Suburban Advantage: Social Reality or Lingering Ideal?

Bonnie Beeson

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Stewart Tolnay

Kyle Crowder

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Suburban Advantage: Social Reality or Lingering Ideal?

There is a lingering assumption embedded in the social sciences that suburban areas are better locations for residence compared to central city areas. This thesis tests whether the objective economic advantage of suburbs has changed over time and whether it varies geographically. Data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), for the period of 1950 to 2000 are combined with the American Community Survey data from 2005-09. The sample in this study is restricted to non-institutionalized, white heads of households between the ages 18-64 who are not currently students. The findings reveal: (1) a declining suburban advantage for a set of socioeconomic indicators over time and (2) variation in the level and trend of suburb/central city differences across geographic regions.

Bonnie Beeson

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Ph.D Stewart Tolnay

Sociology

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to each and every person, place, and thing that has kept me afloat during this difficult process. I am absolutely indebted to each and every one of you. To Stew, for truly becoming my mentor, showing me how to treat this project like any artist would: to be patient and thorough with every part of the process. To my parents who have become my backbone, my strength, and my friends. To my brother and sister, whose childhoods have been missed by my absence and have been missed dearly. To my housemates, who helped me remember how to live, and dance, and be happy wherever I am. To Dane, for becoming my partner through all of this, and for showing me I am always home on the beach. Above all, this work belongs to my Heavenly Father. He has revealed Himself to me during this journey, reminding me that I did not find Him. He found me long ago, I had just gotten lost. Sometimes we must get lost in order to be found.

INTRODUCTION

Despite growing evidence to the contrary, social scientists continue to impress images of suburbs as advantaged areas on the periphery of disadvantaged cities (Alba and logan 1991; Alba et al. 1999; Logan and Alba 1993; Logan et a. 1996; Iceland 2009; Schneider and Phelan 1993; South and Crowder 1997; Stahura 1987; Timberlake et al. 2011). Yet, many urban scholars have expressed a need to relax the city-suburb dichotomy that prevails in some urban-focused literatures because it consistently overlooks increasing racial and economic heterogeneity among suburbs (Rury and Saatcioglu 2011; Hanlon et al 2006; Lang and Simmons 2001; Mikelbank 2004). The dichotomous representation of suburban advantage versus central city disadvantage is particularly problematic if suburbs are changing in the way urban researchers suggest.

The urban demographic literature discussed here reinforces suburbs as locationally representative of key economic and social advantages, while central cities typify opposing disadvantages (Alba and Logan 1993; Crowder and South 2005; Crowder and South 2008; Massey and Denton 1987; Massey and Denton 1993; South and Crowder 1997). This blanket conception of suburban residence has not been systematically assessed despite growing evidence that suburbs have grown less socially and economically homogeneous in recent periods. The lingering identification of suburban location with socioeconomic advantage in social scientific research relies on two core assumptions: (1) suburbs have remained similarly advantaged over time; and (2) suburban patterns are uniform across different regions, and across multiple decades. This study aspires to systematically test these assumptions by comparing the socioeconomic well-being of Americans in suburbs and central cities.

The objectives of this paper are two-fold: (1) to compare socioeconomic differences between suburban and central city populations and their change over time, and (2) to compare

regional variations in socioeconomic characteristics of city and suburban populations across multiple years. I hypothesize that: (1) suburbanites' economic advantage has declined over time relative to city residents, and (2) there is regional variation in the extent of suburban economic decline over time. Together, the objectives presented in this study provide for exploration of the concept of "suburban advantage." Suburban advantage is a term that could embody a number of advantages that may accompany residence in a suburban location versus residence in a central city. Suburban residency or residency in any "advantaged" location may provide enhanced economic benefits, distinctive structures that facilitate opportunity, political leverage, or social capital. For the purpose of this paper, I restrict the concept of "suburban advantage" to key economic factors of suburban residency, measured via differences between suburban and central city residents. The primary research questions motivating this study are: Have suburban areas (compared to city cores) become more or less economically advantageous locations of residence over time? Does the degree of suburban advantage vary by region? How have regional differences in suburban advantage changed over time?

BACKGROUND & THEORY

I organize my theoretical discussion around three potential explanations for why suburban economic advantage might have diminished over time relative to central cities. These explanations include: (1) changes in the patterns of residential settlement in cities and suburbs; (2) changes in the way that suburbs develop; and (3) changes in the opportunity structures of cities and suburbs. This framework guides the discussion around various reasons for changing suburban advantage. I begin with a brief historical introduction of suburbs to situate the subsequent discussion.

Peripheral urban locations were relatively desolate areas until the twentieth century because of their inaccessibility prior to advances in transportation (Jackson 1985). Typically, those who did occupy these areas were low-income minorities (Gillham 2002). Nineteenth century advancements in communication, steam power, housing construction, and transportation transformed agricultural America into an industrial city-centered society (Gillham 2002). The consequential growth of city centers in the industrial era brought increasingly visible social and environmental disturbances, which encouraged desires for a different lifestyle, one that would be realized in the relatively undeveloped outskirts of cities.

The earliest movement of city residents to these urban peripheral areas was extraordinarily exclusive (Gillham 2002). Relocation was reserved only for a minority of the wealthiest urbanites: the select that could bear the expense of living outside of the city and commuting by train to work. These early suburbs granted those who could afford it an ideal lifestyle: a private escape in nature that was readily accessible to work life in the city. The restrictive nature of these nascent suburbs was instrumental in the symbolic framing of suburban locales as the "coveted symbol of having arrived" in American society (Gillham 2002:27). It is this initial portrayal of

suburban residence that has impressed a specific legacy of suburbs in the minds of Americans and scholars throughout the short history of suburbia.

Suburbs grew exponentially beginning in the 1950s, as key developments facilitated opportunities for more and more Americans to obtain suburban residence. The scale of suburbanization in the post-World War II era is often referred to as mass suburbanization, as droves of Americans purchased residence in these developing periphery areas. Central to this widespread expansion of suburbs are a host of events including: the Federal Highway Act of 1956, availability of affordable automobiles, lowered production costs in home construction, the GI Bill which allowed many returning WWII veterans to purchase homes, and the transformation of American economy from industry to service.

After World War II, the government invested in the expansion of the U.S. highway system, including the Federal Highway Act of 1956 which added over 41,000 miles of highways (Jackson 1985). This act gave a new meaning to the automobile, since the first cars were luxury commodities that were hardly functional means of transportation until the national highway system was constructed (Gillham 2002). The increasing affordability of cars in combination with the continued expansion of highways opened doors for mass suburbanization in the 1950s, and has continued to make suburbs increasingly attainable areas of residence over time (Jackson 1985; Gillham 2002).

The extension of roadways from cities to suburbs allowed more Americans to move outward, while providing new areas for home construction. Decreasing costs of construction as a result of technological advances in the post-war years provided for explosive development of affordable homes alongside newly accessible (by road and highway) suburban areas. William Levitt's "Levittown, Pennsylvania" cheap single-family home style, low-density, automobile-

dependent layout, and racially exclusive settlement patterns influenced the development of new suburbs, which widely adopted his structural style.

Efforts to encourage the racial and economic exclusivity of suburbs directed the demographic patterns of the early post-war suburbs (Massey and Denton 1993). The large presence of Blacks in Northern cities following the Great Migration in the preceding decades aroused racial tensions which encouraged white preference for racially exclusive outlying areas (Boustan 2010). As a consequence of racial fears in the post-war era, a number of discriminatory practices were used to shape suburban populations into a highly homogeneous population: predominantly white and middle class (see Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1987; 1993; Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004).

Government sponsored Veteran Housing Association (VHA) loans supplied returning veterans funding to purchase residence in developing suburbs, while government-promoted redlining practices preferred whites over blacks in the loan process (Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993). Other forms of discrimination occurred by means of restrictive covenants and gatekeepers, such as the residential steering of minorities out of suburbia by real-estate agents (Yinger 1995). These deliberate and exclusionary efforts of suburbanites resulted in a racially stratified settlement pattern in the early years of mass suburbanization.

