

U.S. SOCIETY & VALUES

VOLUME 4

ELECTRONIC JOURNALS OF THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

NUMBER 2

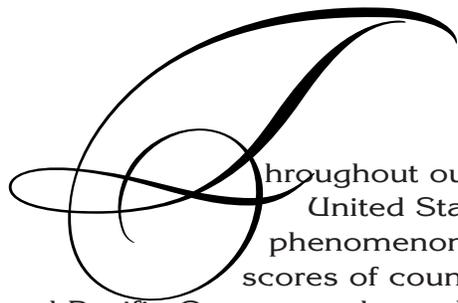
CHANGING AMERICA:

The United States Population In Transition

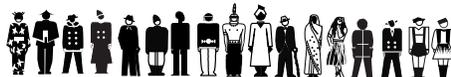


— JUNE 1999 —

FROM THE EDITORS



Throughout our history, going back more than two centuries, the United States populace has been an ever-evolving phenomenon. New immigrants have flocked to this nation from scores of countries. Pioneers have blazed trails across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and over land, to various parts of the United States. Subsequently, their families and descendants have followed those paths to new homes, new occupations and new self worth as U.S. citizens. And as one generation passes from the scene and a new one springs forth, the population invariably is affected. Even in our day, we have seen the “baby boomer” generation, born just after World War II, drive U.S. society for much of the second half of this century. Now, thanks to longer life expectancy and their own dynamism, seniors are assuming an impressive role in the United States as the century ends and a new one begins. This Journal presents fundamental demographic details about the changing U.S. population at this moment in history, the U.S. census, new immigration trends and the growing impact of seniors, among other subjects, and offers resources for further exploration of the topic. ■



U.S. SOCIETY & VALUES

ELECTRONIC JOURNALS OF THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

VOL.4 / BUREAU OF INFORMATION / U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY / No. 2

ejvalues@usia.gov

JUNE 1999



CHANGING AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES POPULATION IN TRANSITION

FOCUS

5

THE UNITED STATES: A NATION OF DIVERSITY AND PROMISE

By BILL CLINTON

As the United States moves into a century in which it may become the world's first truly multiracial, multiethnic democracy, with an expanding senior citizenry as well, President Clinton reflects on the challenges posed by this diversity.

7

ONE FROM MANY: U.S. IMMIGRATION PATTERNS AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION

This overview traces how the diverse U.S. population of today came to be, across the centuries, and the degree to which history, society and demography have been intertwined.

11

THE UNITED STATES POPULATION IN TRANSITION

From *Changing America*, A Report of the Council of Economic Advisers

This brief treatment reflects the shifting demographic patterns of the past generation.

COMMENTARY

13

CHALLENGES FOR THE U.S. CENSUS IN THE INFORMATION AGE

By BARRY EDMONSTON

What is the purpose of the census? How is it tabulated and how are the data utilized? How will the upcoming census take into account the shortcomings of previous tabulations? The author, a prominent demographer and specialist on Census 2000, discusses these and other issues.

17

THE DEBATE IN THE UNITED STATES OVER IMMIGRATION

By DAPHNE SPAIN

Melting pot? Salad bowl? The issue of how immigrants fit into the ideal U.S. society has long been debated, with healthy support for every point of view. In this article, the author, a professor of urban and environmental planning, focuses on the demographic, socioeconomic, cultural and political impact of recent immigration trends, and identifies emerging challenges for the future.

21
BIRTH OF AN OLD GENERATION

By THEODORE ROSZAK

The author, who has written extensively on the expanding senior citizenry in the United States, reflects on the anticipated impact of that segment of the population in social and political terms. Sidebars offer statistics on the senior population and on its community service activities.

25
THE UNITED STATES POPULATION: WHERE THE NEW IMMIGRANTS ARE

By WILLIAM H. FREY

This article, by a leading expert in metropolitan area trends, demonstrates the impact that immigration and migration — specifically of Asians and Hispanics — are having on larger and smaller cities across the United States.

29
THE BLENDING OF THE UNITED STATES

By ROCHELLE L. STANFIELD

A quiet demographic revolution — a dramatic upsurge in intermarriage — could bring people closer together in the United States rather than driving them apart. The author discusses various aspects of intermarriage trends, as well as some of the countervailing forces.

34
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INTERNET SOURCES



U.S. SOCIETY & VALUES

Publisher.....Rosemary Crockett
Editor.....Craig B. Springer
Managing Editors.....Michael J. Bandler
.....Suzanne Dawkins
Associate Editor.....Guy Olson
Contributing Editor.....Rosalie Targonski
Art Director/Graphic Designer.....Thaddeus A. Miksinski, Jr.
Graphic Assistant.....Sylvia Scott
Internet Editor.....Wayne Hall
Reference and Research.....Mary Ann V. Gamble
.....Kathy Spiegel

Editorial Board

Howard Cincotta Rosemary Crockett John Davis Hamill

USIA's electronic journals, published and transmitted worldwide at three-week intervals, examine major issues facing the United States and the international community, and inform foreign publics about the United States. The journals — ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES, GLOBAL ISSUES, ISSUES OF DEMOCRACY, U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA and U.S. SOCIETY & VALUES — provide analysis, commentary and background information in their thematic areas. All issues appear in English, French and Spanish language versions, and selected issues also appear in Arabic, Portuguese and Russian. The opinions expressed in the journals do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Government. Please note that USIS assumes no responsibility for the content and continued accessibility of Internet sites linked to herein: such responsibility resides solely with the providers. Articles may be reproduced and translated outside the United States unless there are specific copyright restrictions cited on the articles. Current or back issues of the journals can be found on the U.S. Information Service (USIS) Home Page on the World Wide Web at "http://www.usia.gov/journals/journals.htm". They are available in several electronic formats to facilitate viewing on-line, transferring, downloading and printing. Comments are welcome at your local USIS office or at the editorial offices — Editor, U.S. SOCIETY & VALUES (I/TSV), U.S. Information Agency, 301 4th Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20547, United States of America. You may also communicate via email to ejvalues@USIA.gov.

THE
UNITED STATES:
A
NATION OF DIVERSITY
&
PROMISE

By BILL CLINTON



AS WE APPROACH THE 21ST CENTURY, WE RECOGNIZE BOTH THE GREAT CHALLENGES AND THE EXCITING PROMISE THAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR US.

IN THE NEXT CENTURY, WE WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME THE WORLD'S FIRST TRULY MULTIRACIAL, MULTIETHNIC DEMOCRACY. TODAY, THERE ARE MORE CHILDREN FROM MORE DIVERSE BACKGROUNDS IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS THAN AT ANY OTHER TIME IN OUR HISTORY, WITH ONE IN FIVE FROM IMMIGRANT FAMILIES. FOR EXAMPLE, JUST ACROSS THE POTOMAC RIVER FROM OUR NATION'S CAPITAL, VIRGINIA'S FAIRFAX COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICT BOASTS CHILDREN FROM 180 DIFFERENT RACIAL, NATIONAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS WHO ARE FLUENT IN MORE THAN 100 DIFFERENT NATIVE LANGUAGES. WE MUST ENSURE THAT OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM NURTURES THE CREATIVITY OF EVERY AMERICAN STUDENT, EMPOWERS THEM WITH THE SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE TO REACH THEIR FULL POTENTIAL, AND OFFERS THEM THE OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED IN THE LIVES THEY WILL LIVE AND THE JOBS THEY WILL HOLD IN THE FUTURE.

