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*Different Places, Different People:  
The Redrawing of America’s Social Geography*<sup>1</sup>

by

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### *Different Places, Different People: The Redrawing of America's Social Geography*

In 1900, Americans were bitterly divided by region. They remembered the Civil War – it was as recent to them as the Vietnam War is to us in 2003 – and their memories were regularly refreshed by politicians “waving the bloody shirt.” Even before the War Between the States, Americans had harped on cultural differences between North and South, East and West. Many Midwesterners, for example, used the verb “to yankee” to mean to cheat. Southerners saw their region as a civilization apart; its racial composition was distinct and its economic backwardness deep. So far apart 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>

In 1900, urban and rural were also far apart. The insulation of rural Americans drew national concern; the government investigated the “Country Problem,” which it described as comprised of poverty, isolation, cultural backwardness, and an individualism that undercut efforts to cooperate. In the 1930s, the New Deal tried to bring rural Americans into the urban mainstream by, for example, subsidizing electrification and sending out home economists to educate farm wives – with mixed success. Rural Americans staked out social and cultural positions distinctly more conservative than those of city people – a contrast dramatized in the 1920s by the Scopes “Monkey Trial.”<sup>3</sup> City mouse and country mouse had strong adult parallels.

Over the course of the twentieth century, a third geographical divide widened: city versus suburb. Suburbanization was not new; affluent families had been leaving downtowns for larger and greener lots since the middle of the nineteenth century. But after World War II, 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 demographically distinct – somewhat wealthier and

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<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). 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 paper as the residual metropolitan area, including both what are official “places” and what are officially “rural” parts of metropolitan areas.

certainly much whiter. Moreover, suburban life was – or so most commentators claimed – culturally distinct: domestic, parochial, and caught up in rounds of sociability.<sup>5</sup>

How Americans sort themselves out by region, town or country, city or suburb matters in many ways. Physical distances typically correspond to economic, political, and social distances – to the availability of jobs and the wealth of a community’s tax base, for example; to different political constituencies and agendas; and to the extent to which different sorts of people come to know and perhaps cooperate with one another. A related but distinct issue is the extent to which types of people concentrate in specific places – this neighborhood versus another, this suburb versus that one. Such residential segregation by ancestry, or class, or by lifestyle has further implications. Sometimes, such 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 permit them to shelter their time, money, and attention from others in the wider community, to raise the drawbridge, to accentuate class distinctions.<sup>6</sup>

Our topics in this chapter 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 commentators described the twentieth century as one in which new technologies, from telephones and cars in the early years to planes and the Internet in the later ones, erased geographical distinctions and the importance of physical location. Did location still matter in 2000?

### *Place Matters*

In 1900, most Americans got from one place to another the old-fashioned way – on foot. And aside from the mail, most Americans’ messages also traveled by foot.<sup>7</sup> A century later, most

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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> See, for example, Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*; Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid*; Vinkatesh, *American Project*; Sanchez Jankowski.

<sup>7</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.)

American adults drove many miles a day in vehicles which could cross whole states in a few hours, about half had flown on airplanes,<sup>8</sup> some used the Internet, and all but a relative few used telephones to communicate with people around the nation and around the globe. Space seems to have been, as some observers put it, erased. One could be virtually anywhere at any time, or physically there in a short time. The implication was, as well, that place did not matter any more.

That was not the case. Where people lived still mattered in 2000. Take the evidence of residential mobility. Americans have become, not more rootless as many commentaries suggest, but more rooted. Americans of the twentieth century moved less often than those of the nineteenth century, and Americans in 2000 probably moved less often than Americans had for two centuries or more.<sup>9</sup> Families increasingly owned their homes, an investment in their communities which helped root them there. At the beginning of the century, about 49% of Americans lived in homes owned by the residents; at the end, about 69% did.<sup>10</sup> Places mattered in many practical ways. Zoning, for example, began in New York City in 1916 and became widespread by mid-century. Consequently, living on one side or the other of a zoning boundary – just as living in one or another school district, police precinct, or tax district – mattered, a more modern version of living on the right or wrong side of the tracks. Huge disparities in house prices by neighborhood, town, and even metropolitan area (in 2000, Boston area home prices, for example, were 85% higher than those in and around Providence – just 30 miles south, 140% higher than those in and around Worcester – just 30 miles west) testified to the realtors' slogan of “location, location, location.”<sup>11</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 almost half reported having at least a few friends in the neighborhood.<sup>12</sup> The spread of “NIMBY” actions

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<sup>8</sup> Gallup Poll, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/topics/airlines.asp>.

<sup>9</sup> Fischer, “Ever-More Rooted Americans.”

<sup>10</sup> Calculated from IPUMS data. These percentages exclude those living in group quarters from the base.

<sup>11</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  $H = .44$  (see discussion below on segregation for further explication). Median sales prices of existing single-family homes, 2000: *Statistical Abstract 2001*, table 943.

<sup>12</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

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>13</sup> (Readers may recall the 2000 book by Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, which reported general declines in Americans’ social activities since about 1970. Putnam argued that the 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.)

Over the century, geography remained important; it partly structured the nature of American differences. But the axes of difference shifted. The regional disparities diminished, as did the urban and rural divide, and the geography of difference shifted to city versus suburb.

*A Geographical Profile 2000*

In 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 took an extra 20 percent share of the population from the Northeast and Midwest.<sup>14</sup> In 2000, the people who lived in the four regions were relatively

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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?” 44% of respondents said a few or more from the neighborhood, fewer than from work, about the same as from church, and more than from clubs, high school, and other origins. (These data were obtained via the Lexis -Nexis Reference web site.)

<sup>13</sup> See discussion and analysis in Fischer, *America Calling*, Chapter 7.

<sup>14</sup> The specific numbers are:

	<u>1900</u>	<u>2000</u>
Northeast	27%	19%
Midwest	35	23
South	32	36
West	6	22

similar to one another. The greatest differences were by ancestral origin: Midwesterners hailed overwhelmingly from Europe (81%); the South had the highest proportion of African origin (19%); and Westerners disproportionately had roots in the Americas (26%) or in Asia (8%).<sup>15</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, in general, the South was not notably more aged than the rest of the country.<sup>16</sup> (Appendix Table A presents regional statistics for 1900 through 2000.)

Although the regional differences seem modest, notably different sorts of people lived in different sorts of particular communities – small towns and big ones, cities and suburbs. To organize these comparisons, we divided the national population into the following 2 x 3 grid:

	<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)

Metropolitan areas are usually contiguous counties with a central city – or multiple central cities in some cases, such as Minneapolis and St. Paul – of at least 50,000 people.<sup>17</sup> We separate areas with populations of less than 1.5 million from those with more in each year. “Suburbs” are all the towns and unincorporated parts of a metropolitan area outside the center city or cities. (See

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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 are until 1960), but the mainland territories are included.

<sup>15</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.

<sup>16</sup> The dozen oldest "major" counties, i.e., counties with at least 100,000 people, are all in Florida. The oldest county is Charlotte, County, Florida, north of Fort Myers on the Gulf Coast, where 34 percent of the population is 65 years or older (<http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/age.html#elderly>).

<sup>17</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.” Definition from the Census Bureau – [http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long\\_metro.htm](http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long_metro.htm).

Appendix Table B for the detailed data.)

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, while those of other origins were more common in metropolitan areas and the central cities of those places. Over 8 in 10 residents of small towns or rural places were of European origin, but closer to 4 in 10 residents of large center cities were of European origin. All three other groups – African 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 America), and Asian origin.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the foreign-born made up a bare 2% of the population in the countryside but nearly a quarter of the residents in the center cities of large metropolises.