Mass suburbanization of the 1950s redistributed the wealth, power, and prestige of the American population on the outskirts of the city center (Rury and Saatcioglu 2011). As a result of this, urban areas were financially depleted, and the racial division of early suburbanization left urban cores disproportionally occupied by racial and economic minorities (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987). In short, suburban rings flourished at the expense of central cities in the era immediately following World War II (Frey and Spear 1988; South and Crowder 1997). Inner-

cities became containers of higher rates of crime, poverty, and joblessness as a result of the economic withdrawal that accompanied the initial suburban boom (Wilson 1979; Massey and Denton 1993).

Changes in Patterns of Residential Settlement in Cities and Suburbs

Since the 1970s, barriers to suburbanization have attenuated over time. The unceasing development of American suburbs has been consequential for the evolution of settlement patterns for suburbs as well as cities (Garreau 1991). The 1968 Fair Housing Act removed legal barriers for minority access to homes in suburbs, although there is evidence that discriminatory practices continue in the present era for minority and low-status sectors of the population (Ross and Turner 2005; Massey and Denton 1993). As suburbs continue to expand economically into independent economic centers, as legal barriers to entry have largely dissipated, car ownership has become normative, and new populations have been welcomed by more affordable housing developments, suburbs have become less exclusive over time (Garreau 1991).

Despite enormous population growth in suburbs, there continues to be a racial pattern to suburbanization which has interested sociological and demographic researchers: whites, followed by Asians, Hispanics, and then blacks (see Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1987; 1993; Logan, Stults, and Farley 2004). Early ecologists, Park and Burgess (1921) developed their *concentric zone model* in response to early patterns of suburbanization, which were thought to reflect natural ecological forces. Examining the outward expanse of white middle class citizens into suburbs, Park and Burgess theorized that humans naturally sort themselves into certain areas or zones based on social characteristics. Location of residence was believed to correspond directly with one's position in the social hierarchy (Park and Burgess 1921, 1925).

Spatial assimilation theorists expanded Park and Burgess' theory to explain differences in neighborhood attainment and social mobility. Spatial assimilation is defined as "the process whereby a group attains residential propinquity to members of a host society" (Massey and Mullan 1984:837). Since white racial status corresponds with a privileged status in the American stratification system, and whites dominated the early stream of the restrictive suburban settlement, suburbanization came to represent a principal pathway in the assimilation process for minority groups. Purchasing residence in suburban areas was theorized to increase minorities' and immigrants' likelihood of interacting with whites. Thus, gaining access to suburban neighborhoods came to represent a key movement for minorities and immigrants toward acculturation and assimilation in American society (Alba and Logan 1991; Alba et al. 1999; Iceland 2009; Logan and Alba 1993; Logan et al. 1996; Massey and Denton 1988; Schneider and Phelan 1993; South and Crowder 1997; Stahura 1987; Timberlake et al. 2011).

Continuous expansion of suburbs to accommodate the majority of the American population transformed suburbs from their initial city-centered industrial orientation into independent economic centers requiring a variety of retail services (Garreau 1991, Jackson 1985). This transition to a service economy expanded the gates of suburbanization to new sectors of Americans in retail service: lower-stratum workers, immigrants, and historically excluded minorities (South and Crowder 1997; Timberlake, Howell, and Staight 2011). As suburbs have become increasingly available to a variety of Americans, developers have accommodated the demand of newer streams of suburban migrants by constructing affordable high rise apartment complexes. Further encouraging changing suburban dynamics have been the continuous expansion of U.S. freeways, as well as the growing ubiquity of automobiles due to increased affordability of car ownership. The changing economic composition of suburbs has enlarged

suburban boundaries to include lower income and mixed populations, likely reducing the suburban advantage held during early exclusive periods of suburbia.

Research corroborates the notion that suburbs have transformed from exclusive areas into increasingly heterogeneous sites over time (South and Crowder 1997; Timberlake, Howell, and Staight 2011). Emergent economic and racial differentiation among suburbanites has created diversity both within and across suburbs (Hanlon, Short and Vicino 2006). Researchers have identified multiple types of suburbs including: working-class suburbs (Berger 1967), gothic suburbs (Hanlon et al. 2006), poor and manufacturing suburbs (Berube and Frey 2005; Berube and Kneebone 2006; Jargowsky 2003; Madden 2003; Murphy 2003; Murphy 2007), newer exurbs (Berube, Singer, Wilson, and Frey 2006) and boomburbs (Lang and LeFurgy 2007).

Contributing to changing settlement patterns of suburbs is the changing preference for city centers. Timberlake et al. 2011 recently discovered that suburban locations are no longer the preferred destination for upwardly mobile Americans. Some researchers have referred this newer settlement pattern as "back to the city" (Florida 2002; Lloyd 2006; Farley and Frey 2006; Timberlake et al. 2011). These findings suggest that suburban advantage prior to and immediately following World War II is likely on the decline in recent decades as a result of the simultaneous entrance of lower income suburbanites with a renewed interest for city centers among upwardly mobile suburbanites. In sum, suburbs have evolved from residential areas preserved for the most affluent Americans into expansive areas that house an increasingly assorted set of Americans.

Regional particularities in suburban advantage and decline are likely, given the differential rate of population growth in suburban areas across the nation. Older suburbs are primarily located in Northern and Eastern regions of America, and historically, these suburbs were settled

by the initial and most exclusive suburban populations. Over time, these suburbs have experienced more significant deterioration in infrastructure compared to newer built and more recently settled suburbs in southern and Western regions (Jackson 1985). Researchers have found "inner" and "first-tier" suburbs have are those suburban sites in greatest decline, and these areas are primarily located in older Rustbelt and Midwestern suburbs. Such suburbs have also disproportionally been re-settled by lower income populations amid growing opportunity in service industry occupations (Hanlon et al. 2006). These sorts of regional differences may provide key insight for understanding changing economic differences between city residents and suburbanites.

Changes in the Way Suburbs Develop

Two major changes have occurred in the development of suburbs since the 1950s: (1) metropolitan growth; and (2) annexation. These countervailing forces have been consequential for growth in suburbs as well as cities. Metropolitan growth refers to the outward incorporation of areas that are typically poorer and more rural areas. Metropolitan growth has led to the redefinition of some suburban borders to include newer and lower income areas (Jackson 1985; Lang and LeFurgy 2007). In this way, suburbs have grown not only because they have attracted mobile populations, but also, because they expanded their borders to include less mobile populations. On the other hand, annexation has been an instrument primarily used by cities to expand the border of central cities to include wealthier suburban populations.

These two tools for suburban and urban developments have regional implications since they have been used unevenly across the urban and suburban landscape (Hanlon et al. 2006). Annexation in particular has been a more common development pattern in Southern and Western areas and much less so in other regions. Temporal distinctions in these forms of suburban

development, particularly the divergent use of annexation complicates regional predictions of suburban advantage and/or disadvantage. Nevertheless, these countervailing development forces underscore the importance of examining regional dissimilarities in the economic status of suburban and city residents.

Changes in the Opportunity Structures of Cities and Suburbs

In the past, suburban advantage may have been a result of stronger educational and employment opportunities in the suburbs, which enhanced the levels of attainment of individuals who were raised and/or lived in the suburbs. Over time, and as barriers to suburban residence have increasingly dissolved over time, so too has the exclusive privilege of suburban membership (Garreau 1991). The decline of suburban exclusivity has changed the opportunity structures of cities and suburbs, likely hindering the structures that once contributed to the earlier levels of suburban advantage. The entrance of a variety of individuals from divergent racial, economic, and citizenship statuses has dampened the ability for suburbanites to hoard privilege in the way that was possible when suburban membership was far more exclusive (Rury and Saatcioglu 2011).

Suburbanites during the early and exclusive years, predominately the most privileged white Americans, were able to localize and channel their economic and racial privileges by separating themselves from lower status city residents. They accomplished this structure by employing deliberate actions and by hoarding opportunities through restrictive social networks to locationally restrict the benefits associated with early suburban residence: privacy, low-crime, well-funded schools, prestigious occupations, educational and employment opportunities. Cities, in turn, suffered; residents bore the costs of the early opportunity hoarding of suburbanites. The remnant concentration of blacks and low-income minorities, unable to move because of lack of

means and/or discriminatory actions, experienced "deleterious consequences" associated with concentrated poverty (Massey and Denton 1993: 118).