THE NEW CENTURY ALSO WILL HOLD CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES FOR SENIOR CITIZENS. THE NUMBER OF ELDERLY PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY WILL DOUBLE BY THE YEAR 2030, AND, THANKS TO MEDICAL ADVANCES, BY THE MIDDLE OF THE 21ST CENTURY THE AVERAGE AMERICAN WILL LIVE TO BE 82 — SIX YEARS LONGER THAN TODAY'S AVERAGE LIFE SPAN. THESE EXTRA YEARS OF LIFE ARE A GREAT GIFT, BUT THEY ALSO POSE PROBLEMS FOR THE FEDERAL PROGRAMS THAT PROVIDE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND MEDICAL CARE FOR THE ELDERLY. ONE OF THE GREATEST CONCERNS OF THOSE OF US IN OUR MIDDLE YEARS — THE GENERATION BORN IN THE POSTWAR ERA — IS THAT, AS WE GROW OLD, WE WILL PLACE AN

INTOLERABLE FINANCIAL BURDEN ON OUR CHILDREN AND HAMPER THEIR ABILITY TO RAISE OUR GRANDCHILDREN. AS WE ENTER THE NEW MILLENNIUM WITH A STRONG ECONOMY AND THE FIRST BUDGET SURPLUSES SINCE THE 1960s, WE HAVE A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY — AND A SOLEMN OBLIGATION — TO ENSURE THAT SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE ARE PRESERVED FOR THE WELL-BEING OF FUTURE GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS WHO WILL LIVE IN A SOCIETY WHERE MEN AND WOMEN WILL LEAD LONGER, MORE ACTIVE, MORE PRODUCTIVE LIVES.

WE HAVE MUCH TO ACCOMPLISH IN THE NEXT CENTURY AS WE CONTINUE OUR JOURNEY TO BECOME A NATION THAT RESPECTS OUR DIFFERENCES, CELEBRATES OUR DIVERSITY, AND UNITES AROUND OUR SHARED VALUES. AS THE NEW MILLENNIUM SWIFTLY APPROACHES, LET US PROUDLY MARK THE MILESTONES ON THAT JOURNEY, REJOICE IN THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE, AND RESOLVE TO ACHIEVE EVEN GREATER ADVANCES IN THE YEARS TO COME. ■

ONE FROM MANY:

U.S. IMMIGRATION PATTERNS & ETHNIC COMPOSITION

The story of the American people is a story of immigration and diversity. The United States has welcomed more immigrants than any other country — more than 50 million in all — and still admits as many as one million persons a year. In the past many U.S. writers emphasized the idea of the melting pot, an image that suggested newcomers would discard their old customs and adopt New World ways. Typically, for example, the children of immigrants learned English but not their parents' first language. Recently, however, Americans have placed greater value on diversity, ethnic groups have renewed and celebrated their heritage, and the children of immigrants often grow up being bilingual.

NATIVE AMERICANS

The first American immigrants, beginning more than 20,000 years ago, were intercontinental wanderers: hunters and their families following animal herds from Asia to North America, across a land bridge where the Bering Strait is today. When Spain's Christopher Columbus "discovered" the New World in 1492, about 1.5 million Native Americans lived in what is now the continental United States, although estimates of the number vary greatly. Mistaking the place where he landed — San Salvador in the Bahamas — for the Indies, Columbus called the Native Americans "Indians."

During the next 200 years, people from several European countries followed Columbus across the Atlantic Ocean to explore America and set up trading posts and colonies. Native Americans suffered greatly from the influx of Europeans. The

transfer of land from Indian to European and later American hands was accomplished through treaties, wars and coercion, with Indians constantly giving way as the newcomers moved west. In the 19th century, the U.S. Government's preferred solution to



the Indian "problem" was to force tribes to inhabit specific plots of land — called reservations. Some tribes fought to keep from giving up land they had traditionally used. In many cases the reservation land was of poor quality, and Indians came to depend on government assistance. Poverty and joblessness among Native Americans still exist today.

The territorial wars, along with Old World diseases to which Indians had no built-up immunity, sent their population plummeting, to a low of 350,000 in 1920. Some tribes disappeared altogether. Nonetheless, Native Americans have proved to be resilient. Today they number about two million (0.8 percent of the total U.S. population). Only about one-third of Native Americans still live on reservations.

Countless U.S. place-names derive from Indian words, including the states of Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri and Idaho. Indians taught Europeans how to cultivate crops that are now staples throughout the world, such as corn, tomatoes, potatoes and tobacco. Canoes, snowshoes and moccasins are among the Indians' many inventions.

THE GOLDEN DOOR

The English were the dominant ethnic group among early settlers of what became the United States, and English became the prevalent American language. But people of other nationalities were not long in following. In 1776 Thomas Paine, a



spokesman for the revolutionary cause in the colonies and himself a native of England, wrote that “Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America.” These words described the settlers who came not only from Great Britain, but also from other European countries, including Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Germany and Sweden. Nonetheless, in 1780 three out of every four citizens of the United States were of English or Irish descent.

Between 1840 and 1860, the United States received its first great wave of immigrants. In Europe as a whole, famine, poor harvests, rising populations and political unrest caused an estimated five million people to leave their homelands each year. In Ireland, a blight attacked the potato crop, and upwards of 750,000 people starved to death. Many of the survivors emigrated. In one year alone, 1847, the number of Irish immigrants to the United States reached 118,120. Today there are about 39 million Americans of Irish descent.

The failure of the German Confederation’s Revolution of 1848-49 led many of its people to emigrate. During the U.S. Civil War (1861-65), the U.S. Government — the Union — helped fill its roster of troops by encouraging emigration from Europe, especially from the German states. In return for service in the Union army, immigrants were offered grants of land. By 1865, about one in five Union soldiers was a wartime immigrant. Today, 22 percent of Americans have German ancestry.

Jews came to the United States in large numbers beginning about 1880, in the throes of fierce pogroms in eastern Europe. Over the next 45 years, two million Jews moved to the United States; the U.S. Jewish population today is more than five million.

During the late 19th century, so many people were entering the United States that Washington operated a special port of entry on Ellis Island in New York City’s harbor. Between 1892, when it opened, and 1954, when it closed, Ellis Island was the doorway to the United States for 12 million people. It is now preserved as part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument. The Statue of Liberty itself, a gift from France to the people of the United States in 1886, stands on an adjoining island in the harbor. The statue became many immigrants’ first sight of their homeland-to-be.

UNWILLING IMMIGRANTS

Among the flood of immigrants to North America, one group came unwillingly. These were Africans, 500,000 of whom were brought over as slaves between 1619 and 1808, when importing slaves into the United States became illegal. The practice of owning slaves and their descendants continued, however, particularly in the agrarian U.S. South, where many laborers were needed to work the fields.

The process of ending slavery began in April 1861 with the outbreak of the Civil War between the free states of the North and the slave states of the South, 11 of which had left the Union. On January 1, 1863, midway through the war, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which abolished slavery in those states that had seceded. Slavery was abolished throughout the United States with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865.

Even after the end of slavery, however, American blacks were hampered by segregation and inferior education. In search of opportunity, African Americans formed an internal wave of immigration, moving from the rural South to the urban North. But many urban blacks were unable to find work; by law and custom they lived apart from whites, in the run-down inner cities.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, African Americans, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., used boycotts, marches and other forms of nonviolent protest to demand equal treatment under the law and an end to racial prejudice.

A high point of this civil rights movement came on August 28, 1963, when more than 200,000 people of

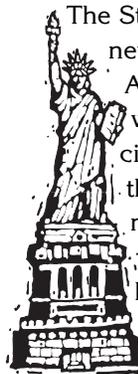
all races gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, and heard a stirring speech by King. Soon afterwards, the U.S. Congress passed laws prohibiting discrimination in voting, education, employment, housing and public accommodations. Today, African Americans constitute 12.7 percent of the total U.S. population, and in recent decades blacks have made great strides, with the black middle class growing significantly.

LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY

It is not uncommon to walk down the streets of a U.S. city today and hear Spanish spoken. In 1950 fewer than four million U.S. residents were from Spanish-speaking countries. Today that number is about 27 million. About 50 percent of Hispanics in the United States have origins in Mexico. The other 50 percent come from a variety of countries, including El Salvador, the Dominican Republic and Colombia. Thirty-six percent of the Hispanics in the United States live in California. Several other states have large Hispanic populations, including Texas, New York, Illinois and Florida, where hundreds of thousands of Cubans fleeing the Castro regime have settled. There are so many Cuban Americans in Miami that the *Miami Herald*, the city's largest newspaper, publishes separate editions in English and Spanish.

The widespread use of Spanish in U.S. cities has generated a public debate over language. Some English speakers point to Canada, where the existence of two languages (English and French) has been accompanied by a secessionist movement. To head off such a development in the United States, some citizens are calling for a law declaring English the official language of the United States. Others consider such a law unnecessary and likely to cause harm. Recognition of English as the official language, they argue, would stigmatize speakers of other languages and make it difficult for them to live their daily lives.

LIMITS ON NEWCOMERS



The Statue of Liberty began lighting the way for new arrivals at a time when many native-born Americans began to worry that the country was admitting too many immigrants. Some citizens feared that their culture was being threatened or that they would lose jobs to newcomers willing to accept low wages. In 1924 Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act. For the first time, the United States set limits on how many people from each country it would admit.

The number of people allowed to emigrate from a given country each year was based on the number of people from that country already living in the United States. As a result, immigration patterns over the next 40 years reflected the existing immigrant population, mostly Europeans and North Americans.

Prior to 1924, U.S. laws specifically excluded Asian immigrants. People in the U.S. West feared that the Chinese and other Asians would take away jobs, and racial prejudice against people with Asian features was widespread. The law that kept out Chinese immigrants was repealed in 1943, and legislation passed in 1952 allows people of all races to become U.S. citizens.

Today Asian Americans are one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the country. About 10 million people of Asian descent live in the United States. Although most of them have arrived here recently, they are among the most successful of all immigrant groups. They have a higher income than many other ethnic groups, and large numbers of their children study at the best U.S. universities as undergraduate and graduate students.

A NEW SYSTEM

The year 1965 brought a shakeup of the old immigration patterns. The United States began to grant immigrant visas according to who applied first; national quotas were replaced with hemispheric ones. Preference was given to relatives of U.S.

citizens and immigrants with job skills in short supply in the United States. In 1978, Congress abandoned hemispheric quotas and established a worldwide ceiling, opening the doors even wider. In 1990, for example, the top 10 points of origin for immigrants were Mexico (57,000), the Philippines (55,000), Vietnam (49,000), the Dominican Republic (32,000), Korea (30,000), China (29,000), India (28,000), the Soviet Union (25,000), Jamaica (19,000), and Iran (18,000).

The United States continues to accept more immigrants than any other country; in 1990, its population included nearly 20 million foreign-born persons. The revised immigration law of 1990 created a flexible cap of 675,000 immigrants each year, with certain categories of people exempted from the limit. That law attempts to attract more skilled workers and professionals to the United States and to draw immigrants from countries that have supplied relatively few Americans in recent years. It does this by providing "diversity" visas. In 1990 about 9,000 people entered the country on diversity visas from such countries as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Peru, Egypt, and Trinidad and Tobago.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that some five million people are living in the United States without permission, and the number is growing by about 275,000 a year. Native-born Americans and legal immigrants worry about the problem of illegal immigration. Many believe that illegal immigrants (also called "illegal aliens") take jobs from citizens, especially from young people and members of minority groups. Moreover, illegal aliens can place a heavy burden on tax-supported social services.

In 1986 Congress revised immigration law to deal with illegal aliens. Many of those who had been in the country since 1982 became eligible to apply for legal residency that would eventually permit them to stay in the country permanently. In 1990, nearly 900,000 people took advantage of this law to obtain legal status. The law also provided strong measures to combat further illegal immigration and imposed penalties on businesses that knowingly employ illegal aliens.

THE LEGACY

The steady stream of people coming to United States shores has had a profound effect on the American character. It takes courage and flexibility to leave one's homeland and come to a new country. The American people have been noted for their willingness to take risks and try new ventures, as well as for their independence and optimism. If Americans whose families have been here longer tend to take their material comfort and political freedoms for granted, immigrants are on hand to remind them how important those privileges are.

Immigrants also enrich American communities by bringing aspects of their native cultures with them. Many black Americans now celebrate both Christmas and Kwanzaa, a festival drawn from African rituals. Hispanic Americans celebrate their traditions with street fairs and other festivities on Cinco de Mayo (May 5). Ethnic restaurants and neighborhoods abound in many U.S. cities. President John F. Kennedy, himself the grandson of Irish immigrants, summed up this blend of the old and the new when he called the United States "a society of immigrants, each of whom had begun life anew, on an equal footing.

"This is the secret of America," he exclaimed, "a nation of people with the fresh memory of old traditions who dare to explore new frontiers ..."

This article is drawn from *Portrait of the USA*, a publication of the United States Information Agency, September 1997.

THE UNITED STATES POPULATION IN TRANSITION

FROM *CHANGING AMERICA*, A REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

As the new century looms, the population of the United States continues to grow increasingly diverse. In recent years, Hispanics and minority racial groups (defined here as racial and ethnic groups that make up less than 50 percent of the population and include non-Hispanic blacks, Asians and American Indians) have each grown faster than the population as a whole. In 1970 these groups together represented only 16 percent of the population. By 1998 this share had increased to 27 percent. Assuming current trends continue, the Bureau of the Census projects that these groups will account for almost half of the U.S. population by 2050. Although such projections are necessarily imprecise, they do indicate that the racial and ethnic diversity of the United States will expand substantially in the next century.

Immigration has been the key to this demographic evolution. It has contributed to the rapid growth of the Asian and Hispanic populations since the 1960s. In 1997, 38 percent of the Hispanic population and 61 percent of the Asian population were foreign-born, compared with eight percent of the white population, six percent of the African American population, and six percent of the Native American population. The increased immigration of Asians and Hispanics over the past several decades is largely the result of changes in immigration policy. In particular, the 1965 Immigration Act ended the system of national origin quotas that had previously

restricted immigration from non-European countries. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 also contributed to the increase in the documented Asian and Hispanic populations by legalizing a large number of immigrants.

While immigration of Asians and Hispanics has increased, population growth has slowed dramatically for the United States as a whole, largely due to declining fertility rates among non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites. As a result of this declining fertility, the non-Hispanic white share of the population has fallen since 1970, and the non-Hispanic black share of the population has increased only slightly.

Changes in racial and ethnic identification have also contributed to the increase in (measured) racial and ethnic diversity. These changes are most important for the Native American population, which has increased more in recent years than can be accounted for by deaths, births, immigration and improvements in census coverage. The rise in these numbers in this population group suggests that people are more likely to identify themselves as Native Americans in the census than they were in the past.

National changes in the composition of the population mask differences across and within regions. The geographical distribution of racial and ethnic groups is important because it influences the potential for social and economic interaction

between them. According to 1995 Census Bureau projections, the West had the highest concentration of minorities (36 percent), followed by the South (30 percent), the Northeast (23 percent), and the Midwest (15 percent). Non-Hispanic blacks are most likely to live in the South, while Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans are most likely to live in the West.

Racial composition also varies from the center cities of metropolitan areas, to the suburbs just outside, to nonmetropolitan areas. Hispanics, blacks and Asians are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to live in central cities (in 1996 more than half of blacks and Hispanics and nearly half of Asians lived in central cities, compared with less than a quarter of non-Hispanic whites). By contrast, over half of all non-Hispanic whites lived in the suburbs in 1996, as did 48 percent of Asians. Native Americans are by far most likely to live outside cities and suburbs; in 1990 nearly half of the American Indian population lived outside of metropolitan areas.