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>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The full table is:

<u>Continent of Origin</u>	<u>Non-Metropolitan</u>		<u>Small Metropolitan</u>		<u>Large Metropolitan</u>	
	<u>Periphery</u>	<u>Center</u>	<u>Periphery</u>	<u>Center</u>	<u>Periphery</u>	<u>Center</u>
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.” Source: IPUMS.)

<sup>19</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 center-city adults were high school dropouts, the same proportion as in the countryside. It is worth noting that the proportion with exactly a high school degree declines steadily with increasing urbanization; particularly in large metro center cities, there is both a concentration of college graduates and of high school dropouts – the “dual city” many urban scholars have written about. The occupation data are employed civilians aged 16 and over. One marker of status works in reverse way for metropolitan status: home ownership rates. Of peripheral non-metropolitan (country) households, 81% were in owner-occupied homes; only 46% of large metropolitan center city households were. But clearly these differences say much more about space, congestion and housing prices than they do about social status.

In 2000, Americans of different ages and stages in the lifecycle did not favor any particular type of community, with one noteworthy exception: Unmarried adults – mainly never-married singles – concentrated in metropolitan places, particularly cities (see Figure 3). Correspondingly, so did 18 to-29 years-old (not shown).<sup>20</sup>

### *Residential Segregation*<sup>21</sup>

In these ways, Americans sorted themselves – or were sorted – into different *types* of communities according to their ancestry, social class, and, to a small extent, stage in the life cycle. 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. For example, in the twentieth century millions of African Americans moved from heavily black, rural counties in the South to overwhelmingly white cities in the North; they became, like most European Americans, city people. But African American migrants ended up separated from whites in different neighborhoods; for most the century, they became increasingly segregated by neighborhood even though they now lived in the same regions and same kinds of places as whites.<sup>22</sup>

Scholars have intensively studied the twentieth-century history of racial segregation, and, less so, the history of class segregation and segregation by age or family structure. We will review that history later on. Here, we simply describe the nature of segregation in 2000. We assess levels of segregation – and later, changes in those levels – for *metropolitan* (city and suburban) Americans<sup>23</sup> using a statistical index of segregation called Theil's *H*. Roughly speaking, the index expresses the degree to which people of a certain type, say African Americans or children, are spread out *unevenly* across a geographical area; the higher the score, the more members of the group in question tend clump together, living apart from people

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

<sup>21</sup> The segregation discussion here and below draws on Fischer et al., “Distinguishing the Geographic Levels and Social Dimensions of U.S. Metropolitan Segregation, 1960-2000.” See the article for details.

<sup>22</sup> This point is explicitly made by Massey and Hajnal, “The Changing Geographic Structure of Black-White Segregation in the United States.”

<sup>23</sup> Data on small geographical units are not consistently available outside of metropolitan areas in the earlier censuses.



different than themselves.<sup>24</sup> Figure 4 shows how segregated different kinds of Americans were in 2000.<sup>25</sup> (See Appendix Table C for the detailed data.)

We see that groups based on ancestry were heavily segregated. African Americans were most likely to live in residential clusters, with an *H* score of .43; non-Hispanic whites also clustered to a high extent, at .36. 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 are very segregated from whites.<sup>26</sup> High- and low-income Americans were somewhat segregated from those lower or higher in the income distribution. American neighborhoods are highly differentiated by the cost of buying or renting in them, but often the people living in a neighborhood of similarly-priced homes make different incomes. Some may be retired, some may have bought homes when prices were far lower, some may be subsidized by relatives, and so on. If we were able to look at wealth differences (see Chapter E), we would probably see more class segregation – in part, because homes form the biggest part of most Americans’ net worth. Americans were least segregated by age or marital status.

Theil’s *H* also permits us to assess *where* segregation happened – at what level of geography. Hispanics tended to live among other Hispanics to a great extent because they lived in particular regions of the country and particular metropolitan areas in those regions – in areas like greater San Antonio and Miami, but not in areas like greater Pittsburgh or Cincinnati. Children, on the other hand, tended to live near other children because they clustered – albeit only to a small extent – in specific neighborhoods. That is, children were not concentrated in particular regions, metropolitan areas, or towns, but in particular neighborhoods within towns. The affluent tend to be separated from other Americans both because they lived in specific, tony towns in the suburbs and because they lived in specific, tony neighborhoods. And the unmarried, as we saw earlier, were modestly segregated because they tended to congregate in the center cities of metropolitan areas rather than in the suburbs.<sup>27</sup>

In metropolitan areas of 2000, typical Americans who stepped outside their homes were likely to see neighbors very much like themselves ethnically; they’d see neighbors who varied somewhat more economically – perhaps a widower still in her home of 40 years or a young couple willing to be house poor for a few years – but generally people who lived at the same

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<sup>24</sup> Fuller discussions appear in Fischer et al, “Distinguishing the Geographic Levels;” and James and Taeuber, “Measures of Segregation.”

<sup>25</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.

<sup>26</sup> See Charles, “The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation” for an overview.

<sup>27</sup> More details are in Fischer et al., “Distinguishing the Geographic Levels.”

economic level as themselves; and, excepting perhaps unmarried adults in center cities, they'd see neighbors of varying ages and household arrangements. Later, we will consider how the geography of segregation changed over the last several decades of the twentieth century.

*Across the Century: How the Regions Came Together*

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 indeed would have known white Christmases. By 2000, that had reversed; only about two of every five children 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 were. In 2000, the regions were, as we saw, much more alike racially. The major contributor to this evening out 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 immigrant starting in the 1980s.<sup>28</sup> So did the distribution of farmers. The proportion of American workers who were farmers changed as follows:

<i>Percent Farmers</i> <sup>29</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 southerners lived in farm families, while only one in eight northeasterners did. 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. Correspondingly, the regions converged in income. In the nineteenth century, the South had fallen farther behind the North as the latter industrialized and former did not; but in the twentieth century, the South

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<sup>28</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, differences widened again to 2000, but still to a narrower range, from 5% (Midwest) to 19% (West).

<sup>29</sup> Percentage of employed civilians, aged 16 and over, who were farm owners, managers or laborers. Source: IPUMS.

approached levels of affluence typical elsewhere.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the regions became more similar in the proportion of residents who lived in urbanized areas. 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>31</sup> Over the century, then, the South became more like the rest of the nation racially, ethnically, and economically (see Chapter X).

The West was distinctive in 1900 for its family arrangements. It had a noted imbalance in the genders – almost 130 men for every 100 women (compared to ratios under 110:100 elsewhere), which was probably the major reason many Western adults in 1900 had never married and many of them lived as singles. By 1960, however, the westerners were pretty much like everyone else.<sup>32</sup>

The wide social differences among the regions in 1900 (and before) contributed to cultural differences. Academics, as well as essayists and novelists, colored in distinctive ways of life on regional maps: the chivalrous yet violent South, the individualistic and untamed West, the civic culture and Babbitry of the small-town Midwest, the commercial and foreign-accented Northeast. By the end of the century, many social differences had shrunk, although they were not fully erased.<sup>33</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. By 2000, the political map filled the states on both coasts with the Democrats' colors and middle of the country with Republicans' colors.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Kim, "Economic Integration and Convergence: U.S. Regions, 1840-1987."

<sup>31</sup> Hobbs and Stoops, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*, p. 41.

<sup>32</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 20 percent or fewer in other regions. By 1960, the rate was 13 to 15 percent across all regions.

<sup>33</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 show convergence (e.g., 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. (See also Chapter X.)