There is evidence that suburbanites continue to hoard some opportunities compared with urbanites, although research suggests this has declined significantly between 1940 and 1980 (Rury and Saatcioglu 2011). Rury and Saatcioglu (2011) contend that the diminishing educational advantage among suburbanites is a result of the decentralization of opportunity hoarding as suburbs have progressed from exclusionary to inclusionary areas. The increased diversification among suburbs may have important repercussions for the opportunity structures of suburbanites compared to central city residents beyond educational opportunities, but also for job prospects, medical care, and other socioeconomic factors. Even though suburban advantage may be on the decline regionally it is probable that certain suburban areas continue to concentrate beneficial resources within regions.

DATA, VARIABLES, AND METHOD

Data

This study is a comparative analysis of central cities and suburbs. Data for this study come from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) for 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 and a combined sample from the American Community Survey (ACS) for the years 2005-09. My analyses are restricted to the period following World War Two (1950-2009) because this era experienced the expansion of suburbs as a result of the migration and residential mobility patterns of middle class whites and blacks, annexation, and suburban development. Using data for these years, I investigate how individuals living in suburban households compare to residents of central city households in terms of a number of socioeconomic characteristics. This provides an opportunity to test whether suburban individuals are more advantaged compared with those living in the central city. It further allows me to trace the relative advantage of suburban residence over time. For all years, the sample is restricted to native-born non-Hispanic white heads of households between the ages of 18 and 64, who are not enrolled in school or institutionalized, and are residing in a metropolitan area. I restrict my sample to white household heads to isolate the influence of locational differences in level of advantage, eliminating any confounding influence of racial differences in suburban settlement patterns. I chose whites because they are the earliest group to suburbanize and are associated with early patterns of suburban advantage. I make no gender restrictions in my sample of white heads of households, so both male- and female-headed households are present in this study. Given the gender wage gap between men and women, combined with increasing presence of female-headed households, and the possibility that female-headed households are more likely to reside

in one location over another, I include sex as a control variable in every model in order to hold constant any potential gender differences.

Variables

Dependent Variables. For this analysis, I focus on individual level characteristics in order to home in on whether living in a suburb compared to central city residence is correlated with any economic advantage. I concentrate on four dependent variables that are routinely used in research to indicate socioeconomic standing: educational attainment, employment status, personal income, and occupational status (based on Hauser score). These variables are measured in the following way for every year for which they are available in the IPUMS and American Community Survey data:

- Educational attainment measures respondent's highest level of completed education, with a range of N/A or no schooling to 5+ years of college.
- Employment status indicates whether or not the respondent was involved in the paid labor force at the time of enumeration. This variable is coded as 1=employed and 0=unemployed and/or not in the labor force.
- Total personal income describes the individual personal income or losses during the previous year before taxes. Amounts are adjusted for inflation at 1970 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculator.
- Occupational status is measured using the Hauser and Warren Socioeconomic Index (SEI) which assigns a score for occupational prestige. It is a four-digit numeric number with a range of 00.00 to 99.99.

Estimations for personal income, and employment status included a square term for age to account for the possibility of a non-linear relationship between these variables with age.

Independent Variables.

There are four key predictor variables in this study:

- ***Suburb*** is a dichotomous variable which identifies whether the household head lived in a metropolitan suburb or in a metropolitan central city at the time of enumeration. It makes use of the census definition of metropolitan areas, and suburb is the residual area that lies within the metropolitan area (based on census definition) but outside of the central city (according to the census).
- ***Age*** refers to the head of household's age at time of enumeration. Age is restricted to 16 to 64.
- ***Male*** refers to the gender of the head of the household. This is a dichotomous variable coded as: 1=male 0=female.
- Region is a series of dummy variables representing the four census-defined regions of ***North***, ***East***, and ***West***, with South being the reference.

The inclusion of these control variables provides an opportunity to assess the extent to which differences in the socioeconomic characteristics of suburban and central city residents reflects compositional differences in age, sex, or region of residence for the households heads included in my analyses.

Method

The analytic strategy of this study comprises three sections. The first section provides a historical framing of American population dynamics in the post-war era. In this section I trace the residential distribution of the U.S. population following World War II. Non-metropolitan areas are included at this stage of the analysis to provide a more inclusive portrait of the

population changes that occurred after the war, although the focal analysis will be restricted to household heads residing in metropolitans areas (and the suburban-central city differences therein). I also include an examination of the changing population dynamics of the U.S. population by suburban and urban residence. The second section estimates differences between suburban and central city residence on the four dependent variables of interest. This section provides an evolutionary examination of the relative socioeconomic well-being of suburban and central city populations from 1950 through 2005-09. These analyses make use of either ordinary least squares regression or binary logistic regression estimation, based on the measurement metric of the dependent variable. Each model includes controls for age, gender, and the region of residence for household heads. The third section is an extension of the regression models presented in the second section and is designed to see whether the differences between suburbs and central cities, and their changes over time, varied by region. These models will use ordinary least squares regression and binary logistic regression, and include the same controls as the preceding models. This section allows the socioeconomic differences of suburban and central city heads to vary across regions by including multiplicative interaction terms for suburban versus central city residence and region. The primary objective of this section is spatially motivated by recognition of the possibility that the suburban advantage or suburban disadvantage may be intrinsically linked with the regional location of the suburb.

RESULTS

Part I: Descriptive Analysis

I begin with a basic introduction to the population shifts in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas for the years of interest. Table 1 presents the distribution of the US population (of non-Hispanic white, heads of households, non-students between the ages of 18 and 64) by residence type and region. At the onset of the decades in this observation (1950), non-metropolitan areas were home to a plurality of the American population. Central cities were the second most populated area, housing a third of the population. Suburbs were relatively under-populated with just over a one-fifth of the population. By 1960 there is a substantial reversal in trends, when for the first time more Americans lived in metropolitan suburban locations than either central cities or rural areas. This trend continues across the remaining decades, with central cities and non-metropolitan areas both losing large proportions of their populations to expanding suburban areas. Suburbs grew significantly from 1950 to 1960, and again from 1990 to 2000. By 2005-09, it appears suburban populations were declining modestly and non-metropolitan rural locations were growing.

Table 1 also presents regional variation in population trends. According to these data, there is regional stability in population over time. At the onset, Northern and Southern areas are the most highly populated regions, with proportionately fewer residents in the Eastern and the Western regions. Over time, Northern regions shrank, while Southern and Western regions grew substantially over the given period. A closer examination of the distribution of the city and suburban residential status by region in Table 2 reveals a general increase in suburban residence over time. In the North and the South, a minority of the population lived in a suburb between 1950 and 1970. In 1950, only 37% of Southerners and 40% of Northerners lived in a suburb.

From 1970 onward, both regions experience steady growth in their suburban populations. By 2005-09, 78% of Northerners lived in a suburb, while 74% of Southerners did. The East and the West have had comparatively larger portions of their populations living in a suburb across all decades. In 1950, 52% of Easterners and Westerners lived in a suburb. By 2005-09, 81% of Easterners and 73% of Westerners resided in a suburb. Compared to all other regions, southerners experienced the greatest growth in the suburban population over time.

Part II: Longitudinal Analysis

Table 3-6 present the results from the regression analyses that were designed to reveal changes over time in the relative advantage/disadvantage of residing in suburban areas (versus central cities). It is important to recognize that only residents of metropolitan areas are included in these analyses. Residents of non-metropolitan areas have been dropped from further consideration. Each table presents the results for a different dependent variable. The predictor of greatest interest is a dummy variable ("Suburb") that is coded "1" for residents of suburbs and "0" for residents of central cities. Each model also includes variables for age, gender, and region of residence in an effort to control for possible compositional differences between suburbs and central cities that might also be related to the dependent variable.

Looking first at levels of educational attainment, Table 3 reveals that suburbanites held an educational advantage compared to central city residents for only two of the seven decades of study. During the earlier decades (1960-1970) suburban residents were more educated than those in central cities, but this educational advantage disappeared after 1970 (see Figure 1). The figures presented below summarize the key information from the tables; specifically they reveal the magnitude of any suburban advantages or disadvantages. Positive values in these figures represent suburban advantages, while negative values reveal suburban disadvantages. The

statistical significance of these values is reported in the corresponding tables. Since 1980, central city residents have actually been more educationally advanced compared to suburban residents, and this educational gap has widened over time. The suburban educational disadvantage is significant at the $p<.05$ level across all decades after 1970.