As the population becomes more diverse, opportunities for social interaction with members of other racial and ethnic groups should increase. Intergroup marriage (marriage between persons of different races or Hispanic origin) is one measure of social interaction. The number of interracial married couples (marriage between persons of different races) has increased dramatically over the past several decades, more than tripling since 1960. Yet a 1995 study by Roderick Harrison and Claudette Bennett found that interracial married couples still represented only about two percent, and intergroup couples four percent, of all married couples in 1990.

Many demographic characteristics affect economic and social status and play a role in explaining differentials in well-being among the U.S. citizenry. For instance, immigration has lowered the relative socioeconomic status of the U.S. Hispanic population, since Hispanic immigrants tend to have lower levels of education and income than the Hispanic population as a whole.

Other demographic characteristics with important effects on social and economic status include household structure and age distribution. In particular, growth of child poverty has often been associated with the rising share of single-parent

families. Since 1970 the fraction of families maintained by a single parent has increased for all groups, and is highest among African Americans (38 percent), Native Americans (26 percent), and Hispanics (26 percent). Household structure is also affected by economic status; for example, the greater tendency of the elderly to head their own households has been linked to their increasing wealth.

Differences in the age distribution of populations may affect their rates of growth, as do differences in average economic and social well-being. For example, poverty rates are highest among children, and rates of criminal activity are highest among young adults. On average, the non-Hispanic white population is considerably older than the population as a whole. Only 24 percent of the non-Hispanic white population is below the age of 18, compared with about 30 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and Asians and about 35 percent of Native Americans and Hispanics. Differences in age distributions between racial and ethnic groups reflect differences in death rates, fertility rates, rates of net immigration and the age of immigrants. ■

(This article was excerpted from the second chapter of *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin*, published by the Council of Economic Advisers for the President's Initiative on Race, September 1998.

CHALLENGES FOR THE U.S. CENSUS IN THE INFORMATION AGE

By BARRY EDMONSTON

The United States will conduct its 22nd population census in 2000 — a record of taking a census every ten years since 1790. The U.S. Constitution requires that a decennial census be taken for reapportionment of seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. In practice, the census also provides the information needed for congressional districts to be drawn for the 435 House members.

BACKGROUND

From the beginning, the U.S. census has added information about the population beyond the absolute minimum required for reapportionment and redistricting. The 1790 census asked households about each member's age, sex and family relationship. The 1820 census added questions about nativity and industry; subsequent censuses added questions about occupation, military service, income, education and other important information.

Census results, therefore, are not only fundamental for congressional apportionment and redistricting but also for providing information to organizations and people who make decisions about many issues. These include matters of public relevance such as health and education, transportation planning and community services, and private concerns — such as siting of businesses, housing, consumer marketing and economic strategies.

This article presents an overview of the historical basis for the United States' decennial census, the importance of census results, and the complex problems and issues associated with taking a modern census.

PURPOSE OF THE U.S. CENSUS

The fundamental and original purpose of the census in the United States was to provide data for reapportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives. Article I of the U.S. Constitution mandates that an enumeration shall be made of the population every ten years.

Since the 1930 census, the 435 seats of the U.S. House of Representatives have been automatically reapportioned upon delivery of the population counts from the Bureau of the Census. Once the Secretary of Commerce transmits the decennial census count for each of the states to the president, the reapportionment of the Congress is determined quickly. The U.S. Constitution specifies that the number of congressional seats is to be apportioned to each state according to its population.

Once congressional seats are assigned to each state, the geographic boundaries for each district must be redefined. The Congress requires the Census Bureau to provide decennial census population tabulations to state officials for legislative reapportionment and redistricting within one year after the April 1 census date.

THE TABULATION PROCESS

The census begins with construction of a nationwide address register that incorporates elaborate procedures to ensure that the coverage and tabulation will be as complete as possible. Every residential address receives census forms, with instructions on return mailing of the completed

questionnaire. Traditionally, not all households return their completed forms within a reasonable period of time. As a result, a large staff of census enumerators are in place to visit those households that do not respond to the main questions regarding the number of family members and their key demographic characteristics. Through this intensive follow-up effort, census officers determine whether a particular unit — house or apartment — is occupied and obtain the answers to the key questions. The process also incorporates special programs to reach specific groups (such as homeless people; those in institutions, dormitories or barracks; others who do not reside in standard households).

The results from the returned mail questionnaires, enumerator follow-ups and intensive special coverage improvement efforts — when combined — produce the final census count of the U.S. population.

THE DATA

The mail questionnaire that most households in the 2000 census will receive is a “short form” that asks a limited number of questions about household members. Historically, the census has collected additional content beyond this minimal query on age, sex and race that is needed from all households for the constitutional purposes of reapportionment and redistricting. Since 1960, most of the additional data have been collected on a separate sample form (also known as the “long form”) sent to a fraction of households. These added details are widely used to serve many important public purposes.

The census short form sent to all households will include seven questions — six related to population characteristics and one related to housing. The longer form will incorporate the questions on the short form and pose a total of 52 queries.

Historically, the decennial census has included questions on race and ethnicity, although the specific questions asked have often changed. These changes have occurred because of shifts in the racial and

ethnic makeup of the population, changes in social attitudes and political concerns and the evolving needs of the U.S. Government for racial statistics. The increased racial and ethnic diversity, changing attitudes about race and ethnicity and increased use of census data have added attention and controversy over census questions on race and ethnicity.

The 1990 census included a race question that asked each person to identify himself or herself as Caucasian, black or Negro, American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, Asian or Pacific Islander, or other. American Indians were asked to provide a specific tribal affiliation. Asian or Pacific Islanders were asked to select from a list of nationality groups. Separate from the race question, respondents were asked if they were of Spanish or Hispanic origin or descent and, if so, to choose Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or other.

The 2000 census will include race and Hispanic items similar to 1990, but respondents will have the opportunity to check more than one race group. Unlike previous censuses, in which persons of multiple racial backgrounds were compelled to check “other” and then write in a response, the 2000 census will collect direct information on the specific backgrounds for persons of multiple racial ancestry.

THE CENSUS UNDERCOUNT: A GROWING CHALLENGE

Although the census count of the U.S. population has never been complete, public concerns about the incompleteness have increased in recent decades — particularly because the census is the sole basis for apportionment of congressional seats and relied on heavily for the distribution of U.S. Government funds. Improved statistical and demographic techniques now enable the Census Bureau to estimate the incompleteness of the census with a greater accuracy than in the past.

Some undercount of the population occurs in the censuses of all countries. In the United States, demographic analysis of coverage shows that the net undercount here (the number of people omitted from the U.S. census minus the number overcounted) was estimated at 7.0 million in 1940, 6.3 million in 1950, 5.6 million in 1960, 5.5 million in 1970, 2.8 million in 1980, and 4.7 million in 1990. In percentage

terms, the undercount rate for the population dropped steadily from 1940 (5.4 percent) to 1980 (1.2), before rising in 1990 (1.8).

According to the 1990 estimates by demographic analysis, almost three-fourths of the net national undercount consisted of nonblacks (primarily whites). The rate of undercount, however, was over four times higher for blacks than for nonblacks, 5.7 percent and 1.3 percent, respectively.

Special 1990 decennial census surveys revealed that net undercount rates were also higher for other racial and ethnic minorities. The undercount of Asian and Hispanic groups was likely to have been influenced by the relatively large numbers of foreign-born persons. Immigrants may not have understood census questionnaires and procedures.

