divorced:</u>											
NMP	7.9	7.7	7.8	--	--	--	--	9.7	11.7	14.6	16.4
NMC	9.6	9.1	9.6	--	--	--	--	12.6	16.0	18.1	18.6
SMP	8.4	8.0	8.2	--	--	9.2	11.0	9.1	11.9	14.4	15.7
SMC	9.0	9.0	9.8	--	--	12.6	8.8	13.2	16.1	18.0	18.1
LMP	8.2	7.5	8.1	--	8.5	10.1	9.1	9.5	12.6	14.2	15.2
LMC	8.5	8.4	8.3	--	9.5	12.0	12.9	14.0	16.9	17.3	16.4

Table B. 9. Percent of Households Owning Own Homes.

	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>2000</u>
NMP	57.8	56.8	55.9	--	--	--	71.2	75.3	79.2	78.6	80.7
NMC	45.0	47.8	50.0	--	--	--	58.3	63.9	64.8	63.5	66.9
SMP	49.1	49.9	54.9	--	--	--	73.7	72.1	73.7	72.9	75.2
SMC	31.4	36.2	38.2	--	--	--	44.4	56.0	56.0	54.4	55.8
LMP	44.7	44.4	48.8	--	--	--	71.4	68.0	68.6	69.2	70.9
LMC	21.7	20.5	23.8	--	--	--	36.6	37.6	41.9	44.7	46.4

<sup>78</sup> Prior to 1980, data refers to persons age 14+.

## Appendix Tables C: Residential Segregation Analysis

Table C. 1. Theil's H by Dimension of Segregation, Level of Geography, and Year<sup>79</sup>

Year	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>ADDITIVE DECOMPOSITION</u>				<u>PROPORTIONAL DECOMPOSITION</u>					
	Tracts	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place	Tract	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place	Tract
	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within
	Total	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place
<b>ANCESTRY: African American versus Others</b>											
1960	0.631	0.037	0.050	0.077	0.035	0.431	0.059	0.080	0.122	0.056	0.684
1970	0.636	0.026	0.061	0.107	0.061	0.380	0.041	0.096	0.168	0.096	0.598
1980	0.561	0.025	0.073	0.083	0.097	0.284	0.044	0.130	0.148	0.173	0.505
1990	0.493	0.026	0.072	0.087	0.082	0.225	0.053	0.145	0.178	0.166	0.458
2000	0.429	0.033	0.067	0.074	0.082	0.173	0.078	0.156	0.172	0.191	0.403
<b>ANCESTRY: Non-Hispanic White versus Others</b>											
1960	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1970	0.512	0.013	0.066	0.088	0.047	0.299	0.024	0.128	0.172	0.092	0.584
1980	0.439	0.014	0.090	0.064	0.071	0.199	0.032	0.205	0.147	0.162	0.454
1990	0.399	0.018	0.099	0.067	0.059	0.156	0.045	0.249	0.167	0.148	0.391
2000	0.355	0.021	0.094	0.056	0.064	0.121	0.058	0.265	0.157	0.180	0.340
<b>ANCESTRY: Hispanic versus Others</b>											
1960	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1970	0.358	0.033	0.128	0.021	0.033	0.142	0.091	0.358	0.060	0.093	0.398
1980	0.376	0.049	0.164	0.016	0.042	0.105	0.131	0.437	0.042	0.112	0.278
1990	0.381	0.055	0.170	0.020	0.041	0.096	0.144	0.445	0.053	0.107	0.251
2000	0.357	0.050	0.150	0.017	0.051	0.090	0.139	0.419	0.047	0.143	0.252
<b>ANCESTRY: Foreign-Born versus Native-Born</b>											
1960	0.124	0.031	0.037	0.010	0.008	0.037	0.250	0.300	0.081	0.067	0.302
1970	0.157	0.023	0.054	0.010	0.013	0.056	0.149	0.344	0.066	0.084	0.357
1980	0.174	0.026	0.079	0.007	0.018	0.045	0.147	0.453	0.037	0.105	0.258
1990	0.215	0.036	0.103	0.009	0.020	0.048	0.167	0.477	0.040	0.095	0.222
2000	0.207	0.028	0.094	0.009	0.027	0.050	0.136	0.454	0.042	0.128	0.240
<b>CLASS: Top Quintile of Family Income versus Others</b>											
1960	0.123	0.003	0.014	0.010	0.022	0.075	0.026	0.110	0.080	0.178	0.606
1970	0.118	0.003	0.016	0.011	0.021	0.066	0.025	0.139	0.094	0.181	0.561
1980	0.128	0.002	0.020	0.010	0.032	0.065	0.017	0.155	0.074	0.248	0.505
1990	0.161	0.006	0.031	0.013	0.037	0.073	0.038	0.193	0.084	0.230	0.456
2000	0.156	0.003	0.027	0.012	0.041	0.073	0.019	0.176	0.079	0.261	0.466

<sup>79</sup> Theil's H measures residential segregation between or among groups on a scale of 1 (most segregated) to 0 (least segregated). Differences in the index greater than 0.02 are considered to represent a large population shift. See Fischer, et al., "The Geographic Levels," for details.