<sup>34</sup> See Brooks and Manza, *Cleavage Politics*. Note that, although Republican terrain covers many more square miles than Democratic terrain, the populations of the two zones were about equal.

Why regional differences in social makeup and in some cultural dimensions narrowed is another, large subject. Migration from one region to another certainly contributed, particularly to the increasing similarity by ancestry. But economic development, particularly in the South, seems the strongest explanation.

### *Suburbs Move Beyond the City*

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 two-way distinction, capturing the rural-to-urban dimension in three categories of metropolitan size, cross-cut by the center-periphery distinction.<sup>35</sup> Figure 5 shows the distribution of Americans across these types of places from 1900 to 2000. It reveals how Americans shifted from the open countryside toward metropolitan – especially, suburban – places. The proportion of Americans who lived in nonmetropolitan peripheral communities, the countryside, shrank from a majority of 55% to only 10%. Americans instead increasingly lived in the suburbs of small and large metropolitan areas; those two categories together grew from 11% of the population in 1900 to 50% in 2000. The proportion living in center cities of small and large metropolitan areas 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 entire 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.

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 swept overwhelmingly into metropolitan areas; many fewer newcomers became farmers. For another, individual Americans moved: country boys and girls went to the cities and, years later, their children and grandchildren decamped to the suburbs. In addition, communities themselves changed. Small towns grew into cities and their suburbs spread to engulf surrounding villages and countryside. Across the nation, farm houses that in 1900 nestled in fields and orchards by 2000 huddled besides tract homes and shopping malls. Both movements – of Americans to cities and suburbs, and of cities and suburbs

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<sup>35</sup> The metropolitan area (MA) classification for recent decades, the one used 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 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.

to Americans – marked real changes in the kinds of places Americans lived.<sup>36</sup> America had shifted from a society defined by an urban-rural divide (which we measure here more precisely as a metropolitan-nonmetropolitan divide)– in 1900, 2/3 of Americans were in countryside or in small towns – to one defined by the city-suburban distinction – in 2000, only 1/5 of Americans were outside metropolitan areas. The larger issue for us is whether this massive shift of population from the rural to suburban places 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 (towns or center cities), the open dots the periphery (countryside or suburbs).

In the early twentieth century, European-origin Americans did not concentrate in any particular kind of place; they were from 83 to 97 percent of the residents in all kinds of places. African Americans, however, concentrated in the rural areas; they were 16% of the countryside population but only 2% of the large metropolitan center city populations. 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. By 2000, less than half (43%) of people living in the center cities of large metropolises were of European origin, while they comprised 84% of the population in the countryside. From 1930 to 1970, African Americans replaced European Americans in large center cities, but after 1970, increasingly Latinos did. In short, over the twentieth century, 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. With respect to ancestry, metropolitan and nonmetropolitan grew further apart.

Researchers have pointed out how blacks, Asians, and Hispanics in the last years of the century increasingly moved to the suburbs. 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>37</sup> Consequently, Americans increasingly divided themselves between city and suburb by

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<sup>36</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>37</sup> For example, Frey, “Melting Pot Suburbs”; Berube and Foreman, “Racial Change in the Nation’s Largest Cities.” Some research suggests that Asians are not as likely to move through center cities on their way to assimilation, nor

ancestry. “Urban” and “city” became signals for ethnic and racial minorities, as in marketing phrases, “urban music” and “urban fashion.”<sup>38</sup>

*Class.* The story of where poor and rich Americans lived is also one of an emerging city-suburban gap, but, in contrast to the ancestry story, the metropolitan-nonmetropolitan gap narrowed. We can only chart family income (adjusted for inflation) precisely from the 1950 census on, as we do in Figure 7, but historical accounts suggest what the century-long trend was. At mid-century, families living outside the metropolises earned considerably less, about one-third less, than did metropolitan families.<sup>39</sup> Had we comparable data for the earlier part of the century, they would probably show an even larger rural disadvantage. 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. Over the 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 Chap. X).

At mid-century, city and suburban families reported similar incomes. Before then, city families had probably earned more than suburban ones. Most communities around major cities, except for a few high-status suburbs, were economically modest, sometimes industrial, sometimes market-gardening and -dairying, towns and villages; their residents were of modest income.<sup>40</sup> The suburban disadvantage narrowed to inconsequence by 1950 and then turned to a substantial advantage. By 2000, the suburban families’ median income was one-fourth greater than that of center-city families.<sup>41</sup>

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are as segregated from whites as blacks and Latinos are (Alba et al, “Strangers Next Door;” Massey and Denton, “Suburbanization and Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas”).

<sup>38</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 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 then they were European foreign-born. At the end of the century, the immigrants were overwhelmingly “people of color,” as were many internal migrants.

<sup>39</sup> Median family income. Although the data do not allow us to estimate median family income for nonmetropolitan towns and countryside separately in 1950, they do allow us to estimate median family income for the nonmetropolitan population as a whole: \$13,900-- over \$5,000 less than for any other category of place.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*; Binford, *The First Suburbs*.

<sup>41</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 pattern had flipped.

In sum, 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 suburban residents and center-city dwellers.<sup>42</sup>

When we examine class, not by income, but by the occupation of workers, a somewhat different story emerges about rural and urban America. We set aside farmers for this discussion of class differences. Early in the century the proportion of white collar and professional workers was roughly the same in all categories of places – from 1900 to 1920, about 30% of workers.<sup>43</sup> At the end of the century, however, about 50% of nonmetropolitan workers were in these professions, while over 60% of metropolitan workers were. The rural-urban gap had widened, not narrowed. College degrees tell a similar tale of expanding differences. In mid-century, when college graduates were rare, the difference in the proportion of B.A.s between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan America was minimal; by the end of the century, the gap had widened.<sup>44</sup>

How can we reconcile the narrowing urban-rural differences in income with widening ones in educational and occupational attainment? Answering that puzzle leads us once again to consider issues of diversity and variation rather than averages. The narrowing of the rural-urban gap in income and the widening of the city-suburban gap in income both largely reflect changes at the lower end of the income distribution: Poorer families living in rural America, those at the twentieth percentile, became substantially more affluent over the decades – mostly because good-paying industrial jobs moved to the countryside and to some extent because many of the poorest and poorest-skilled left the countryside. Early in the century the countryside was home to a varied hierarchy of large farm owners, many independent family farmers, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and farm laborers; some of the family farmers and tenants and nearly all of the sharecroppers and laborers were poor. In 2000, few rural Americans farmed independently or as tenants or sharecroppers and many farm laborers were largely foreign transients. Instead, rural Americans were employed in local manufacturing or service jobs, or commuted to such jobs in a

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<sup>42</sup> One consequence is that economic inequality, the 80:20 ratio (see chapter X), declined in rural areas, widened in metropolitan areas, and did so especially in large center cities. To be specific about the dynamics: Between 1960 and 2000, the family income of the 20<sup>th</sup>-percentile person in the countryside grew by a factor of 2.6, but for the 20<sup>th</sup>-percentile person in large center cities, by only a factor of 1.2. The incomes of 80<sup>th</sup>-percentile people rose about the same amount in all community categories, in range of 1.7 to 2.1 times. Consequently, 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. Looking only at whites (non-Hispanic whites in 2000), the pattern is similar, but the scale of the change is much more narrowed, meaning that the concentration of blacks and Latinos in the center cities explains a large part – but not all – of the increasing inequality in the centers.

<sup>43</sup> As a proportion 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.

<sup>44</sup> The patterns of occupational and educational change were similar even if we look at whites only.

distant city. Thus, the bottom of the income distribution in rural America rose appreciably, while it did not in the large center cities.