While suburbanites have lagged recently in terms of educational advantage, they have maintained a modest edge over urbanites in levels of employment (see Table 4). The suburban employment advantage grew over the period between 1950 ($\beta=0.007$, $p > .05$) and 2000 ($\beta=0.022$, $p < .05$) when it peaked. The employment advantage for suburbanites is positive and significant for all years with the exception of 1950. However, this employment advantage for suburban residents declined substantially between 2000 and 2005-09 ($\beta=0.002$, $p < .05$) (see Figure 2). This drop may be a result of changes in the survey questionnaire beginning with the 2008 American Community Survey, and should be considered with caution. While the coefficients are significant ($p<.05$) for all years in this model, except for 1950, the magnitude of suburban advantage in employment participation is modest.

From 1960 through 1990 suburban heads of households earned significantly more than their counterparts in central cities (See Table 5). However, similar to the educational differential, the initial suburban advantage tapers off during the most recent decades (i.e., 2000 and after). Relative suburban earnings peaked around 1960, when suburbanites earned on average an additional $755 per year compared to city worker (see Figure 3). By 2005-09, heads of households living in suburbs earned $380 less per year, on average, than their urban counterparts (see Figure 3).

Completing this survey of suburban-central city differences in socioeconomic status, Table 6 reveals an early suburban advantage in occupational status in 1960 and 1970. However,

the comparative occupational advantage for suburban residents declined sharply after 1970 (see Figure 4). For the latest two time periods the average Hauser occupational status score for suburban heads of households were roughly two points lower than for central city residents, controlling for age, gender, and regional residence.

In sum, the four dependent variables included in these analyses suggest that during the early decades of the period (1950-1970), living in a metropolitan suburb corresponded with certain socioeconomic advantages, which I have conceptualized in terms of educational attainment, employment status, income, and occupational standing. Over time, however, there has been a substantial reversal of relative economic fortune for suburban residents. This transformation in the relative socioeconomic status of suburban populations has occurred in parallel with the population explosion of American suburbs. The results indicate a declining suburban advantage in terms of educational attainment, personal income earnings, and occupational status scores. The only indicator for which suburban residents enjoyed a persistent, although minimal, advantage over central city residents is in the likelihood of being employed. Despite suburbanites' higher likelihood of being employed, by the later decades in the time period considered they hold jobs with significantly lower occupational prestige, and were paid significantly less than central-city residents. Counter to general sociological imagery of suburban residence, the results presented in this section sketch a portrait of declining suburban advantage.

Part III: Regional Variation in Longitudinal Analysis of Suburb/Central City Differences

This third and final stage of my analysis examines regional variation in the trends of suburb/central city differences in socioeconomic status. The analyses reported in Tables 7-10 consider the possibility that differences between suburbs and central cities in the four socioeconomic characteristics considered above vary by region. Building on the previous model

in which region of residence was simply controlled through the inclusion of a set of dummy variables (North, East, and West, with the South as reference), for this analysis I add a set of multiplicative interaction terms between suburb and region. The purpose of an interaction term in these models is to relax the assumption that suburb/central city differences in socioeconomic status are uniform across regions and, therefore, to allow differences in socioeconomic well-being between suburbs and central cities to vary across regions. I've used the corresponding coefficients for suburb from tables 3-6, and combined coefficients for the main effects of suburb with the regional interaction, while holding the other variables constant of their mean values.

Closer examination of regional differences between central city and suburban residents in educational attainment is possible in Figure 5 (see also Table 7). Figure 5 reveals that suburban residents in Northern and Eastern regions experienced an educational advantage over central city residents between 1960 and 1990, which peaked around 1960. After 1990, these regions have lost their educational advantage, and now experience an educational disadvantage compared to urbanites similar to the other regions. By contrast, household heads living in a Western or Southern suburb have earned lower levels of education compared to southern city residents across all decades.

Figure 6 (see also Table 8) presents comparable information for regional variation in suburb/central city differences in employment. Figure 6 reveals that suburban residents in all three non-southern regions experienced some employment advantage over city residents between 1960 and 2005-09. Eastern suburbanites have been the most advantaged in terms of being employed across all decades, followed by Northerners, and then Westerners. The employment advantage for suburbs in the North and East rose sharply between 1960 and 1990, but had fallen

precipitously by 2005-2009. Again, Southern suburbanites have been less likely to be employed compared to city Southerners in all time periods.

The regional patterns for income are generally similar to those for employment status. Living in a suburb corresponds with an income benefit for Northerners and Easterners between 1960 and 1990, but not for Western or Southern suburbanites (see Figure 7 and Table 9). Again, the early income advantage enjoyed by Northern and Eastern suburbanites largely dissipates by 2000. In the South, suburban residents earned less than those in central cities during each decade, except for 2000 when there was essentially no difference between the two types of residence. Western suburbanites have modestly higher incomes compared with city earners only from 1960 through 1980. By 2005-09 only in the North was suburban residence associated with higher levels of average income.

Regional differences in occupational status of suburban/city residents reflect a similar, although less pronounced, pattern compared with the other variables (see Figure 8 and Table 10). Northern and Eastern suburbanites held higher status jobs compared to central city residents between 1960-1990 and 1960-1980 respectively. In the following decades, Northern and Eastern suburbanites had lost their occupational advantage over central city residents. Southern and Western suburbanites were employed in less prestigious occupations compared to city residents across all decades (see Figure 10). These findings suggest that suburbanites, with the exception of the early Northern and Eastern advantages, have been increasingly disadvantaged in terms of holding prestigious occupations relative to metropolitan city workers. This may reflect employment trends of suburbanites amid rising service industry, since many suburbanites today are less likely to be employed in the city.

Figures 5 through 8 (and Tables 7 through 10) demonstrate how socioeconomic advantages of living in suburbs, versus central cities, have varied across the four census regions and changed over time. The results of these models paint a clear pattern: when suburbanites did enjoy higher socioeconomic status than central city residents, it was generally true primarily in the East and North. Second, in recent decades those socioeconomic advantages that had been enjoyed by suburban residents in those regions have waned precipitously. In the early portion of the post-war era, suburbanites living in the North or the East were economically ahead of their city counterparts in terms of achieving higher levels of education, were more likely to be employed, held higher status jobs, and earned more. Western suburbanites experienced some of these socioeconomic advantages during some periods, but generally to a lesser extent (except for educational attainment). The regional concentration of suburban advantage dissipated considerably, or disappeared entirely, during later decades. The South exhibited a unique pattern of suburb/central city differences in socioeconomic status. In no decade did southern suburbanites have higher socioeconomic status than southerners residing in central cities. Indeed, in the large majority of comparisons, southern suburban residents were always at a socioeconomic disadvantage.

DISCUSSION

Bygone is the epoch of suburban exclusivity. The results of this study have provided a preliminary portrait of declining suburban advantage during the last half century. While the results of this study are limited to a handful of socioeconomic differentials between metropolitan city and suburban residents, they provide a fledgling framework for reconceptualizing scholarly understanding of what it means to live in a suburb. Overall, suburbanites lost much of their economic advantage relative to central city residents in the post-war period. Across every socioeconomic marker, suburban affluence has proportionally vanished. Suburbanites enjoyed higher levels of income, education, and occupational prestige in the early era of mass suburbanization. As suburban residence has become increasingly accessible to less advantaged populations over the period by means of affordable housing, extensive highway access, service-sector employment, and rental arrangements, suburban economic exclusivity has attenuated.

Regions have disproportionally experienced suburban decline across the time period. Suburbanites living in the North and East regions were significantly better off economically than their central city counterparts in the earlier era of the time period studied (i.e., 1960-1980). The initial advantages of Northern and Eastern suburban residence disappeared in recent decades (2005-2009). By contrast, Westerners experienced a delayed advantage, while southern suburbanites have never been advantaged compared with southern central city residents. These regional differences capture the uneven development of suburban advantage as well as the regional convergence of disadvantage among suburbanites across the nation. One regional limitation of this study is that I cannot discern whether there are different *types* of suburbs within different regions. While I cannot speak to specific differences between suburbs within each region, these regional results are consistent with other research that has found differences among

various suburbs (Berger 1968; Schnore 1963; Short, Hanlon, and Vicino 2007; Lang and LeFurgy 2006).