Table C. 1 (continued). Theil's H by Dimension of Segregation, Level of Geography, and Year

Year	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>ADDITIVE DECOMPOSITION</u>					<u>PROPORTIONAL DECOMPOSITION</u>				
	Tracts	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place	Tract	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place	Tract
	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within	within
	Total	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Place
<b>CLASS: Bottom Quintile of Family Income versus Others</b>											
1960	0.113	0.011	0.011	0.013	0.010	0.068	0.099	0.100	0.117	0.085	0.599
1970	0.110	0.007	0.012	0.017	0.012	0.063	0.066	0.105	0.152	0.107	0.570
1980	0.111	0.003	0.011	0.016	0.021	0.060	0.027	0.102	0.140	0.190	0.541
1990	0.136	0.003	0.019	0.024	0.021	0.069	0.024	0.141	0.178	0.151	0.506
2000	0.127	0.002	0.019	0.022	0.022	0.062	0.017	0.147	0.176	0.176	0.483
<b>CLASS: Homeowners versus Others</b>											
1960	0.266	0.006	0.033	0.061	0.029	0.137	0.024	0.122	0.229	0.108	0.517
1970	0.216	0.005	0.025	0.044	0.028	0.114	0.021	0.115	0.202	0.132	0.529
1980	0.210	0.005	0.029	0.028	0.040	0.108	0.023	0.140	0.134	0.190	0.514
1990	0.190	0.003	0.024	0.032	0.032	0.100	0.016	0.126	0.167	0.167	0.524
2000	0.201	0.004	0.023	0.034	0.036	0.105	0.019	0.113	0.170	0.177	0.521
<b>LIFE CYCLE: Married versus Others (of Persons Age 15+; 14+ prior to 1980)</b>											
1960	0.037	0.000	0.001	0.006	0.004	0.025	0.010	0.040	0.161	0.112	0.677
1970	0.043	0.000	0.002	0.007	0.006	0.028	0.006	0.042	0.167	0.138	0.647
1980	0.049	0.001	0.004	0.009	0.010	0.026	0.012	0.074	0.178	0.200	0.536
1990	0.060	0.000	0.005	0.015	0.009	0.031	0.008	0.079	0.247	0.152	0.514
2000	0.072	0.001	0.006	0.018	0.013	0.034	0.010	0.078	0.255	0.179	0.477
<b>LIFE CYCLE: Children 0-14 Years Old versus Others</b>											
1960	0.030	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.005	0.020	0.034	0.047	0.116	0.152	0.652
1970	0.028	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.005	0.019	0.016	0.050	0.078	0.168	0.688
1980	0.026	0.000	0.002	0.001	0.005	0.017	0.015	0.082	0.051	0.210	0.642
1990	0.024	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.004	0.016	0.026	0.102	0.045	0.186	0.642
2000	0.021	0.000	0.002	0.001	0.004	0.014	0.014	0.097	0.051	0.201	0.637
<b>LIFE CYCLE: Persons 18-29 Years Old versus Others</b>											
1960	0.019	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.013	0.032	0.073	0.057	0.167	0.671
1970	0.029	0.001	0.003	0.001	0.006	0.018	0.024	0.092	0.046	0.215	0.623
1980	0.028	0.000	0.003	0.002	0.006	0.017	0.018	0.100	0.066	0.208	0.608
1990	0.032	0.000	0.003	0.003	0.006	0.020	0.004	0.098	0.085	0.195	0.617
2000	0.054	0.000	0.005	0.007	0.011	0.031	0.009	0.086	0.126	0.196	0.582
<b>LIFE CYCLE: Seniors 65+ Years Old versus Others</b>											
1960	0.050	0.002	0.004	0.006	0.009	0.029	0.031	0.087	0.121	0.183	0.578
1970	0.064	0.001	0.007	0.007	0.013	0.036	0.021	0.102	0.107	0.210	0.561
1980	0.067	0.001	0.009	0.003	0.018	0.035	0.018	0.138	0.051	0.274	0.518
1990	0.063	0.002	0.010	0.003	0.017	0.032	0.024	0.155	0.040	0.271	0.509
2000	0.058	0.001	0.009	0.002	0.016	0.030	0.023	0.160	0.026	0.272	0.519