The relative impoverishment of the inner cities coincided with the increasing concentration of non-European Americans there. Which was the driver in this correlation, money or race? Did many minority people 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>45</sup> But ethnicity is not all that is involved in the widening city-suburban gap. Suburban median income came to exceed that of city residents even among whites, although not nearly as much; among *non-Hispanic* whites alone, suburbanites slightly widened their advantage over city-dwellers after mid-century.

At the same time that incomes for low-end families were moving up faster in nonmetropolitan than in metropolitan areas, opportunities at the high end – college education and high-skill jobs – expanded faster in metropolitan, especially large metropolitan, areas. In metropolitan areas, the upper class moved further ahead of the middle class.<sup>46</sup> Within the metropolitan areas, white-collar workers increasingly shifted from living in the center to living in the suburbs, reinforcing the widening city-suburb income differences.<sup>47</sup>

*Life Cycle.* Compared to the spatial rearrangement of Americans by ancestry and class, the geography of the life-cycle changed little. Early in the century, children lived disproportionately in nonmetropolitan areas, but that distinction waned 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 unmarried people in metropolitan city centers. As late as mid-century, the proportion of adults who were married was about the same in all kinds of places, but by 2000, a notable concentration of the unmarried

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<sup>45</sup> That is, differences in disposable income partly explain why minorities concentrated in centers and whites in suburbs, but racialized housing markets also partly explain why low-income people concentrated in center cities.

<sup>46</sup> The net result was that the rural lower class came closer to the rural middle class, but the metropolitan wealthy moved farther ahead of the metropolitan middling class. We calculated the 80:20 ratio of family income for each of our 2 x 3 cells for 1950 through 2000. The ratio dropped substantially in the nonmetropolitan countryside, but rose sharply after 1960 in metropolitan places, especially in the center cities. The patterns for whites only were not as large, but were similar.

<sup>47</sup> The city-to-suburb shift occurred for non-professional white-collar workers, not for professional workers. Educational differences 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 – recent graduates – tend to concentrate in the center cities. Many then move to the suburbs during the years of parenting. Also, increasingly, high school dropouts also tended to concentrate in the center cities.



in the center cities had appeared (see Figure 8), as had a smaller but noticeable concentration of 18-to-29-year-olds.<sup>48</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 accelerated in the last decades of the century.

*Conclusion.* In the twentieth century, community patterns were rearranged. In 1900 America had been a majority rural nation and by 2000 it was a plurality suburban nation. This remapping is the product of rural-to-urban migration, particularly the massive the movement of black Americans from the southern countryside and the immigration of non-Europeans to America's cities. Within urban areas, deconcentration – growth on the outskirts eclipsing growth in the centers, a process which had started in the nineteenth century – accelerated. Along with the shift of numbers came shifts in social composition. The urban dimension – stretching from open countryside to inner cities of large metropolises – became strongly associated with ethnic and racial minorities; it became color-coded. But probably the most striking evolution, and the one most distinctive of the United States, was the widening of differences 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 widening of the social distance between city and suburb. It appears in many realms: the malls and light industry of the suburbs contrast with the abandoned plants and stores in centers; American politicians cater to a suburban bloc voting; American popular media market to both an urban “ghetto” and an urban “youth culture” a suburban market. The old polarities of North and South and of city and country resonate less, while the division of city and suburb became more meaningful.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</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 double to 5 points (20% vs 15%). A similar change occurred in small metropolitan areas: (20% vs. 18% to 21% vs. 14%). Another way to see this change: 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. Research covering 1955-75 suggests that the separation was more sa matter of married couples being drawn to the suburbs than the unmarried being drawn to the cities, but that may have changed after 1970 (Frey and Kobrin, “Changing Families and Changing Mobility”).

<sup>49</sup> Scholars have identified new 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 emerge in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

*Coming Together, Drifting Apart: Trends in Segregation*<sup>50</sup>

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

*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 to 1980 – many eventually living in what Massey and Denton called “hyper-segregated” ghettos. Figure 9 shows a schematic presentation of what happened in more recent decades across all of metropolitan America. Using again Theil's *H* index, the top line of this figure shows the total level of residential segregation between blacks and nonblacks in metropolitan United States from 1960 to 2000. Had we comparable data for the earlier decades, they would show that total segregation increased substantially from 1900 to 1960.<sup>51</sup> Black segregation dropped substantially from 1970 to 2000, meaning that blacks were increasingly likely to live near nonblacks. (Segregation patterns for Hispanics changed much less.)

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 living in different metropolitan areas, the next by living in center cities versus suburbs, the next by living in different towns within the suburban rings, and the top layer shows how much segregation was neighborhood-by-neighborhood – neighborhoods defined as census tract. (Had we data for the years before 1960, they would probably show that much of the black-white segregation in the early decades was a result of regional differences and that the source of segregation shifted toward the neighborhood in the middle decades.<sup>52</sup>) The message 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 many nonblacks have avoided integration by living in relatively white suburban municipalities. It is important, by the way, to note that neighborhood integration has not necessarily been accompanied by integration of schools. John

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<sup>50</sup> This section also draws from Fischer et al, “Distinguishing the Geographic Levels...;” see the article for more details.

<sup>51</sup> Extrapolating from Massey and Denton's work.

<sup>52</sup> This is inferred from the analysis of Massey and Hajnal, “The Changing Geographic Structure of Black-White Segregation in the United States.”

Logan has shown that, even in the 1990s, when black (and Latino) segregation declined, levels of school segregation for black (and Latino) children increased. At least in part this is explained by city lines.<sup>53</sup>

How do we reconcile the trend for whites and blacks to increasingly live in separate *kinds* of places (Figure 6) with the trend for them – at least, whites and blacks – to live *closer* to one another since 1970 (Figure 9), as other scholars have also found?<sup>54</sup> One answer is the timing: The major center-city concentration of African Americans and suburban deconcentration of European Americans happened from 1950 to 1970; the major desegregation happened afterwards. That desegregation occurred in part because some blacks moved from the most segregated cities of the Northeast and Midwest to the less segregated metropolitan areas of the Sunbelt.<sup>55</sup> Still, the neighborhood-level integration was real and probably the result of black economic advances, lowering levels of prejudice, and fair-housing legislation.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, however, some whites (and other nonblacks) have used places – that is, separate municipalities -- to sustain some separation from blacks.<sup>57</sup> We'll expand on that point after we look at a similar trend with regard to class segregation.

*Segregation by Income.* Widening economic inequality since 1970 (discussed in Chapter E) was reflected on the ground, especially in the increasing concentration of the poor people into high-poverty zones. This ghettoization of poverty increased in the 1970s and 1980s. It then dissipated somewhat during the booming 1990s. Paul Jargowsky estimates that in 1990 15% of poor urban Americans (30% of poor blacks) lived in neighborhoods in which at least 2 of 5 residents were poor; in 2000, only 10% (19% of blacks) did.<sup>58</sup> Our calculations show similar but more modest trends toward, first, more and, then later, less class segregation. Between 1970 and 1990, low-income urban Americans – those in the lowest quintile of family income – became modestly more segregated from other urban Americans, but their concentration abated slightly in

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<sup>53</sup> Logan, "Choosing Segregation."

<sup>54</sup> For example, Iceland, et al., "Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980-2000;" Charles, "The Dynamics of Residential Segregation."

<sup>55</sup> For example, the black population of the Detroit, Chicago, and New York primary metropolitan statistical areas grew 22% to 34% between 1970 and 2000, but the black populations of San Diego, Phoenix, Las Vegas, and Atlanta metropolitan areas grew from 160% to over 400% in those years.