In summary, declining returns for suburban residence likely reflect a combination of three forces: (1) declining residential selectivity over time has welcomed greater diversity into suburban populations; (2) with annexation, suburban areas have expanded to include many formerly rural places that do not have the same advantages of older, exclusive suburbs; and (3) changes in the opportunity structures of cities and suburbs means suburbs may no longer provide uniformly better educational and occupational opportunities.

The findings presented here usher in important considerations for researchers in urban demography. While more in-depth research of the concept of "suburban advantage" is necessary, this study provides evidence that suburbs may no longer be the similarly privileged communities they are commonly portrayed as in the literature. This holds significant implications for researchers of urban demography that routinely employ "suburbanization" as a key indicator of upward social mobility and/or preferred locational attainment. Rather, these results offer a caution against forming sweeping conclusions about suburbs, or treating suburbs as hosts of uniform advantages. Based on the results of this study, I would contend that suburbanization is now less useful as a measure of upward mobility or locational attainment than it was thirty years ago. Rather than employing suburban residence as a proxy of prestige, researchers should aim to identify economically advantageous and disadvantageous areas within cities, suburbs, small or rural towns, and other non-metropolitan areas regardless of suburban or city residential location.

Further work is necessary to corroborate these findings; especially important will be studies that extend the scope of these analyses by including other groups, for example African Americans, examining more closely the gender differences in relative advantage/disadvantage of

suburban residence, and broadening the conceptualization of "suburban advantage" to incorporate other forms of capital differentials beyond the four economic markers used here. More in-depth research would also be necessary in order to identify which particular suburbs and/or which central cities represent upward movement. The explanations provided here are, at best, estimations, and much work is needed to expound on these. In sum, this study leaves researchers in urban demography with some important considerations. Beyond demographic circles, this lends to the argument that suburban advantage is not a ubiquitous social reality, but rather, a lingering ideal.

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TABLES

TABLE 1: Distribution of US Population (Non-Hispanic white, heads of households, non-students 18-64) by Residential Location

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
Metro- Central City %	29.14	33.34	29.37	22.57	16.13	17.96	15.16
Metro- Suburb %	22.88	35.37	42.23	47.36	43.51	57.12	49.5
Non-Metro Area %	47.99	31.29	28.40	30.07	40.36	24.92	35.34
North %	31.52	30.29	28.49	27.54	25.05	27.30	27.81
South %	30.32	24.13	26.83	29.74	31.17	23.17	31.77
East %	22.04	30.52	25.23	21.63	23.33	27.80	22.99
West %	16.12	15.06	16.56	19.40	20.04	21.73	17.43
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	13,372	307,304	351,359	427,326	370,712	128,280	1,900,994

TABLE 2: Distribution of US Population (Non-Hispanic white, heads of households, non-students 18-64) by Regional Location and Central City versus Suburban Residence

PANEL A	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
North %	29.45	29.58	28.13	25.17	17.82	19.47	21.78
Suburb	40.23	49.47	60.74*	70.45	78.78	81.46	78.49
Central City	59.77	50.53	39.26*	29.55	21.22	18.54	21.51
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
North N	2,048	62,452	304,392	75,205	39,393	18,762	267,686
PANEL B	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
South %	20.49	17.62	25.58	25.57	27.33	21.50	29.80
Suburb	36.98	44.98	50.78*	65.20	70.73	77.27	73.92
Central City	63.02	55.02	49.22*	34.80	29.27	22.73	26.08
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
South N	1,425	37,200	276,805	76,406	60,425	20,719	366,356
PANEL C	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
East %	31.98	35.92	25.87	24.93	29.66	34.98	28.53
Suburb	52.65	53.14	61.84*	69.85	77.39	72.89	80.82
Central City	47.35	46.86	38.16*	30.15	22.61	27.11	19.18
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
East N	2,224	75,835	279,936	74,499	65,583	33,719	350,656
PANEL D	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
West %	18.09	16.88	17.27	77.93	24.56	24.06	19.90
Suburb	52.07	58.25	61.08*	63.06	65.42	75.28	72.27
Central City	47.93	41.75	39.92*	36.94	34.58	24.72	27.73
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
West N	1,258	35,649	186,827	65,963	54,295	23,187	244,562

*Note: The numbers presented for 1970 data are from a partial sample of the population. Census data only collected for households located in the entire states of Arizona, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Utah; plus the rural parts of Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, West Virginia; plus the urban parts of Connecticut and Maryland. Metropolitan and central city status is not available for households in the 1970 Metro samples

TABLE 3: Results from Regression Analysis of Suburb/Central City Differences in Educational Attainment in U.S., 1950-2009

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
Suburb	-0.146*	.196*	0.103*	-0.047*	-0.210*	-0.399*	-0.387*
Male	-0.085	-0.024*	0.219*	0.321*	0.234*	0.097*	0.082*
Age	0.129*	-0.059*	-0.046*	-0.040*	-0.021*	-0.009*	-0.010*
North	0.284*	-0.206*	-0.208*	-0.146*	-0.188*	-0.319*	-0.217*
East	0.171*	-0.187*	-0.078*	0.025*	-0.002	0.035	0.056*
West	0.702*	0.419*	0.491*	.479*	.266*	0.131*	0.075*
Constant	1.955*	7.716*	7.662*	8.277*	8.372*	8.675*	8.870*
R^2	0.029	0.068	0.053	0.048	0.019	0.014	0.011
N	6955	211136	251574	298847	221096	96387	1229260

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests

TABLE 4: Results from Regression Analysis of Suburb/Central City Differences in Employment Status in U.S., 1950-2009

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
Suburb	0.007	0.004*	0.011*	0.011*	0.015*	0.022*	0.002*
Male	0.235*	0.213*	0.186*	0.130*	0.095*	0.079*	0.097*
Age	0.019	0.019*	.021*	0.033*	0.041*	0.035*	0.032*
Age^2	-0.0003	-0.0003*	-.0003*	-0.0005*	-0.0006*	-0.0005*	-0.0004*
North	0.004	0.017*	0.006*	-0.009*	-0.006*	-0.013*	-0.005*
East	-0.025*	0.007*	-0.002	-0.012*	-0.011*	-0.018*	-0.008*
West	-0.011	-.005*	-0.027*	-0.011*	-0.009*	-0.011*	-0.011*
Constant	0.451	0.421*	.405*	0.265*	0.130*	0.235*	0.276*
Pseudo R^2	0.072	0.112	0.105	0.115	0.123	0.080	0.072
N	6955	211136	251574	298847	221096	96387	1229260

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests

TABLE 5: Results from Regression Analysis of Suburb/Central City Differences in Personal Income in U.S., 1950-2009

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-06
Suburb	101	755*	744*	638*	268*	21	-380*
Male	2,169*	4,285*	5138*	4,522*	5,194*	6118*	6,328*
Age	565*	596*	855*	866*	1,183*	1,232*	1,082*
Age^2	-7	-7*	-9*	-9.39*	-12*	-13 *	-11*
North	320*	638*	601*	413*	-42	-663*	-1349*
East	91	207*	470*	-95*	-989*	1636*	723*
West	329*	779*	803*	567*	1141*	1464*	653*
Constant	-7215*	-9155*	-13324*	-13,517*	-19,104*	-19,618*	-15953*
R^2	0.119	0.114	0.122	0.163	0.098	0.062	0.071
N	6955	211136	251574	298847	221096	96387	1229260

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests

TABLE 6: Results from Regression Analysis of Suburb/Central City Differences in Occupational Prestige in U.S., 1950-2009

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-06
Suburb	-1.474*	0.782*	0.527*	-0.273*	-1.092*	-2.105*	-1.722*
Male	7.772*	2.950*	4.487*	2.682*	1.510*	0.772*	0.603*
Age	0.733*	-0.010*	-0.051*	-0.002	0.028*	0.012*	-0.012*
North	1.006*	-1.931*	-2.178*	-1.702*	-2.032*	-3.068*	-2.366*
East	0.653	-1.469*	-1.289*	-0.348*	-.354*	-0.733*	-0.499*
West	0.876	-0.237*	.156	0.698*	0.470*	-.215	-0.091*
Constant	4.854*	34.153*	35.608*	36.837*	38.991*	43.598*	44.352*
R^2	0.042	0.010	0.021	0.009	0.007	0.010	0.007
N	6955	192905	240048	280725	209401	90988	1141686