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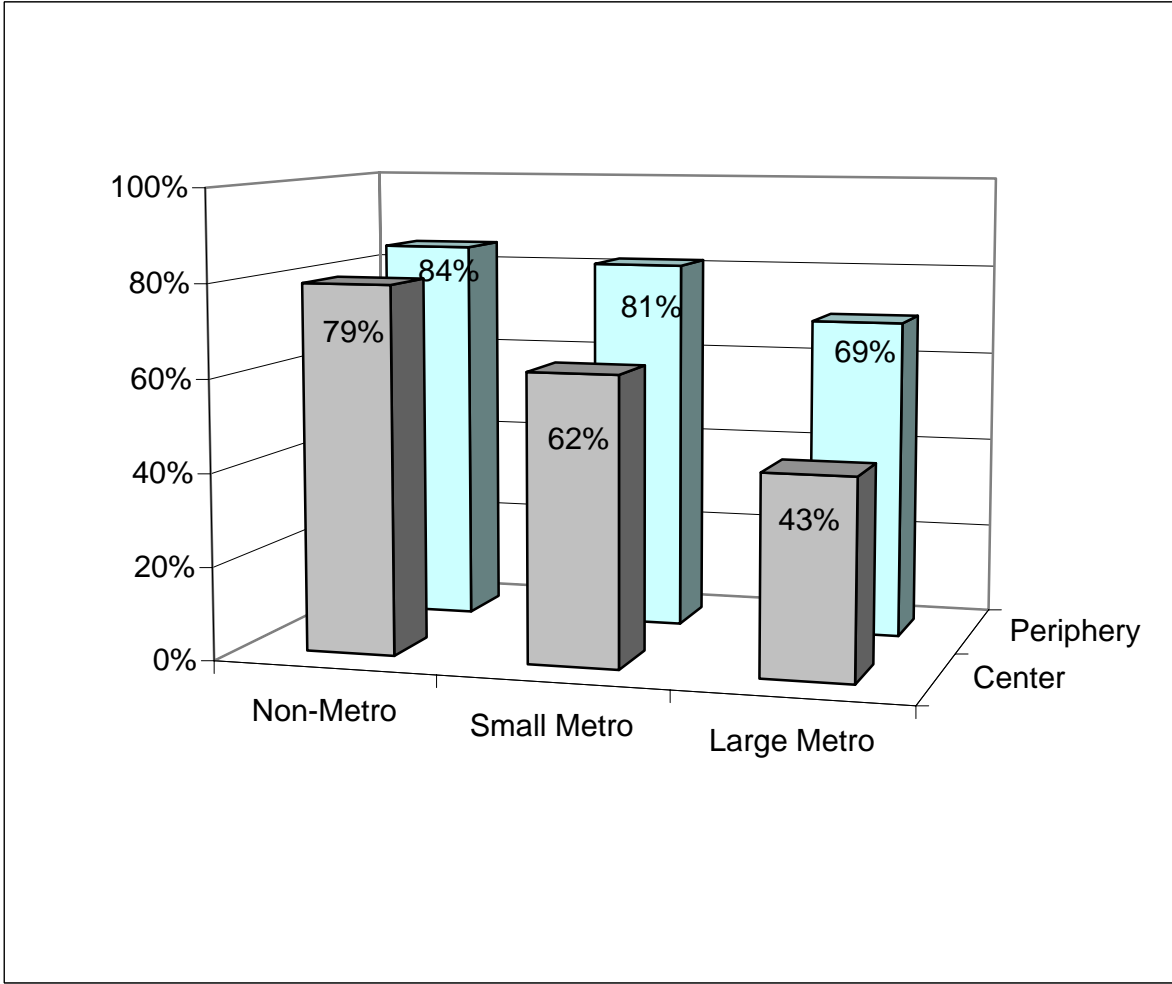
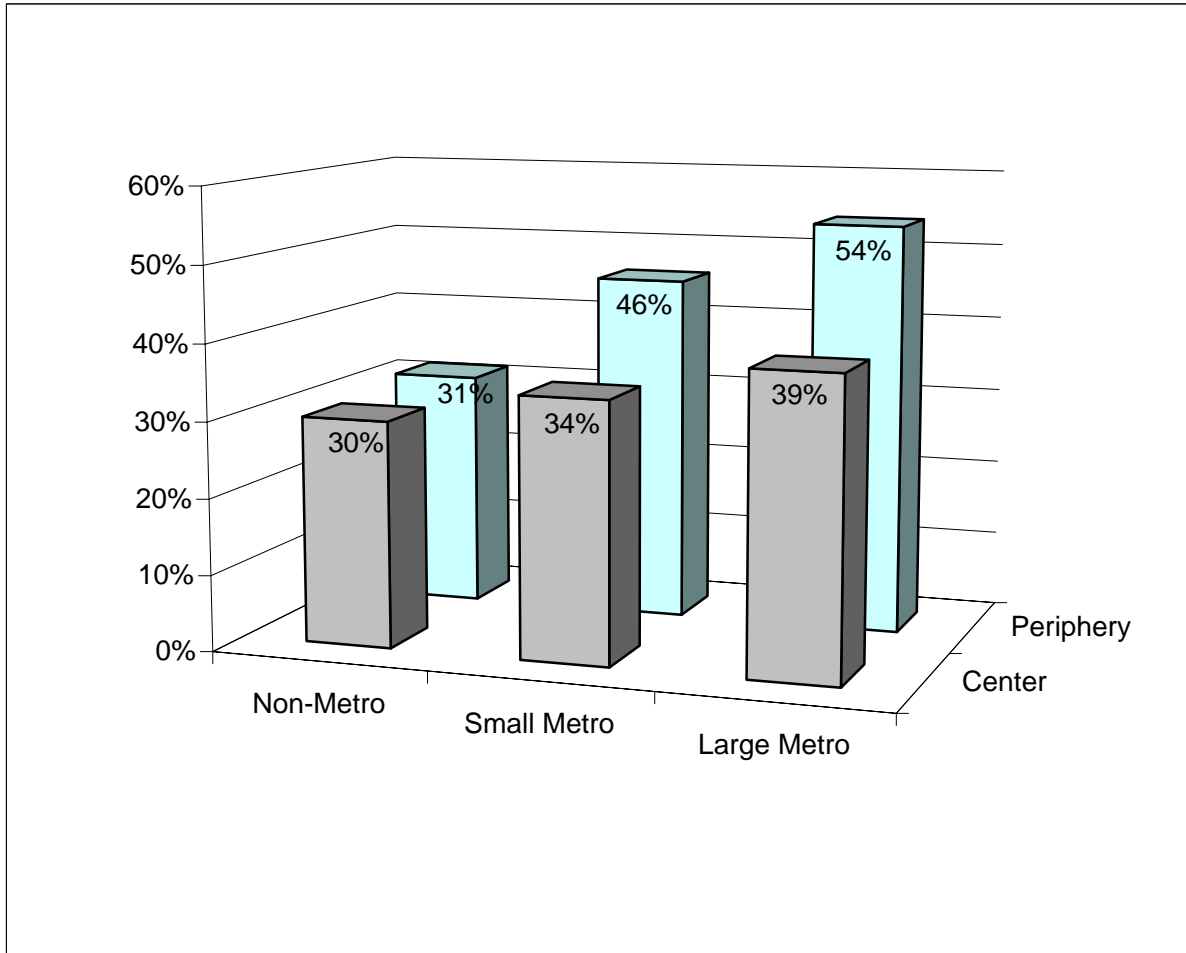