<sup>56</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 2000; the tract-level *H* dropped .13, .22, .24, and .25 respectively. See also Charles, "The Dynamics of Residential Segregation," table 1.

<sup>57</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 a negative .05 in the West).

<sup>58</sup> Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems."

the 1990s. 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 10), largely because they concentrated in certain prospering metropolitan areas and in certain suburban communities.<sup>59</sup>

Both the trends in racial and income segregation point to the growing importance of segregation by *place*, or by municipality. Affluent and white people separated themselves from others, not by keeping them out of their neighborhoods, but by retreating to suburban towns – in later years, notably to gated communities – where the local housing patterns and zoning effectively blocked others from moving in. Correspondingly, students also became more segregated between school districts increased even as they became more integrated within school districts.<sup>60</sup>

*Life Cycle.* There has been talk of the increasing segregation of the elderly – by region, in particular – and of children – notably by developers and communities that try to keep out families.<sup>61</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 our earlier finding that they tended to cluster in metropolitan center cities.<sup>62</sup>

We cannot speak precisely about segregation for the whole century, but in roughly the last half of the century, Americans were geographically separated far more by race than by class and by class much more than by life cycle. But racial separation declined substantially, while class and family status segregation rose moderately. These are further signs, noted also in other

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<sup>59</sup> Massey and M. Fischer, “The Geography of Inequality in the United States 1950-2000,” report consistent trends.

<sup>60</sup> Suburban moat-building started before the period highlighted in Figure 10, 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>61</sup> For example, a 2003 New York Times story describes efforts by suburban towns to discourage housing for families because they bring in children who then require much taxing and spending to educate (Mansnerus, “Great Haven for Families, but Don't Bring Children”).

<sup>62</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).

chapters, that the lines of division in America, while still marked heavily by race, were 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 with urbanism – people in the country tended to be poor farmers, to have large families. Most of these contrasts faded during the twentieth century. (A notable exception is ancestry; the highly urbanized places became especially and distinctively homes to “people of color.” Also, the foreign-born started concentrating in the West in the 1980s.) Over the century, Americans’ differences increasingly fell along the city-suburb dimension. City people were more often non-European, of lower social class, and unmarried. The geography of difference has been rearranged.

Our examination of metropolitan residential segregation from 1960 through 2000 casts further light on this reorientation. Segregation at the neighborhood level became relatively less important, while it became more important at the level of specific towns – center-city versus suburban ring and, notably, between towns within the suburban ring. These late-twentieth-century developments suggest that, with the aging of inner suburbs and the movement of minorities and poor people beyond the center city, the newer form of residential differentiation that is coming by specific municipality. In some cases, the enclaves are not municipalities at all but the private governments of residential associations. The old and simple polarities of America’s social geography are dissolving into finer grade political mosaics.

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Appendix A: Regional Population Characteristics<sup>63</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>64</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>63</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 A 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>64</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 AOther.®

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>65</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>65</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>66</sup>

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<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>66</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+)

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<u>High School Graduates:</u> <sup>67</sup>											
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

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<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>67</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 B: Metropolitan Location Population Characteristics<sup>68</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>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>											
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>68</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 source and availability details.

<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." 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>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>											
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>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), 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>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>											
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>71</sup> In some analyses underlying the text, we calculated occupations 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 B 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 B 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:<sup>72</sup></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

<sup>72</sup> Includes those with some college but no degree.

Table B. 7. Percent of Metropolitan Location Population by Age<sup>73</sup>

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<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>73</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>74</sup>

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<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

<sup>74</sup> Prior to 1980, data refers to persons age 14+.

Appendix C: Residential Segregation Analysis

Table C. 1. Theil's H by Dimension of Segregation, Level of Geography, and Year<sup>75</sup>

Year	TOTAL	ADDITIVE DECOMPOSITION				PROPORTIONAL DECOMPOSITION					
	Tracts	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	Tracts	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	Tracts
	within	withi	withi	withi	withi	within	withi	withi	withi	withi	withi
Total	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	Tracts
<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>75</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	TOTAL	ADDITIVE DECOMPOSITION					PROPORTIONAL DECOMPOSITION				
	Tracts	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	Tracts	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	Tracts
	within	withi	Withi	withi	withi	within	withi	withi	withi	withi	withi
Total	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	Total	Reg.	MAs	CC/S	Places	
<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+)<sup>76</sup></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

<sup>76</sup> Prior to 1980, data refers to persons age 14+.

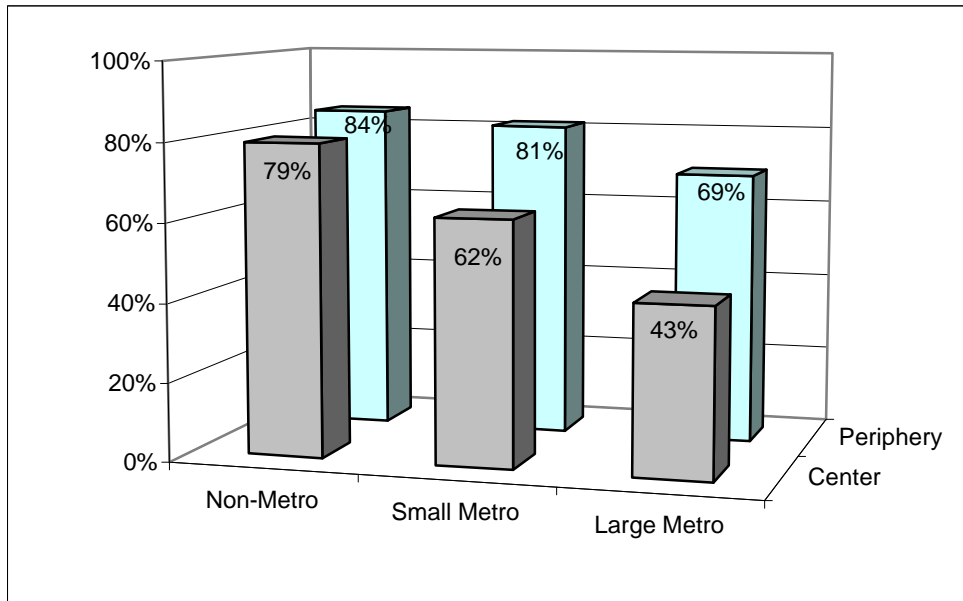


Figure 1. Percentage of Residents Who Were of European Origin, 2000.

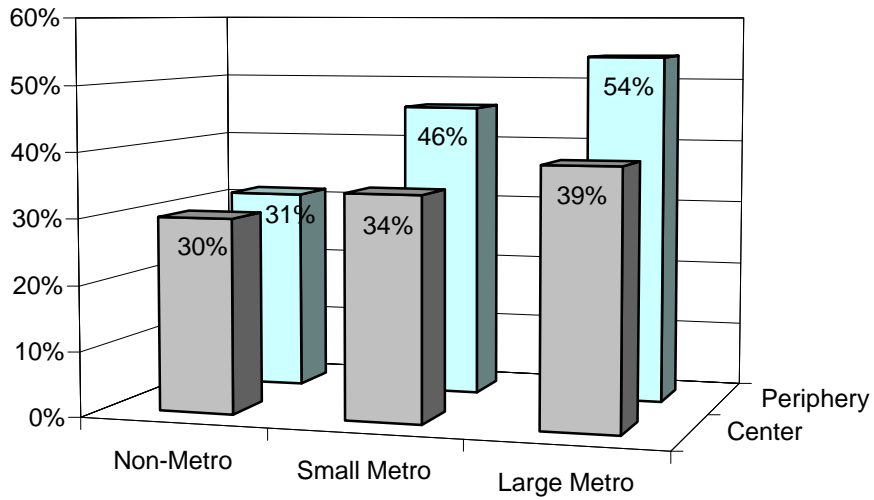


Figure 2. The percentage of households earning over \$50,000, 2000.