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests

TABLE 7: Results from Regression Analysis of Regional Variation in Suburb/Central City Differences in Educational Attainment, U.S., 1950-2009

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
Suburb	-0.264*	-0.279*	-0.360*	-0.404*	-0.542	-0.386*	-0.514*
Male	-0.080	-0.026	0.211*	0.317*	0.230*	0.096*	0.081*
Age	0.129*	-0.059*	-0.046*	-0.040*	-0.021*	-0.009*	-0.010*
North	0.216*	-0.493*	-0.538*	0.546*	-0.635*	-0.178*	-0.451*
East	0.063	-0.554*	-0.527*	-0.421*	-0.456*	-0.097*	-0.044*
West	0.767*	0.436*	0.390*	0.306*	0.070*	0.296*	-0.026*
S_North	0.179	0.625*	0.619*	0.585*	0.599*	-0.173*	0.306*
S_East	0.254	0.763*	0.809*	0.652*	0.612*	0.182*	0.135*
S_West	-0.089	0.080	0.243*	0.251*	0.270*	-0.219*	0.136*
Constant	2.002*	7.926*	7.903*	8.517*	8.615*	8.666*	8.966*
R^2	0.029	0.071	0.056	0.050	0.022	0.015	0.012
N	6955	211136	251574	298847	221096	96387	1229260

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests.

TABLE 8: Results from Regression Analysis of Regional Variation in Suburb/Central City Differences in Employment Status, U.S., 1950-2009

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-09
Suburb	n/a	-0.012*	-0.005*	-0.015*	-0.010*	-0.006	-0.016*
Male	n/a	0.213*	0.186*	0.130*	0.094*	0.079*	0.097*
Age	n/a	0.019*	0.021*	0.033*	0.041*	0.035*	0.032*
Age^2	n/a	-0.0003*	-0.0003*	-0.0005*	-0.0006*	-0.0005*	-0.0004*
North	n/a	0.008*	-0.004	-0.028*	-0.043*	-0.023*	-0.023*
East	n/a	-0.004	-0.017*	-0.050*	-0.050*	-0.062*	-0.036*
West	n/a	-0.011*	-0.035*	-0.028*	-0.020*	-0.020*	-0.025*
S_North	n/a	0.020*	0.019*	0.032*	0.049*	0.013	0.025*
S_East	n/a	0.022*	0.027*	0.056*	0.052*	0.058*	0.036*
S_West	n/a	0.014*	0.016*	0.025*	0.014*	0.012	0.019*
Constant	n/a	0.429*	0.414*	0.283*	0.150*	0.257*	0.291*
R^2	n/a	0.112	0.105	0.116	0.124	0.081	0.073
N	n/a	211136	251574	298847	221096	96387	1229260

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests

TABLE 9: Results From Regression Analysis of Regional Variation in Suburb/Central City Differences in Personal Income, U.S., 1950-2009. *values adjusted for to 1970 dollars

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-06
Suburb	-106	-206*	-179*	-190*	-737*	105.80	-605*
Male	2,172*	4,282*	5125*	4,514*	5,181*	6,115*	6,327*
Age	568*	594*	851*	865*	1,180*	1,230*	1,084*
Age^2	-7	-7*	-9*	-9*	-13*	-13*	-11*
North	162	18	-198*	-619*	-1,793*	-170*	-2,194*
East	-190	-444*	-329*	-1,019*	-193*	1,361*	1,195*
West	348*	672*	676*	161*	564*	1,867*	195*
S_North	411*	1,341	1467*	1,506*	2,299*	-610	1,089*
S_East	254	1,372*	1457*	1,355*	1,608*	383	-565*
S_West	26	406*	363*	592*	793*	-533	628*
Constant	7,174*	-8,685*	-12769*	12,940*	-18,795*	-19,660*	-15,811*
R^2	0.120	0.116	0.124	0.165	0.010	0.0625	0.071
N	6955	211136	251574	298847	221096	96387	1229260

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests

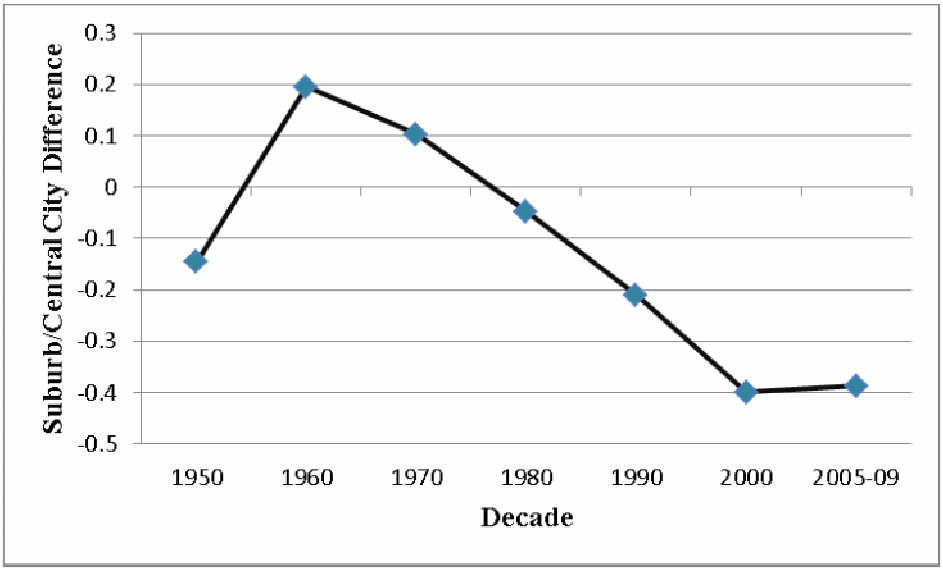
TABLE 10: Results from Regression Analysis of Regional Variation in Suburb/Central City Differences in Hauser Score Occupational Prestige, U.S., 1950-2009

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-06
Suburb	-2.080*	-1.118*	-1.379*	-1.685*	-2.481*	-1.799*	-2.252*
Male	2.066*	2.949*	4.465*	2.670*	1.496*	0.769*	0.599*
Age	0.689*	-0.010*	-0.051*	-0.002	0.027*	0.012*	-0.012*
North	-1.546*	-3.141*	-3.55*	-3.383*	-4.225*	-2.348*	-3.520*
East	-1.775*	-2.809*	-3.045*	-2.021*	-1.950*	-0.964*	-0.692*
West	0.553	-0.342*	-0.344*	0.002	-0.463*	0.642*	-0.577*
S_North	0.643	2.599*	2.569*	2.443*	2.910*	-0.896*	1.499*
S_East	1.413	2.792*	3.170*	2.435*	2.168*	0.330	0.285*
S_West	-0.015	0.613*	1.141*	0.997*	1.303*	-1.128*	0.660*
Constant	15.067*	34.993*	36.594*	37.795*	40.012*	43.365*	44.753*
R^2	0.030	0.012	0.023	0.011	0.008	0.010	0.007
N	6484	192905	240048	280725	209401	90988	1141686

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$, two-tailed tests

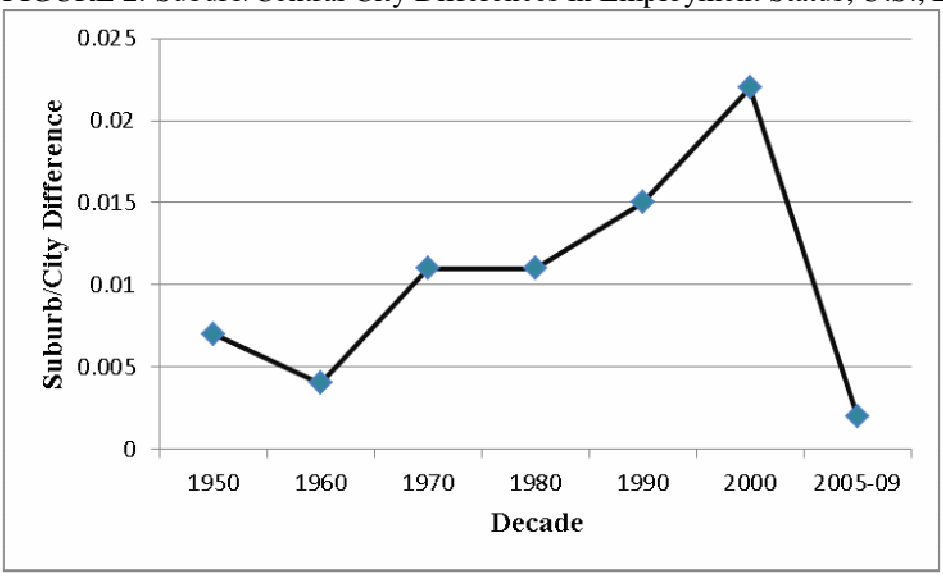
FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Suburb/Central City Differences in Educational Attainment, U.S., By Time Period.