Figure 1. Percentage of Residents Who Were of European Origin, 2000.



**Figure 2. The Percentage of Households Earning over \$50,000, 2000.**

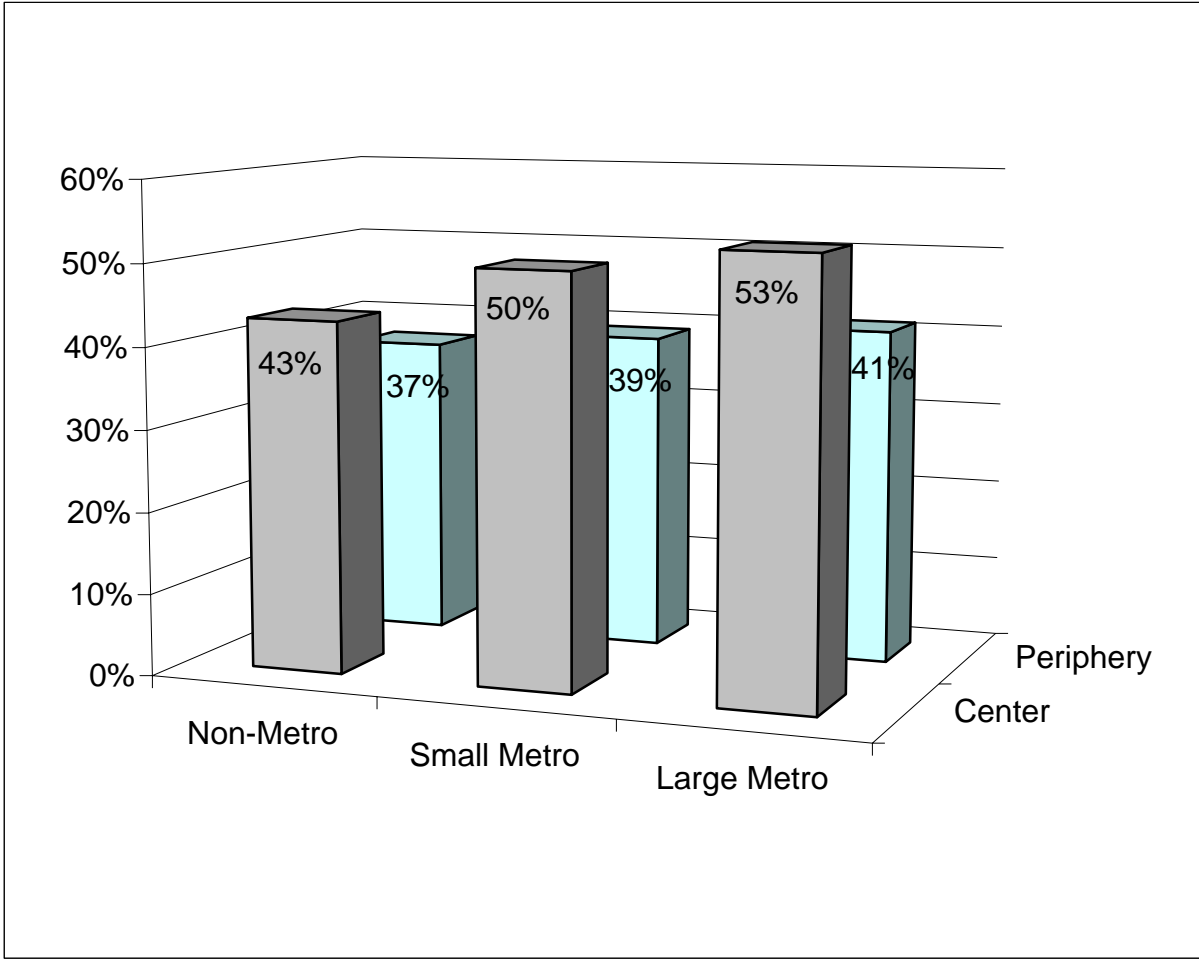
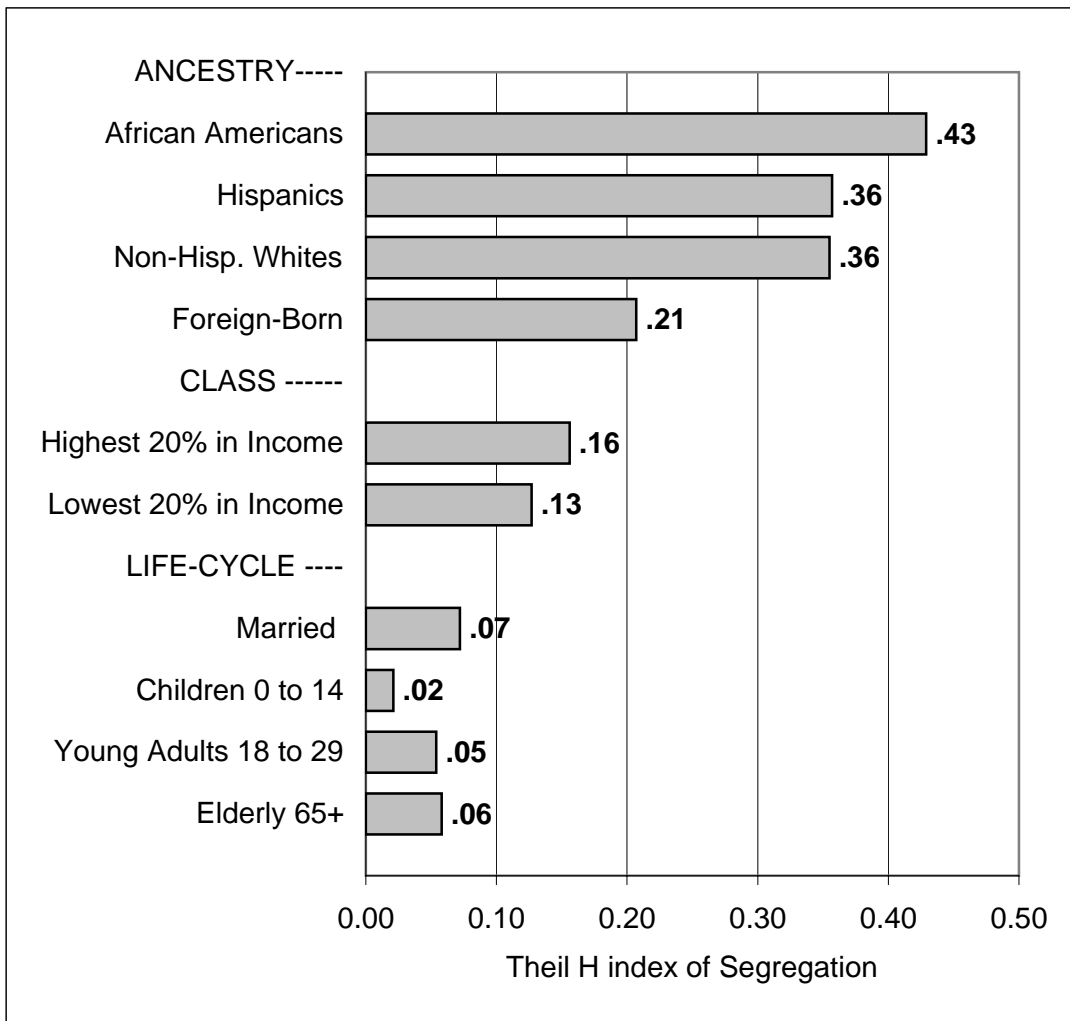
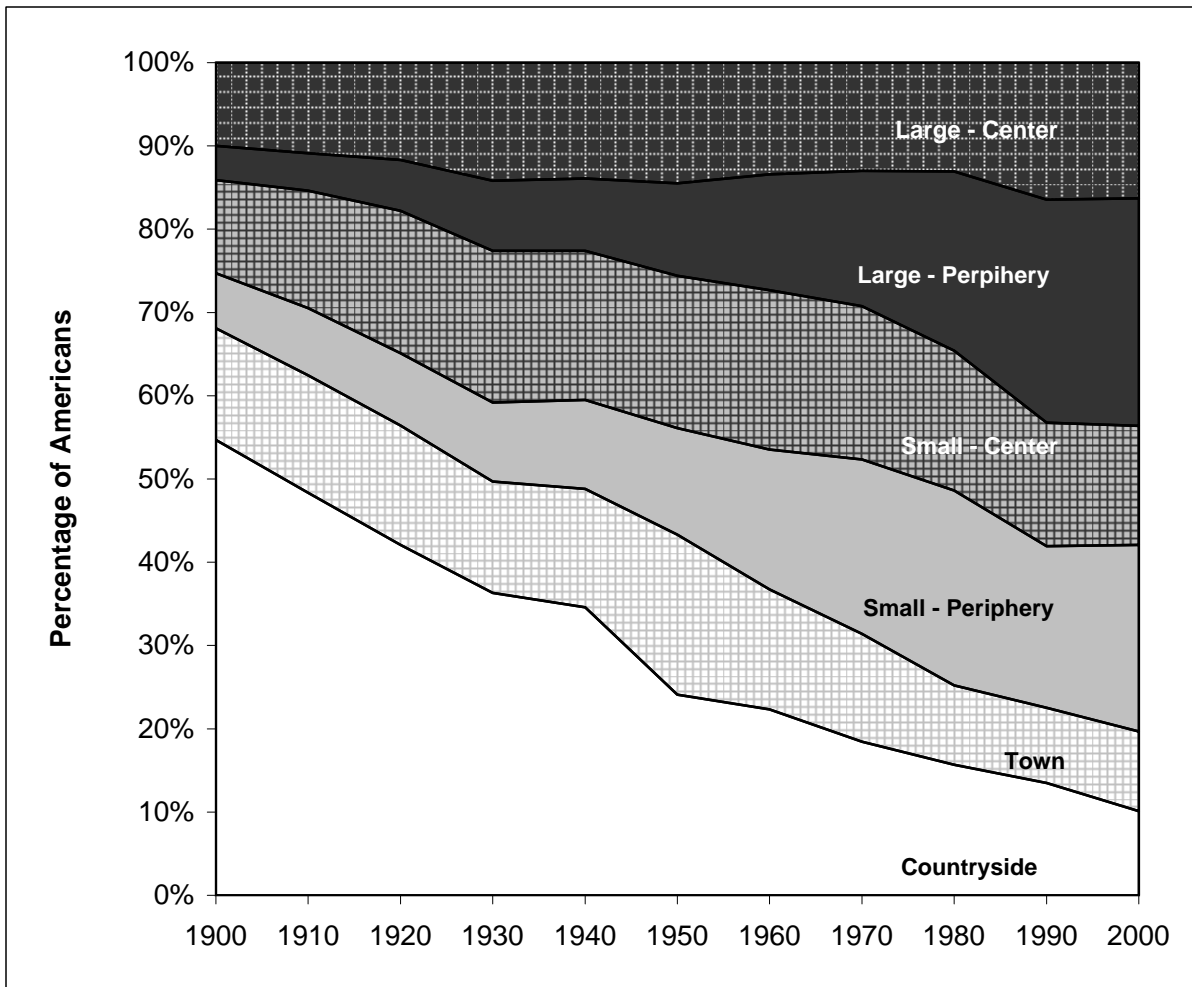