There is widespread agreement among stakeholders and politicians about several changes that the Census Bureau has proposed for the 2000 census. Census questionnaires will be simpler and clearer. For example, there will be more use of color to highlight where respondents will provide the information sought. Moreover, new partnerships will be formed with local city, county and state officials. There will be a "complete count" committee formed in every state to work with the Census Bureau, to ensure that all state agencies are cognizant of what a complete census count entails. In addition, the U.S. Bureau of the Census will spend \$100 million on paid advertising to help promote participation in the forthcoming tabulation.

An intriguing partnership is being formed with the nation's students and educators. The Census Bureau is distributing copies of a free curriculum, "Making Sense of Census 2000," to tens of thousands of public and private elementary and secondary schools across the United States. The purpose is to encourage families, through the students in the household, to respond to the request for census information. A heightened targeting will take place in areas with traditionally low census-response rates.

Realistically, the Census Bureau cannot succeed in its efforts without widespread support and participation by the U.S. populace. Partnerships with state and local governments will be needed in the campaign. One special goal for improved cooperation between the Census Bureau and local

governments is to reach agreement on the nationwide address register for the decennial census, since approximately one-half of the census undercount is attributable to missed housing units. The new methods promise to reduce the amount of missing data, thus reducing the census undercount.

ULTIMATE USES OF CENSUS DATA

The census is unique among statistical programs of the U.S. Government because it is reasonably accurate even for small geographic areas and small population subgroups. The government also collects information using administrative records and surveys, but the census alone provides a broad range of information encompassing the entire population that can be cross-tabulated for those smaller geographic and population units.

Federal, state and local governments, plus such private sector elements as the academic and business communities, use census data extensively. Indeed, since the availability of computer-readable data files beginning with the 1970 census, there has been an explosion in the use of census data by a wide range of users for a variety of purposes.

Within the U.S. statistical framework, the census serves important functions. They include: providing estimates for program management and government reports (e.g., the Immigration and Naturalization Service relies on census information on the foreign-born for its reports that are ordered by Congress); denominators for vital statistics (e.g., birth and death rates) used, for instance, by public health officials to

monitor the health conditions of the U.S. population; and information to update age, sex and race data for the ongoing weighting of household sample surveys — in other words, to reflect as accurately as possible the current distribution of the population. As for state and local governments, they use this information to identify those in need of particular services, and to allocate facilities and resources to serve people most effectively.

Census statistics are crucial to the private sector as well. Business organizations, universities and other research arms, the nonprofit world, the media, academia and individual citizens find data vital, often when combined with data from their own research. Corporations make important decisions on marketing and sales based on population statistics. Research organizations use census data to advance knowledge that may frequently have policy implications, such as to track educational advancement to calculate better the degree of need for adult literacy programs. And the media use these statistics for purposes of informing the public on myriad matters — for instance, population changes and the extent to which that change depends on migration.

Ultimately, the United States could not function properly and effectively without the decennial census. This has been true for the past two centuries, and it will, no doubt, be equally true in the coming millennium. ■

Barry Edmonston is director of the Center for Population Research and Census at Portland State University (Oregon). He is author of The 2000 Census Challenge, a recent study on the census for the Population Research Bureau in Washington, D.C.

THE DEBATE IN THE UNITED STATES OVER IMMIGRATION

By DAPHNE SPAIN

Immigration to the United States has been so extensive during the past two decades that it appears the century will end as it began, with healthy debates about how immigrants fit into the ideal U.S. society.

Do we celebrate cultural differences or try to minimize them? Should ethnic and racial boundaries be erased through assimilation of immigrants by blurring differences to achieve a melting pot, or should racial and ethnic differences be maintained to create a stronger pluralistic society?

There is a healthy degree of support for each point of view. A nationwide survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in 1994 included the following statement: "Some people say that it is better for America if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct cultures. Others say it is better if groups change so that they blend into the larger society as in the idea of a melting pot." People were asked to rank their opinions on a scale ranging from "maintaining distinct cultures" (pluralism) to "blending into the larger society" (assimilation). Roughly one-third of Americans thought pluralism was the best route, one-third endorsed assimilation, and one-third found themselves somewhere in between.

This article describes recent trends in immigration to the United States. It addresses the demographic, socioeconomic, cultural and political impact of high levels of immigration and identifies emerging challenges for the new century.

Immigration is the "bookend" demographic phenomenon of 20th-century United States history. Over one million immigrants arrived annually during

the first decade of the century, and about one million have arrived annually in the last decade. (Relatively little immigration occurred between 1915 and 1965 due in part to the Depression of the late 1920s and 1930s and various forms of restrictive legislation.) Today, they hail from different countries than the new arrivals of the 1900s, and proceed to a wider range of cities. Still, immigrants raise some of the same issues today that they did 100 years ago.

In *Immigration to the United States: Journey to an Uncertain Destination*, a 1994 report of the Population Reference Bureau, Philip Martin and Elizabeth Midgley identify three reasons that immigration has become a subject of debate in the 1990s. First, the number of immigrants is rising from its low point in the 1940s. Second, today's immigrants differ significantly in ethnicity, education and skills from native-born Americans. Third, no political consensus exists on whether immigrants are assets or liabilities to U.S. society. Although the 1994 General Social Survey revealed general tolerance for immigration, it also found that 60 percent of Americans believe immigration should be reduced from its current levels. Slightly more (about two-thirds) thought additional immigration would "make it harder to keep the country united." Americans think immigration is unlikely to contribute to higher economic growth, and over 80 percent think higher immigration would create higher unemployment (although they don't fear that immigrants affect their own job security).

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

When immigrants arrived in the United States primarily by ship, an average of one million per year landed between 1905 and 1914. In this decade, since 1992, the number of annual arrivals is the same. But now, they arrive by land, sea and air.

If the figures are high at both ends of the century, their impact on the composition of the U.S. population is different now because the country is so much larger. The foreign-born accounted for almost 15 percent of the total population in the early 1900s compared with about nine percent today, according to Martin and Midgley, and to a 1996 article in *Population Bulletin*, "The United States at Mid-Decade," by Carol J. De Vita.

The most obvious difference between immigrants at the beginning and end of this century is their origins. Most immigrants around 1900 came from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Canada and England. So many 19th-century immigrants came from Europe by ship, in fact, that the U.S. Government did not tabulate those who crossed into the United States from Mexico or Canada until 1908. Mexico emerged as a significant contributor to U.S. immigration during the 1920s and now accounts for the greatest flow of immigrants entering the country. After Mexico, the Philippines, China and India send the largest number of immigrants to the United States today.

New York City was the favored destination of European immigrants landing at Ellis Island in 1910, when about 40 percent of the city's population was foreign-born. Now that Central America and Asia have become major sources of immigration, Los Angeles competes with New York City for top rank. Between 1991 and 1996, each city was the intended destination of over 600,000 immigrants. Together these two cities accounted for one in five immigrants. Chicago and Miami were the next two most popular destinations, each averaging about 200,000 new arrivals between 1991 and 1996.

Boston and San Francisco, important destinations at the beginning of the century, are still among the top 12 destinations of immigrants.

Immigrants who came primarily from Europe settled in the U.S. Northeast and Midwest. Recent immigrants from Central America and Asia are moving to the West and Southwest. Thus immigrants are mirroring the migration patterns of native-born residents, introducing distinctly regional accents to the debate over assimilation versus pluralism.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

The three basic indicators of socioeconomic status in the United States are education, occupation and income. In a perfectly assimilated society, there would be only minor differences in these measures among people from different countries. One would also expect such distinctions to decline the longer immigrants are in this country. Census data for 1990 partially support these assumptions. Immigrants from earlier periods have higher family incomes than more recent immigrants and are more likely to be employed as managers and professionals. And yet, recent arrivals are more likely to have college degrees than earlier arrivals and the native-born.