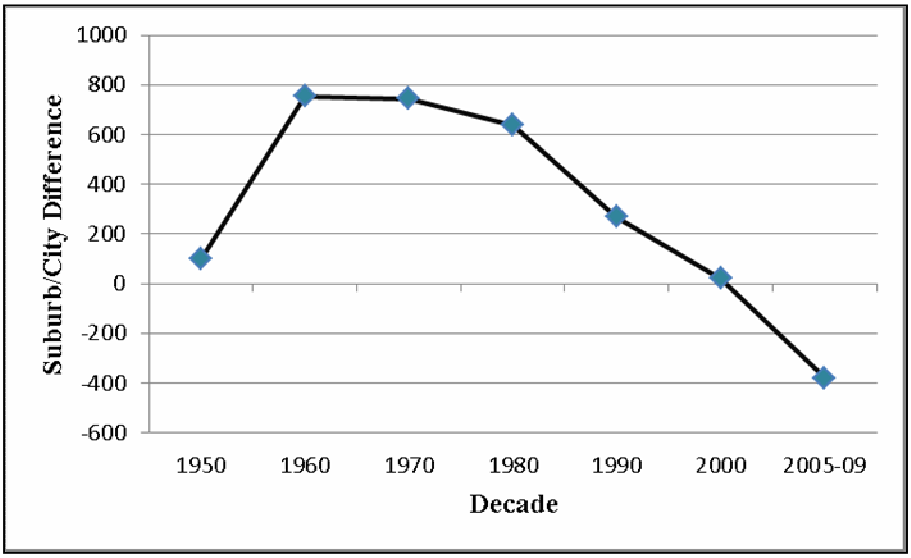
Plotted values are the regression coefficient from the variable "Suburb" from Table 3. Positive values indicate a suburban advantage; negative values indicate a suburban disadvantage. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series.

FIGURE 2: Suburb/Central City Differences in Employment Status, U.S., By Time Period



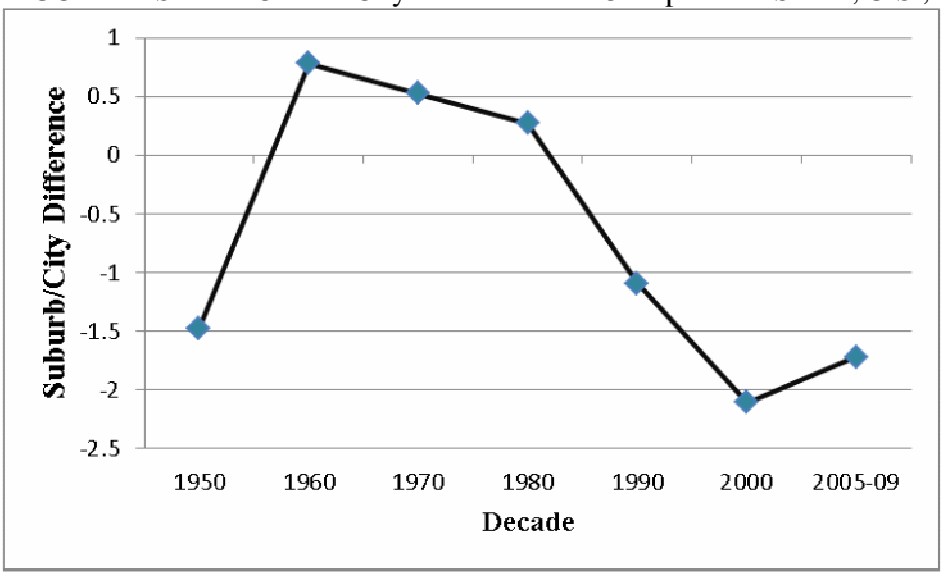
Plotted values are the regression coefficient from the variable "Suburb" from Table 3. Positive values indicate a suburban advantage; negative values indicate a suburban disadvantage. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series.

FIGURE 3: Suburb/Central City Differences in Personal Income, U.S., By Time Period*



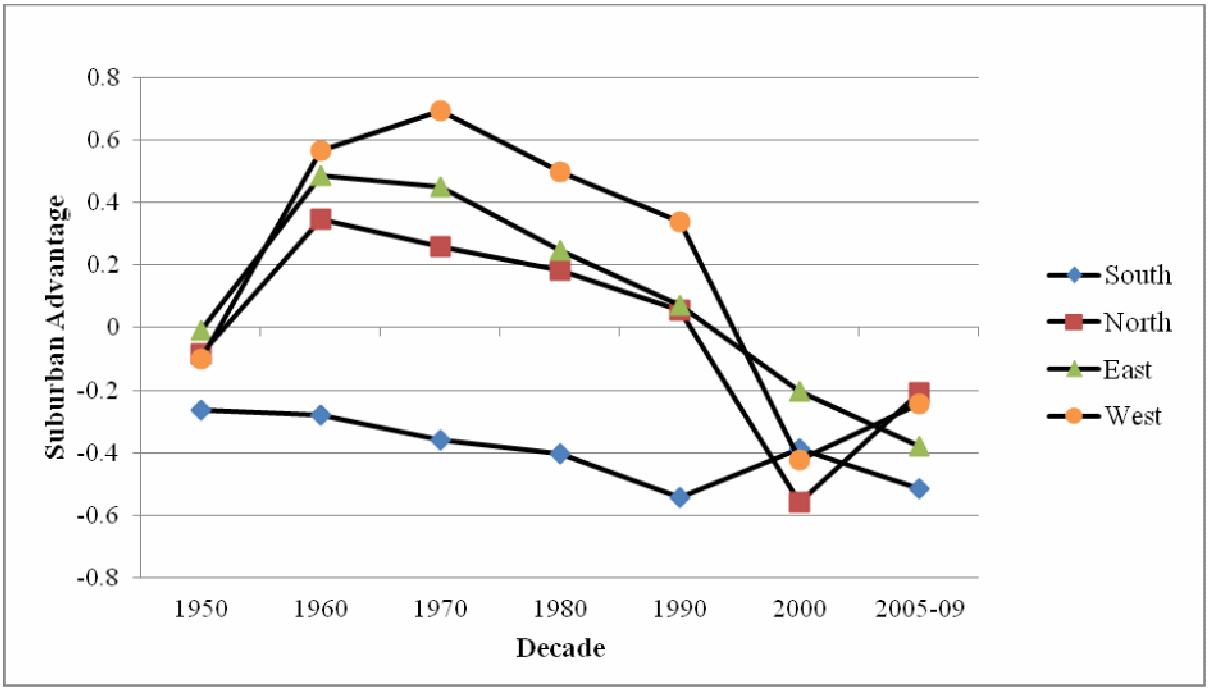
Plotted values are the regression coefficient from the variable "Suburb" from Table 3. Positive values indicate a suburban advantage; negative values indicate a suburban disadvantage. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series

FIGURE 4: Suburb/Central City Differences in Occupational Status, U.S., By Time Period.