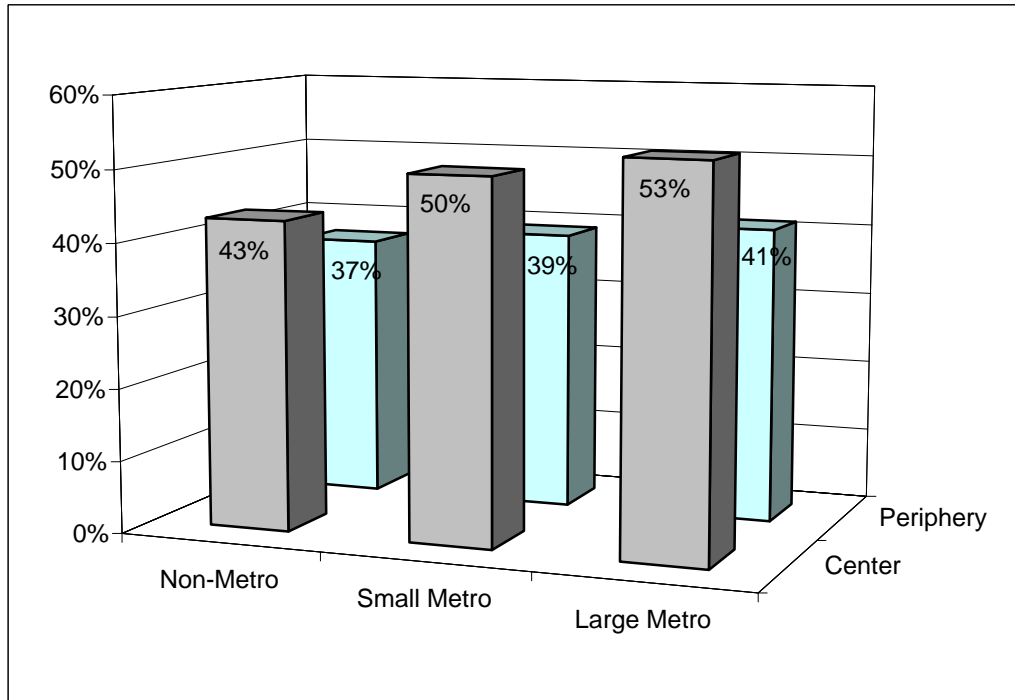


Figure 3. Percentage of residents (age 15-plus) who had never married, 2000.

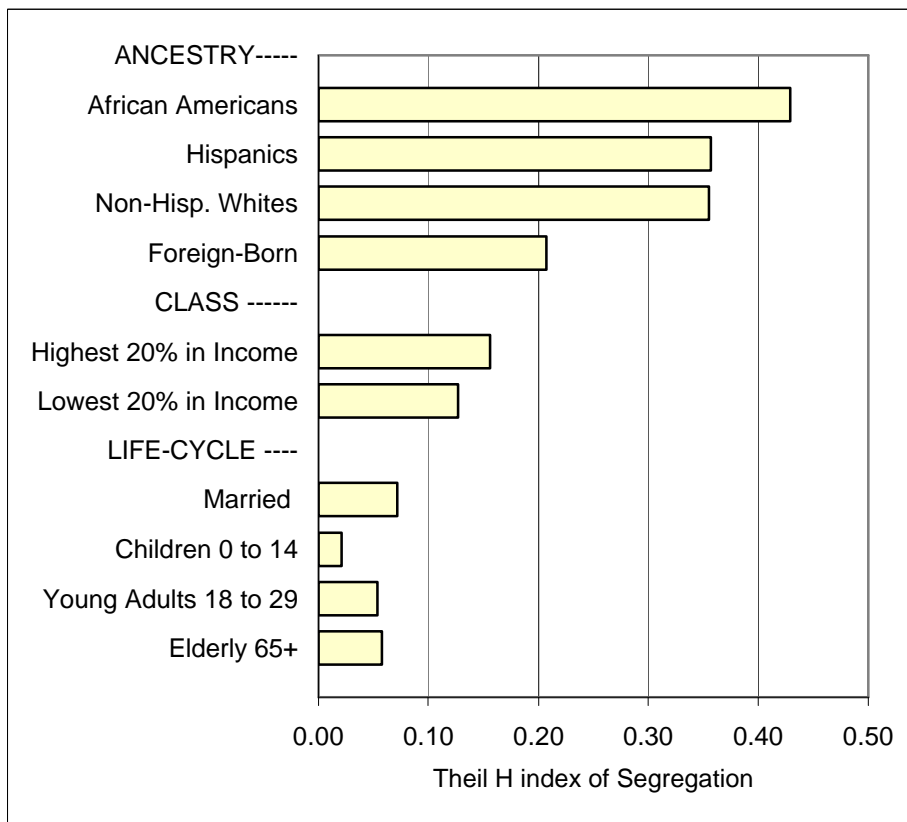


Figure 4. Total level of residential segregation in metropolitan America, by selected characteristics.

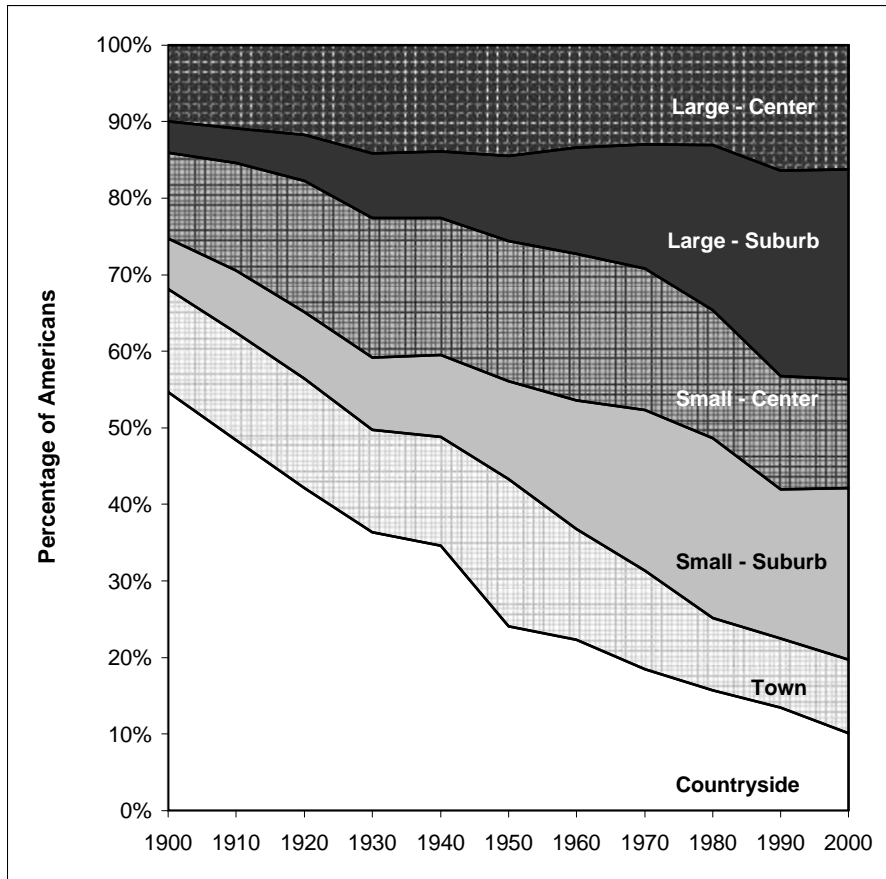


Figure 5. Distribution of the American population by metropolitan area (non-small, and large) and by location (periphery or center), 1900-2000.