Figure 3. Percentage of residents (age 15-plus) who were unmarried, 2000



**Figure 4. Total Level of Residential Segregation in Metropolitan America by Selected Characteristics, 2000.**



**Figure 5. Distribution of the American Population by Metropolitan Area (non-, small, and large) and by Location (periphery or center), 1900-2000.**

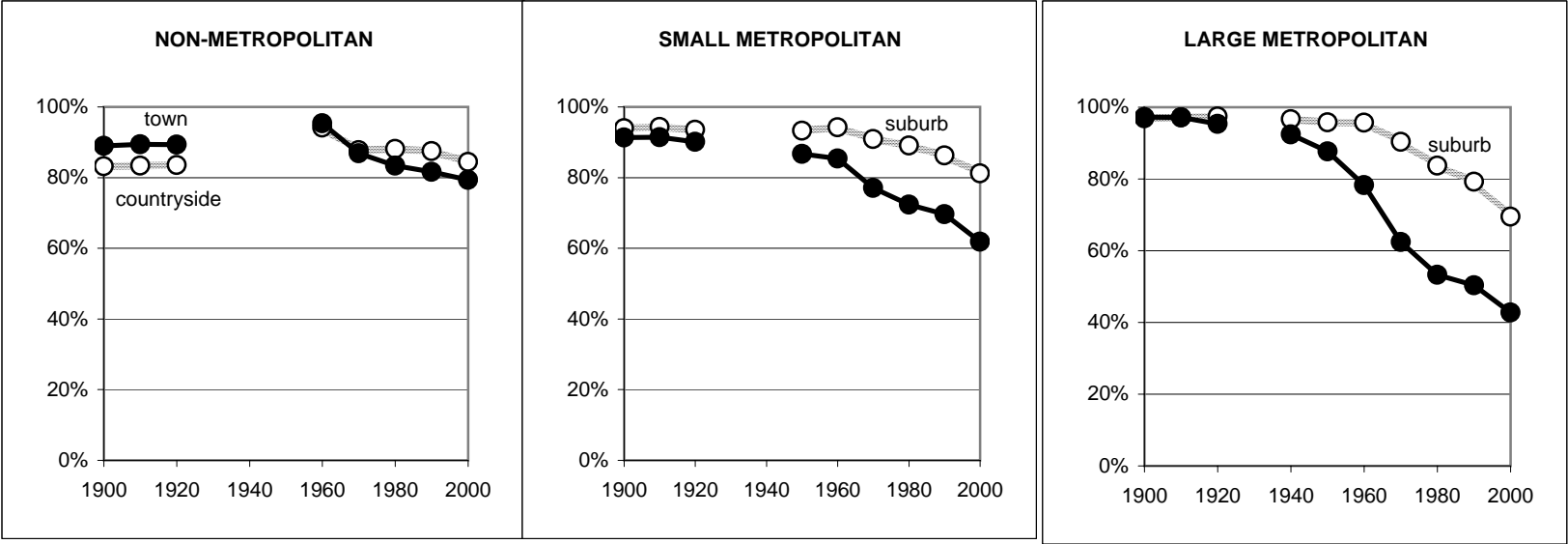


Figure 6. European Americans: The Proportion of the Resident Population that was European American, by Type of Community, 1900-2000.