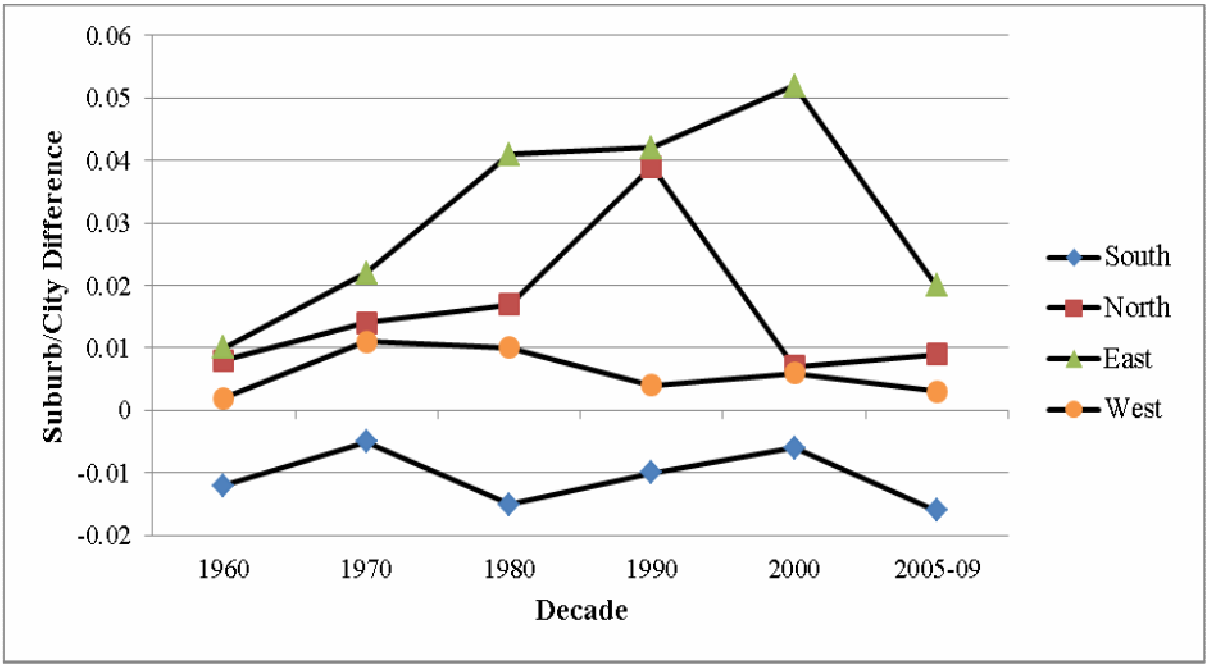
Plotted values are the regression coefficient from the variable "Suburb" from Table 3. Positive values indicate a suburban advantage; negative values indicate a suburban disadvantage. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series.

FIGURE 5: Suburb/Central City Differences in Educational Attainment, by Region and Time Period.



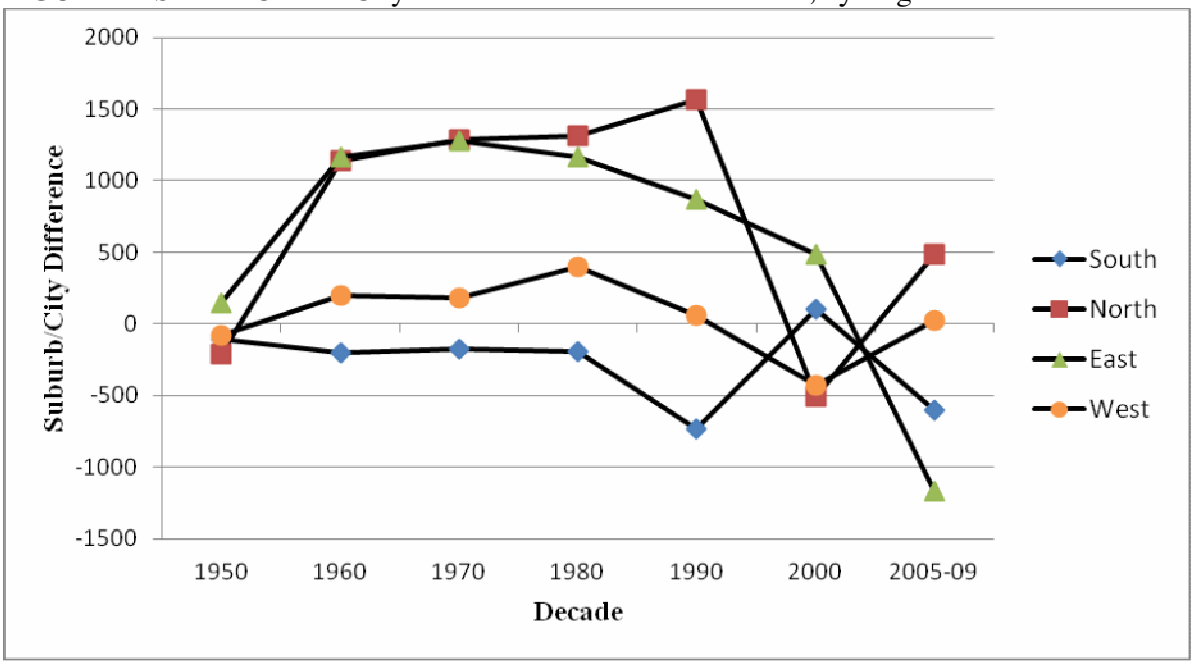
* See text for description of how the information presented in the figure was derived. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series.

FIGURE 6: Suburb/Central City Differences in Employment Status, by Region and Time Period.*



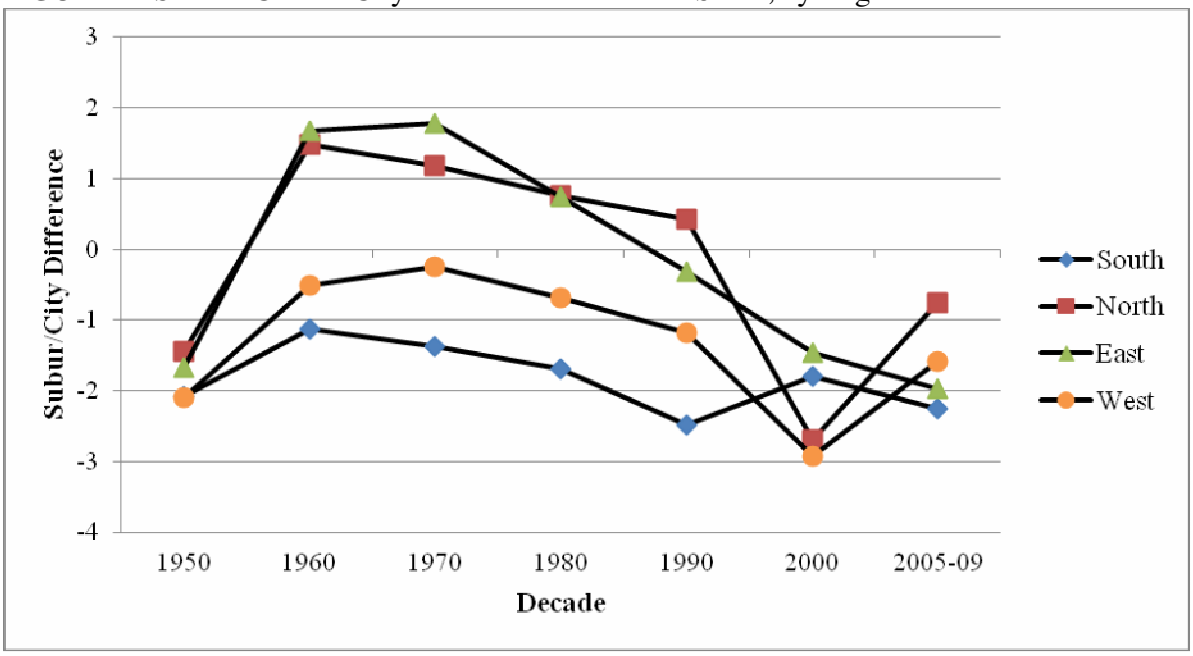
* See text for description of how the information presented in the figure was derived. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series.

FIGURE 7: Suburb/Central City Differences in Personal Income, by Region and Time Period.*



* See text for description of how the information presented in the figure was derived. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series.

FIGURE 8: Suburb/Central City Differences in Hauser Score, by Region and Time Period.*



* See text for description of how the information presented in the figure was derived. Source: Integrated Public Microdata Series.