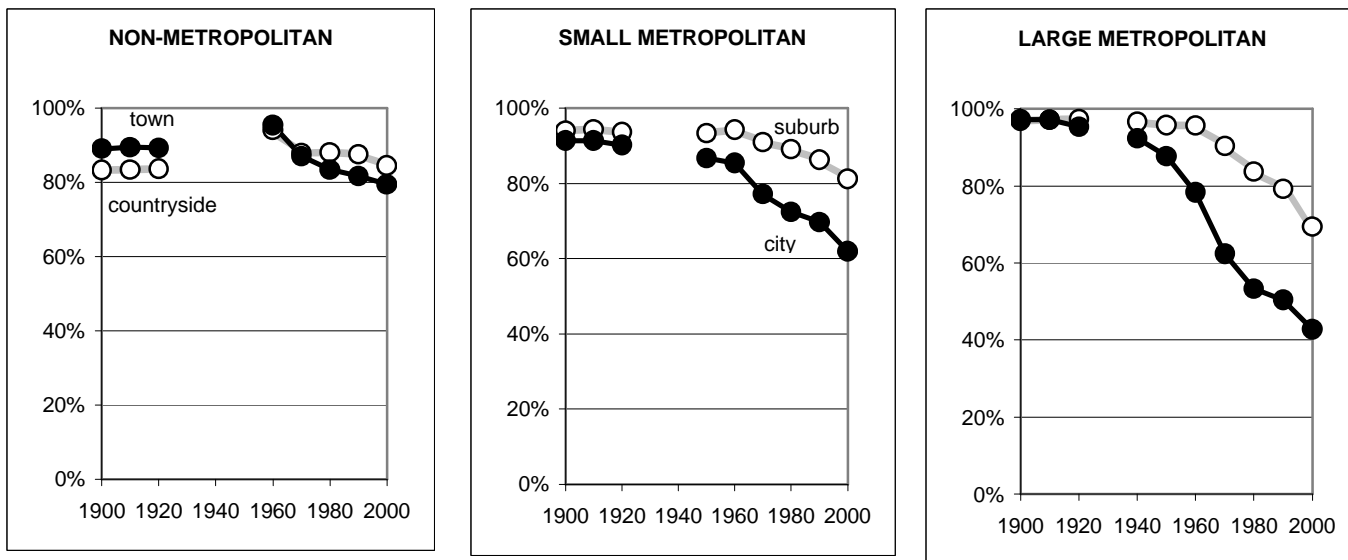


Figure 6. European Americans: The proportion of the resident population that was European American, by type of community, 1900-2000.

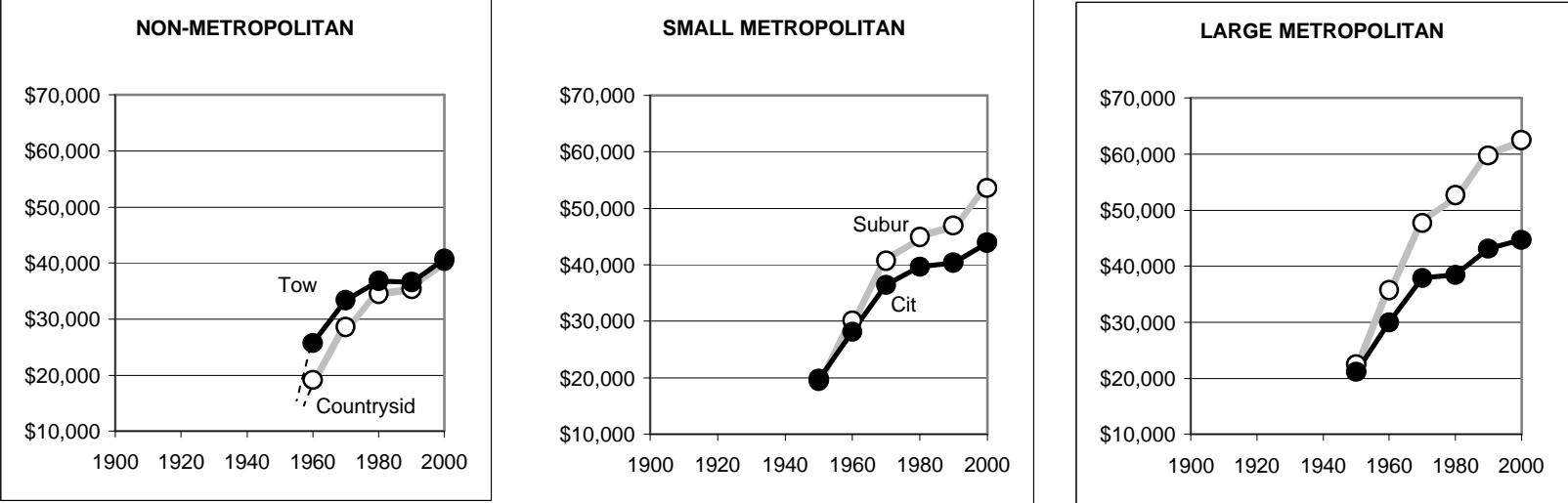


Figure 7. Median family income (adjusted for inflation) by type of community, 1950-2000.

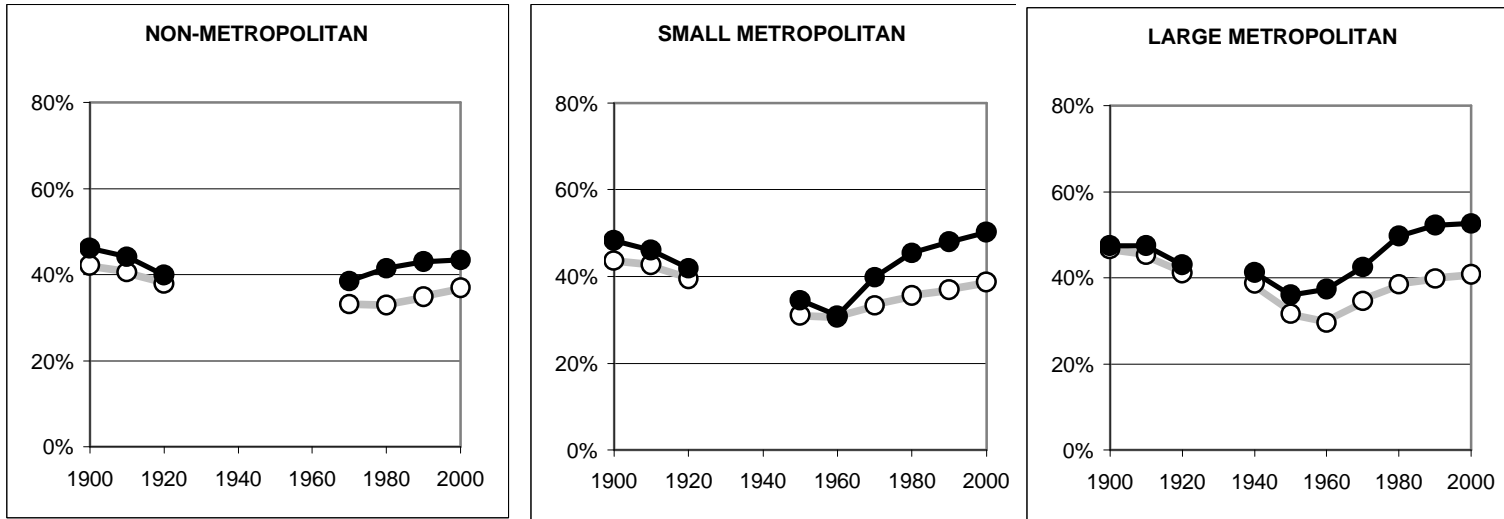


Figure 8. The Unmarried: The proportion of residents (15 and over) who were not married, by place, 1900-2000.