Median family income in 1990 was \$35,700 among the foreign-born who arrived in the United States before 1980, about the same as for native-born Americans. Among immigrants who arrived after 1980, however, median family income in 1990 was only \$24,600. Recent immigrants are twice as likely to be poor (23 percent) as earlier arrivals (11 percent) and the native-born (10 percent). These statistics on economic well-being reflect different employment patterns. One-quarter of adult immigrants who arrived in the United States before 1980 held managerial or professional jobs, similar to the proportion of native-born Americans who worked as managers and professionals. By contrast, only 17 percent of working-age immigrants arriving after 1980 held managerial or professional occupations. Immigrants are about equally as likely as the native-born to be self-employed (13 percent). The anomaly is educational attainment. Approximately one out of every four recent arrivals had a college

degree in 1990 compared with one out of five among earlier arrivals and the native-born, according to Martin and Midgley and to another team of researchers, Barry Chiswick and Teresa A. Sullivan, whose 1995 survey on new immigrants appeared in *State of the Union: America in the 1990s* (edited by Reynolds Farley).

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Religion, language, food and festivals are the cornerstones of cultural identity. Mosques have joined churches and synagogues as part of the urban landscape in the largest cities. Signs that announce worship services in two or more languages are now a common sight in many U.S. communities, since many churches share their facilities with new immigrant congregations until the newcomers can establish their own houses of worship. The multitude of languages introduced by immigrants has strained the capacity of some school systems at the same time that it has enriched students' exposure to non-western literature and art.

Immigrants have enriched the American palate through successful restaurants and stores that cater to immigrants and the native-born. For example, the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area boasts thriving Vietnamese, Korean and Ethiopian communities that have introduced ethnic specialties to traditionally bland diets. Cinco de Mayo and the Chinese New Year are celebrated widely across the nation. The creation and management of small businesses, and investment in dormant housing markets in marginal neighborhoods, are two ways in which immigrants have helped revitalize U.S. cities.

As far as a preference for assimilation or pluralism is concerned, immigrant thinking varies. In an ideal world, the two would coexist, enabling newcomers to

continue to observe the cultural practices that sustained their communities in their country of origin, at the same time that they participate in U.S. society in economically productive ways.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Immigrants vote less often than native-born Americans, because many have not yet become citizens through the naturalization process. New arrivals ages 18 and over may acquire U.S. citizenship if they have been legal residents for at least five years; can read, write and speak English; have some knowledge of U.S. history and government; and are of sound moral character. Choosing to become a citizen is one of the clearest signals of assimilation immigrants can convey. Among all immigrants in 1990, 40 percent had earned citizenship. Italians and Germans had the highest rates (nearly three-quarters of all immigrants), while Central Americans had the lowest rates (less than 20 percent), according to the Martin and Midgley study.

Is a 40 percent "naturalization rate" high or low by historical standards? In 1920, the first year in which women were eligible to vote in the United States, 49 percent of the adult foreign-born population were citizens, according to U.S. Bureau of the Census data. One could look at the slight decline in naturalization rates and read it as an indicator of increased pluralism. On the other hand, the similarity in rates for 1920 and 1990 seems remarkable given the greater diversity among recent immigrants and the changing political climate.

Most Americans prefer assimilation to pluralism when it comes to political issues. In the 1994 National Opinion Research Center poll, two-thirds of Americans agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "political organizations based on race or ethnicity promote separatism and make it hard for all of us to live together." People seem to practice what they preach. When asked about their own identities, an overwhelming majority of respondents (89 percent) considered themselves as "just an American" rather than as a member of a particular racial or ethnic group, or a "hyphenated American."

THE ROAD AHEAD

Past and current immigration trends have resulted in an American population that is predominantly white and non-Hispanic (74 percent). If immigration continues at its present rate, however, whites will hold a slim majority (52 percent) by 2050. Hispanics will account for the single largest minority group (22 percent). African Americans will represent 14 percent of the population, and the Asian contingent will have risen from three to 10 percent.

For the first time in history, Americans responding to the Census 2000 will be able to identify themselves on the form as “one or more races.” The decision to allow multiple racial designations was the result of intense debate among census statisticians, politicians and the public. It indicates a shift toward racial assimilation, and raises the possibility that previously contentious racial distinctions may eventually disappear. Roberto Suro, author of *Strangers Among Us: How Latino Immigration Is Transforming America*, proposes that our current vocabulary of race is inadequate because Latinos and Asians fall outside a world in which people are categorized as insiders or outsiders depending on whether they are white or black. Indeed, the category “Hispanic” applies to both immigrants and the native-born, thus obscuring distinctions between new arrivals and long-term residents. Future debates about assimilation versus pluralism will sound very different as distinctions by race and ethnicity fade.

The late 1990s saw extensive welfare reform legislation enacted by the Congress and signed into law by President Clinton. This legislation limits certain types of public assistance to immigrants. In that light, since recent immigrants are more likely to be poor than earlier arrivals, it remains to be seen how localities with high rates of immigration will provide adequate services to those who need them.

What does the future hold? The debate over immigration tells us something about ourselves as

Americans. The story is one of increasingly blurred boundaries between groups. Although erasing distinctions completely may be neither possible nor desirable, minimizing them seems inevitable. The framers of the Constitution who wrote “We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union...” at the end of the 18th century were voicing their hopes for a nation of immigrants. As we enter the 21st century, the American challenge is to continue to incorporate immigrants into our vision of the future. ■

Daphne Spain, Ph.D., is professor of urban and environmental planning in the School of Architecture, University of Virginia (Charlottesville). She is the author of America on the Edge of Two Centuries, a report published in May 1999 by the Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

BIRTH OF AN OLD GENERATION

By THEODORE ROSZAK



My morning newspaper brings me a curious bit of cultural news. The television networks have run their annual “sweeps,” the viewer ratings that determine advertising revenue in the season to come. The winners are the two networks that have done the best job of attracting the 18-to-49 age group, which, according to the press account, is deemed the most valuable by the advertising community.

More than 30 years ago, the U.S. marketplace first woke up to the “young demographic.” The obstreperous children of the baby boom, who seemed then to have discovered the secret of eternal youth, are now well into their own troubled and compromised midlife. Yet advertisers and the media — as well as politicians and policymakers — continue to be obsessed with youth and are seemingly oblivious to the needs and views of older Americans. As one aging advertising copywriter lamented in a *New York Times Magazine* special issue on this age boom, “to advertisers, youth is excitement and pizzazz. ... It all goes back to one of those unwritten rules of marketing: Don’t target consumers who are 50 and over because they’re beyond reach.”

In *The Conquest of Cool*, his 1997 book on “business culture, counter culture, and the rise of hip consumerism,” Thomas Frank argues that the preoccupation with youth that emerged in the 1960s will be with us forever. “Youth must always win,” he writes. “The new naturally replaces the old. ... We will have new generations of youth rebellion as certainly as we will have new generations of muffers or toothpaste or footwear.” If Frank is right, then the U.S. corporate sector and its media are at war with the United States Census Bureau. So are politicians

who fail to take heed of the elderly. All are living in ignorance of the central demographic fact of the 21st century: The young are a vanishing breed. The future lies with the old.

Though the young may remain a market, they are fated to dwindle steadily in numbers and purchasing power. The United States began growing collectively older as early as 1800. In Thomas Jefferson’s time, half the white population was below 16 years old, an age-to-youth ratio that the country was never to see again. Throughout the 19th century, despite the demographic ups and downs of waves of immigration and killer epidemics, life expectancy grew longer and the society grew steadily older. By the 1930s, national conferences were being held to explore solutions to the problems posed by a rapidly growing senior population. Today, Americans over 50 make up the fastest-growing segment of society.