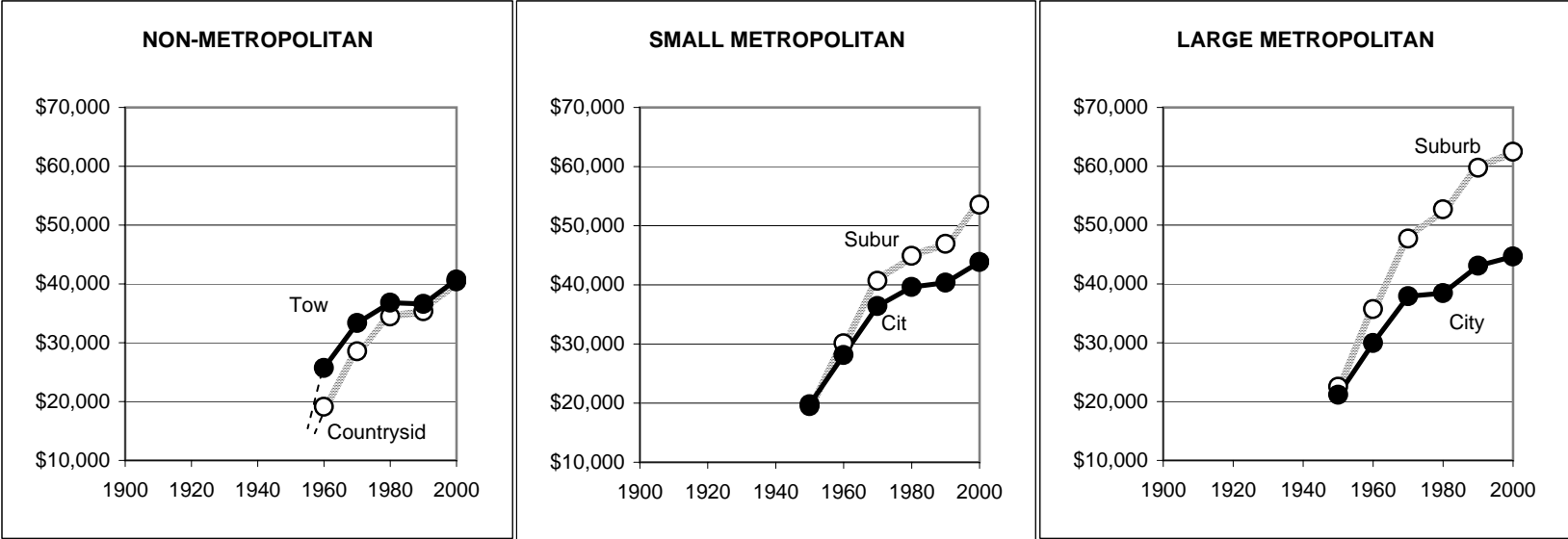


Figure 7. Median family income (adjusted for inflation) by type of community, 1950-2000.