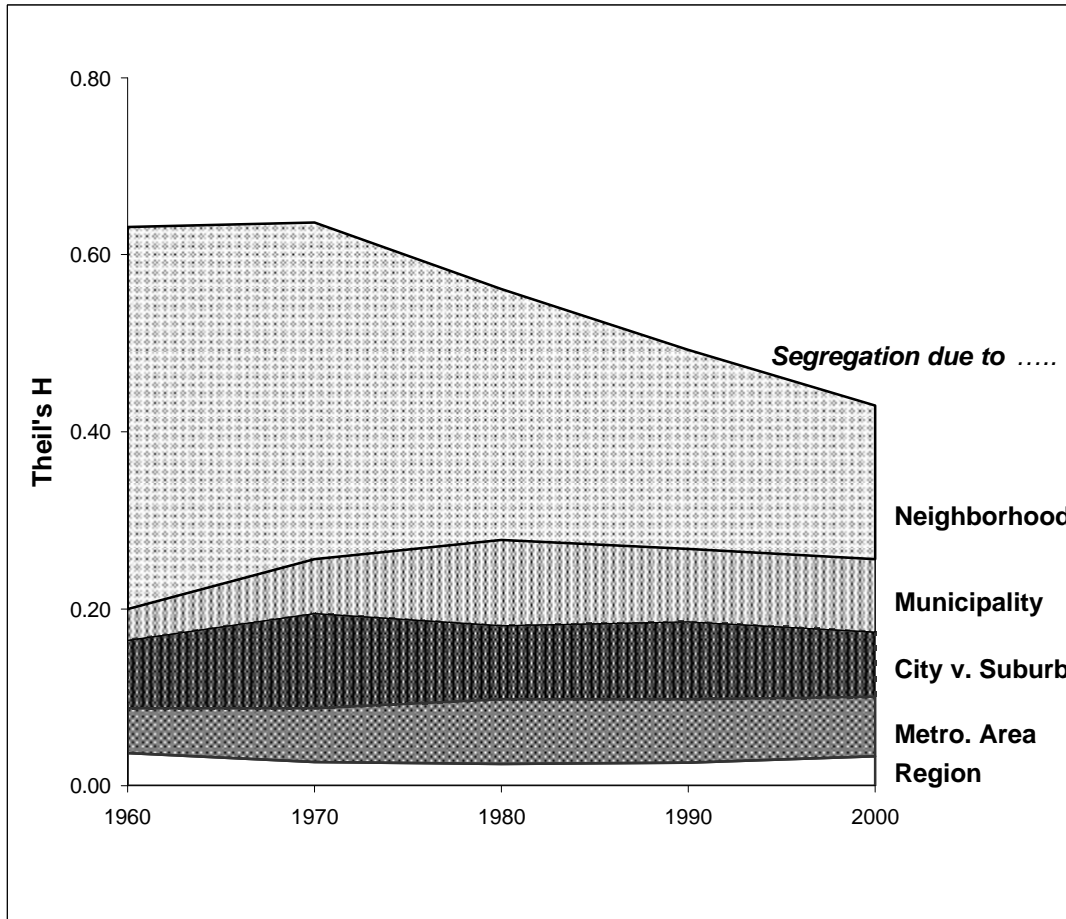


Figure 9. Black versus nonblack segregation, 1960 -2000 (Theil's H).

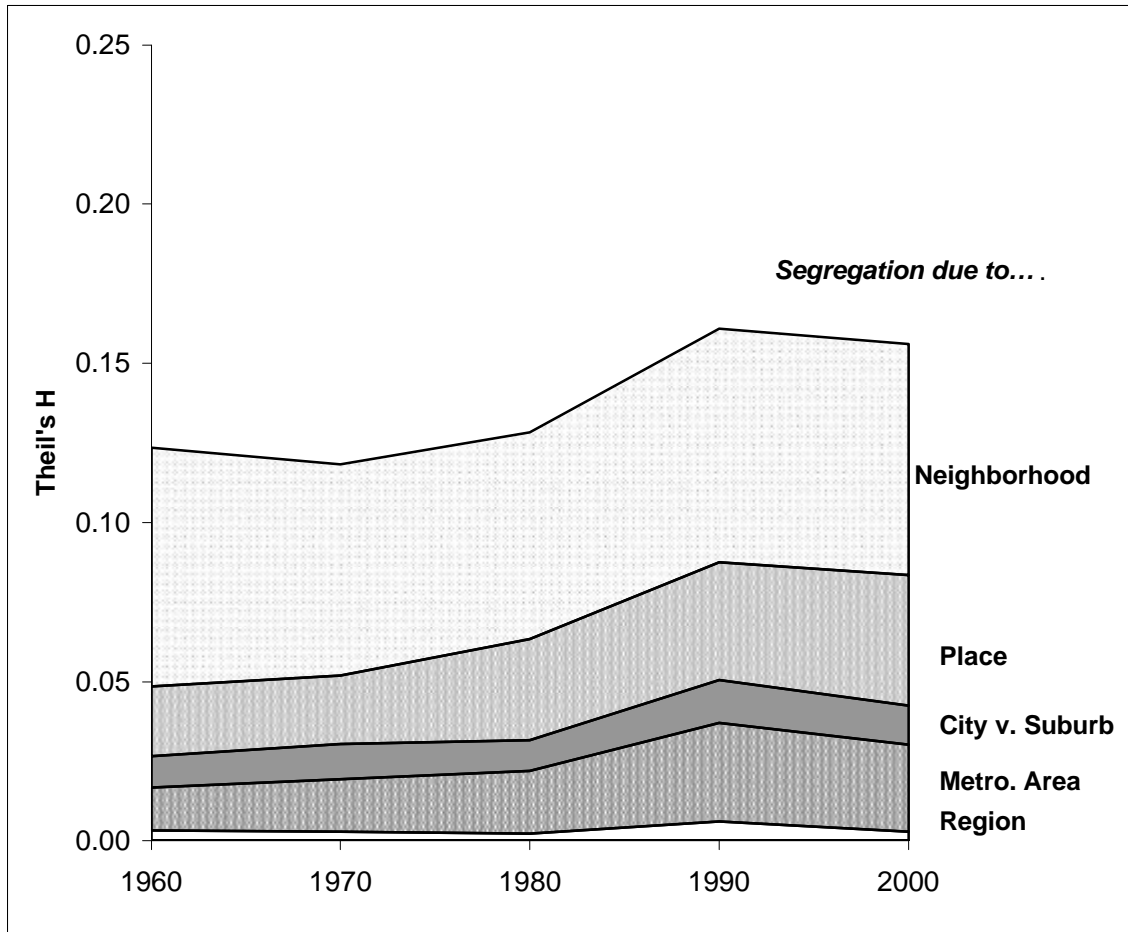


Figure 10. Segregation of richest quintile in family income from others, 1960-2000

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