The great exception to the long-term aging of U.S. society was the reproductive outburst that took place between 1946 and 1964. Through those years, U.S. births ballooned to an average rate of 3.7 children per family. Less than a decade later, as if in a fit of exhaustion, total fertility among women in the United States dropped off, reaching a record low average of 1.7 births per family by 1976 — well below the rate needed to replace the population. Since then, as in most industrialized societies, the birth rate has continued its downward slide. That our overall rate of population growth has hovered around the replacement number is increasingly a consequence of immigration.

Everywhere in industrialized societies, couples are marrying later (if they marry at all), waiting longer to have babies, and then having fewer of them. As

even population-bomb alarmists now admit, declining procreation is inextricably connected with what the modern world calls progress.

Women, especially, experience childlessness or late parenthood as liberating; it allows them to spend more of their lives exploring careers, traveling, learning. This country's baby boomers themselves established this pattern of reproduction. In the mid-1970s, when the women's liberation movement was at its peak, the number of childless women in their 20s doubled; in the next decade, births tripled for women between the ages of 30 and 35. Most of these older mothers worked and had fewer babies, often only one.

But it is not just in sheer numbers that older Americans increasingly overshadow the young. Their share of the national wealth vastly exceeds that of their children and grandchildren — a fact that might be of considerable interest to those marketers who so eagerly court a youthful audience. The quarter of the U.S. population that will be over 50 years old at the turn of the 21st century has an annual personal income approaching a trillion [one million million] dollars. These older Americans control fully half of the country's disposable income, 75 percent of its financial assets (worth more than \$8 trillion) and 80 percent of its savings and loan accounts.

With a long life expectancy

SENIORS: A VITAL RESOURCE

By James Scheibel

The aging of the United States population could present a great challenge if senior citizens were drains on society taking resources away from younger Americans. That is how seniors have been portrayed on occasion. In fact, however, the aging of the nation is providing a remarkable opportunity for engaging the best-educated and most vigorous group of retirees in U.S. history to help wrestle with the challenges contemporary U.S. society poses.

The number of people in the United States over 65 has doubled in the past four decades, and is expected to double again by 2030. Today's retirees are finding that after leaving the job market they now have the time, the energy and the will to devote themselves to volunteer activities they had little time for while working. They are joining organizations such as the National Senior Service Corps, a network of more than a half-million older citizens.

In the Corps, part of the Corporation for National Service, 24,000 foster grandparents spend 20 hours a week in detention centers, group homes, classrooms, homeless shelters and other facilities, aiding youngsters who have been victimized by abuse and neglect, and caring for premature infants and children with disabilities. Some 13,000 "senior companions" assist other senior citizens who reside in independent living units. Still other senior volunteers tutor students, construct homes, patrol neighborhoods and deliver meals to the homebound.

Men and women over 55 are also increasingly putting their experience, skills, talents, interests and creativity to work helping local nonprofit organizations, service agencies and corporate volunteer programs. They are applying their skills in activities ranging from education and health care to public safety and the environment. Seniors appear to be particularly well-suited to working on the problems of children and youth. For instance, the Corporation for National Service's five Experience Corps demonstration projects are tapping senior volunteers not only to serve one-on-one in the classroom, but also to start after-school programs, recruit parents for the parent-teacher-student associations and bring new resources from the community into schools.

As more and more seniors and retirees seek to become involved in community service, the challenge to policymakers is to provide more opportunities for older citizens to serve — both part-time and full-time. Harnessing the potential of the United States' 50 million seniors could go far in building a better U.S. society for all Americans.

The noted U.S. psychologist Erik Erikson once said that the final challenge in life is coming to terms with the notion, "I am what survives of me." If he is correct, then volunteerism — especially that form of service having an impact on young people — is critical to enjoying a fruitful and beneficial old age.

James Scheibel is vice president of the Corporation for National Service in Washington, D.C.

ahead of it, the boomer generation will get richer as it gets older. Boomers will inherit some \$10.7 trillion from their parents. The Social Security Administration estimates that, thanks to personal savings, Medicare, home ownership and tax breaks, Americans over 65 years of age now have the largest amount of discretionary income in the nation — more than twice as much as those between 25 and 34. Among postmenopausal women alone, there exists what syndicated columnist Ellen Goodman calls



“a marketeer's dream” — 50 million alert, book-buying, culture-consuming females, many of them the first beneficiaries of hormone replacement therapy that will keep them alive and active, and perhaps even earning, deep into their senior years.

“There will always be a youth market,” observes Cheryl Russell, a contributing editor at *American Demographics*, “but it won't always be powerful relative to other markets. In the future, American business has got to learn to love the middle-aged.”

A demographic change this dramatic cannot help but be linked to larger political changes in the offing. As U.S. society's financial and political center of gravity shifts steadily toward age, the values that take hold among older Americans become ever more consequential. Seniors are not only the primary

property-owners in the United States; they are also the country's most conscientious voters. Winning their allegiance will be the great electoral prize of the coming century.

Studies of voting behavior show that senior voters have no predictable political orientation on anything — except obvious threats to entitlements. As conservative as they may be on many issues, elders are the anchor of the welfare state, and that anchor is getting heavier with each passing year. This inexorable trend accounts for the peculiar urgency of the campaigns to slash or privatize entitlement programs such as Medicare and Social Security. For example, the Paul Tsongas Project, a branch of the fiscally conservative Concord Coalition, has been holding public forums on “generational responsibility” and announcing in its literature that “before the baby boom becomes the senior boom, our political leaders have a window of opportunity” to reform entitlements policy. The project believes that entitlements will “soon consume all federal revenues.”

That sounds alarming, but how “soon” is this going to happen? If we were to do nothing to restructure Social Security between now and 2032, the system would still be able to pay 75 percent of what it owes. Even taken at the extreme, there isn't a very convincing emergency. But of course U.S. society will not just sit and do “nothing” about Social Security. As the Social Security Administration has made clear, a series of modest, gradual adjustments in funding and coverage — none of which require privatization — will keep the program solvent for the next century.

Other foes of entitlements have pressed their critique even more formidably. Peter G. Peterson, founding president of the Concord Coalition, warns that Medicare will soon have to invoke the “R” word: rationing. He may believe, as he has stated, that he is defending the interests of “our children” — but it will be instructive to see how many of those children will prove willing to pinch pennies when a for-profit managed-care administrator informs them that it will cost the HMO too much to keep their ailing parents alive.

Once, it was the task of trade unions to see that the wealth of the nation was spread equitably. In the years ahead, we may have to look to grandparent



power as the only force strong and compassionate enough to check corporate America and the expansion of globalization. If such an insurgency seems like a lot to hope for from elders, we should bear in mind that the boomers are a generation that has always expected a lot of itself. Future seniors cannot be judged by current seniors; when baby boomers join the senior category, we can expect rather different political behavior.

The next older generation in the United States will be the best educated, most widely traveled, most professionally trained, most politically astute and most culturally creative generation this country has ever produced. And they have a remarkable heritage. They have staked out a place in the history books as rebels who eventually rallied to many noble causes: civil rights, nuclear disarmament, sexual freedom, consumer advocacy, environmental sanity and women's, gay and ethnic liberation. Not since the days of such independent political figures as Robert LaFollette and President Theodore Roosevelt, in the early decades of this century, has any generation confronted the power structure by raising challenging questions about the ethical use of wealth and power.

Youth is one time to assume such high moral airs; old age is another. It is true that the dissenting younger generation of the 1960s grew into a responsible adulthood that took its toll on their idealism. But in time, adults grow still older and at last retire into a condition not unlike the freedom of a campus.