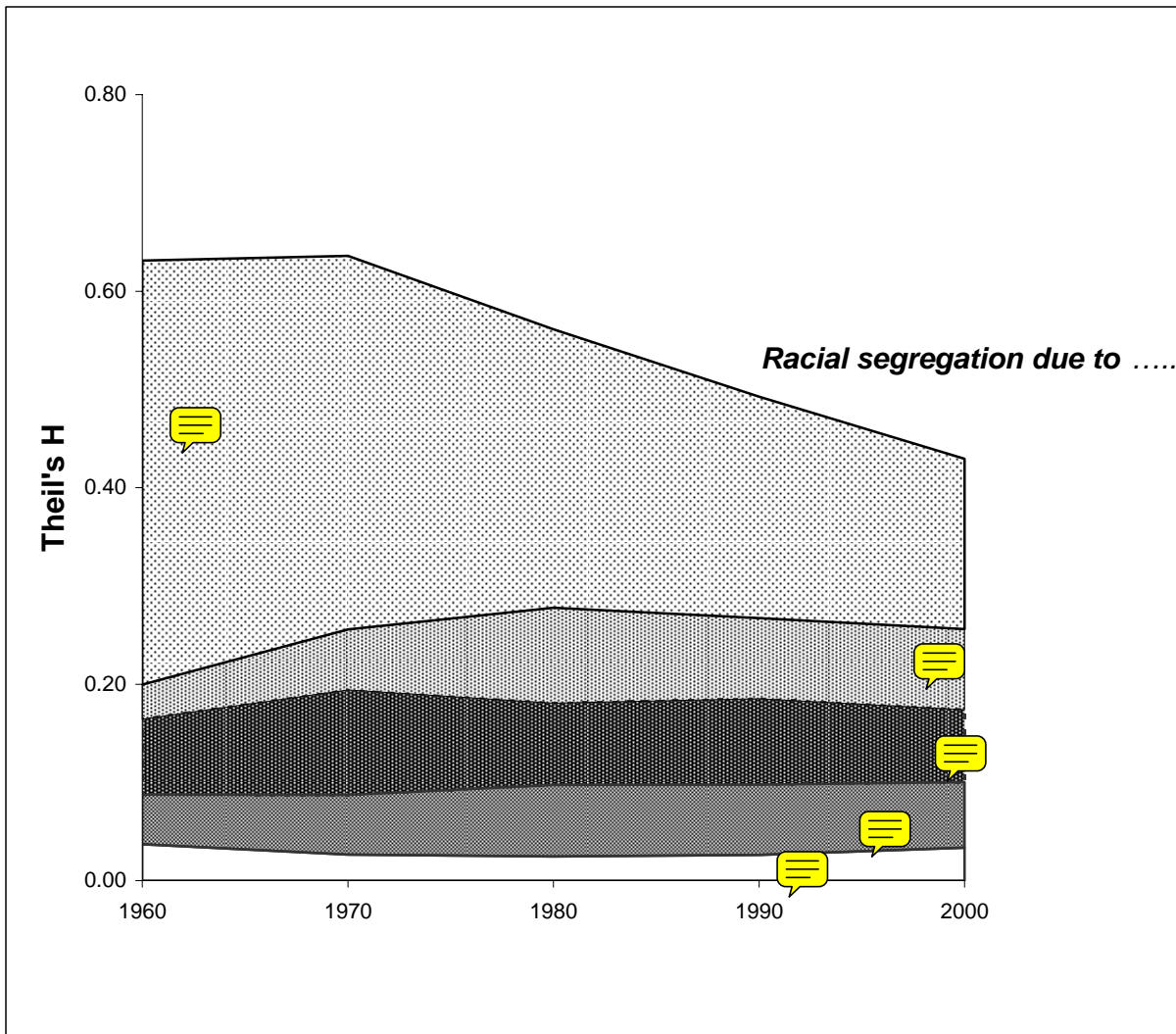


Figure 8. Black versus Nonblack Segregation, 1960 -2000 (Theil's H).

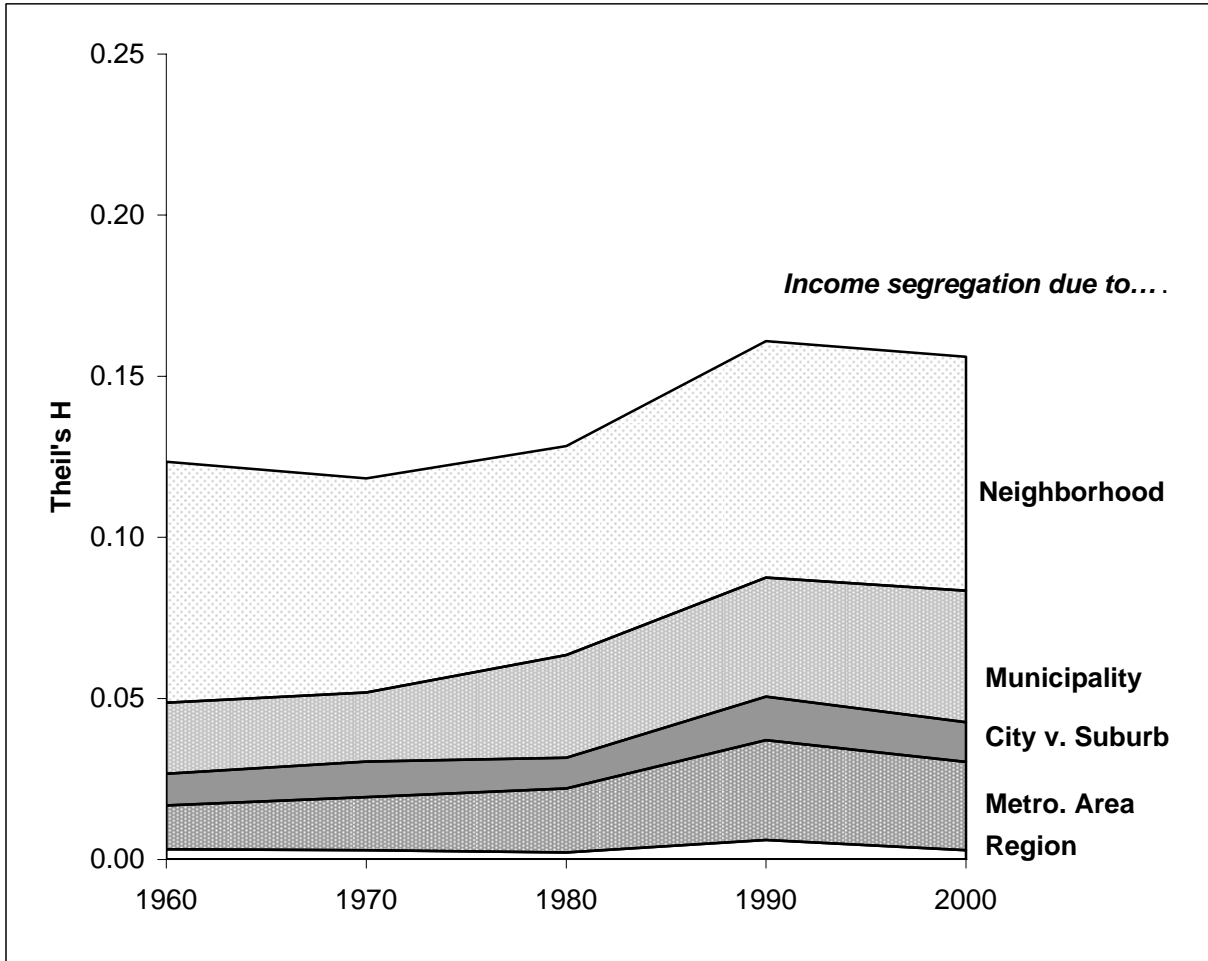


Figure 9. Segregation of Richest Quintile in Family Income from Others, 1960-2000