One person who recognized that fact early on, back in the 1960s, is Maggie Kuhn, founder of the Gray Panthers, an intergenerational advocacy and educational organization working for social and economic justice. It addresses such issues as national health care, jobs, social security, housing, sustainable environment, education and peace. “The old,” she observed, “having the benefit of life experience, the time to get things done, and the least to lose by sticking their necks out, were in a perfect position to serve as advocates for the larger public good.”

It was a mistake to write off college students of the 1960s as conventional members of the middle class. It might be just as foolish to assume that the next senior generation will simply fade into political

oblivion the same way their elders did when they were few in number and the word “old” was invariably linked to the word “poor.” “Retirement,” Kuhn has further observed, “is like being rich. Nobody can fire you.”

If they search through their ethical repertoire, aging boomers will easily find a wealth of counterculture alternatives to draw upon in shaping the longevity revolution. They grew up with the sort of utopian longings that social critics like Paul Goodman took to be the beginning of significant political change. The first time around, those who dreamed up alternatives to the status quo may have been immature; they needed the benefit of ripening. And that is what they have gained in passing from the 1960s to the 1990s. They are now the older generation, no longer to be dismissed as spoiled children. Retirement gives them the time — and entitlements allow them the opportunity — to return to the moral passion that once marked them as an amazing generation.

These days the cartoon stereotype of the older American is that of a cadaverous parasite shuffling across the putting green. That image is far from accurate for our existing elders, who are expanding the economy’s volunteer sector, returning to school in growing numbers, becoming ever more politically engaged, and demonstrating a keen interest in keeping up with

LOOKING AHEAD: A BABY-BOOMER PERSPECTIVE

Excerpts from a Segmentation Analysis by the American Association of Retired Persons

The “Baby Boom” generation is that component of the U.S. population born between 1946 and 1964, in the wake of World War II. For many decades, it has attracted the attention of demographers, politicians, marketers and social scientists as the years have passed — from the postwar boom of the 1950s to the counterculture of the 1960s, then on to the dual-income households and the “me” generation of the 1970s and 1980s, through the present decade.

Now the oldest baby boomers are into their 50s, and, as such, are approaching retirement. Some, in fact, already have retired. Many will do so well before 2010.

A recent study by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), amassing information gathered through focus groups, extensive telephone interviews, and other polling mechanisms, surveyed expectations of the baby boom generation in a number of areas. It reveals the following:

- Eight in 10 plan to work at least part-time during their retirement. Only 16 percent say they do not expect to work at all.*
- Six in 10 feel confident in their ability to prepare adequately for the future. Only 23 percent believe they will have to struggle to make ends meet.*
- Only about two in 10 have the attitude that “the future will take care of itself,” and only nine percent believe in dependence on their family for assistance during retirement.*
- Two-thirds are satisfied with the amount of money they are depositing today for retirement. Fewer than half (48 percent) are counting on Social Security as a source of retirement income, and of these, just 15 percent expect to rely on it for most or all of their retirement needs.*
- Nearly half (49 percent) expect to devote more time to community service or volunteer activities during retirement.*
- More than seven in 10 (73 percent) plan to become involved in a hobby or special interest to which they will dedicate considerable time when retired.*
- More than eight in 10 (81 percent) of those who claim to have given considerable thought to retirement say they feel optimistic about those years.*

modernity by becoming computer literate. As every retirement advisor knows, in their later years people grow serious about the meaning of life and seek to devote themselves to matters of lasting significance.

The next generation of seniors may discover such meaning in the work they left unfinished so many years ago.

The poet William Wordsworth, coming of age in the time of the French Revolution, wrote of the youth who lived through that turbulent era: “Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive/And to be young was very heaven!” It would be remarkable, indeed, if the true destiny of radical dissent in our time lies not in the dawn of this peculiar generation, but in its twilight years still waiting to be realized. ■



Theodore Roszak is professor of history at California State University, Hayward. He is the author of America the Wise: The Longevity Revolution and the True Wealth of Nations (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), and The Making of a Counterculture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition (University of California Press, 1995).

This article previously appeared in the October/November 1998 issue of *Civilization*. It is reprinted by permission.

THE UNITED STATES POPULATION: WHERE THE NEW IMMIGRANTS ARE

By WILLIAM H. FREY

With immigration to the United States clipping along at one million newcomers per year — largely of Latin American and Asian origin — America’s demographic profile is becoming increasingly diverse in its race and ethnic makeup. At least this is the perception one gets when looking at national statistics. The year 2000 census will show that at least three out of ten U.S. residents will be something other than white Anglos. In the year 2006, the Hispanic population will outnumber the black population. And in the year 2030, one out of four will be either Hispanic or Asian in ethnic makeup.

These nationwide statistics suggest the formation of a “single melting pot” made up of new Americans from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Yet, an examination of individual metropolitan area settlement patterns suggests something quite different. On the one hand, we find that there are already 25 metropolitan areas that fit the “year 2030” national profile (where at least 25 percent of the population is either Hispanic or Asian, and less than 60 percent is Anglo). These include such large metropolitan areas as Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco (California), Miami (Florida) and

Houston (Texas), as well as many smaller metropolitan areas in California, New Mexico and along the Texas-Mexico border. On the other hand, well over half (148) of the nation’s 271 metro areas are at least 80 percent white — in the Northeast, Midwest and Mountain States, as well as large parts of the South — where African Americans rather than the new immigrant minorities tend to comprise the major non-white group.

In short, new immigration and infusion of Latin American and Asian minorities to the United States remain highly clustered within a handful of metropolitan areas or “multiple melting pots.” Within these, levels of interracial marriages and lower levels of residential segregation accompany ethnic enclaves, new entrepreneurship and the rich cultural diversity that defined immigrant communities at the turn of the last century in the United States. At issue is when and how fast this diversity “spills over” into the rest of the nation. The new analysis that follows is based on recently released census statistics suggesting that some “spillover” of new immigrant minorities in fact is occurring, and pinpoints metropolitan areas that can expect to see continued growth of Hispanic and Asian populations.

First, though, let us consider the classic immigrant magnet metropolitan areas that still house the plurality of the nation’s foreign-born, new immigrant minority groups.

“CLASSIC” IMMIGRANT MAGNETS

During the first seven years of the 1990s, about 65 percent of all immigrants to the United States situated themselves in just 10 metropolitan areas. New York and Los Angeles received about one million each, San Francisco received about a third as many, followed by Chicago (Illinois) at one-quarter million. The remaining six (Miami; Washington, D.C.; Houston and Dallas, Texas; San Diego, and Boston, Massachusetts) together received less than either New York or Los Angeles alone.

These 10 areas, which represent the dominant destinations of recent immigrants, are home to only about 30 percent of the total U.S. population. Moreover, all except Dallas and Houston are losing domestic migrants to other parts of the country at the same time that they are gaining large numbers of immigrants. And New York and Los Angeles dominate the statistics by losing about 1.5 million domestic migrants each over the 1990-97 period.

Why do immigrants continue to flock to areas that seem to be becoming less desirable to U.S. residents? The answer lies with the strong family reunification tradition in U.S. immigration laws, and the need for co-nationals from countries with similar backgrounds, languages and cultures to live in communities where they will receive both social and economic support. Family reunification immigration tends to occur in “chains” that link family members and friends to common destinations. This is especially the case for lower-skilled immigrants since they are more dependent on kinship ties for assistance in gaining entry to informal job networks that exist in the “classic” immigrant magnet metro areas.

By contrast, most native-born and longer-term residents, especially whites and blacks, are far more “footloose.” They are not as economically and socially constrained to concentrate on particular parts of the country. Their migration patterns are dictated much more strongly by the pushes and pulls of employment opportunities and quality of life amenities than by kinship ties. Hence, the domestic migration losses for New York, Los Angeles and

other high immigrant metro regions do not necessarily mean that U.S. residents are “fleeing” immigrants. Rather, non-immigrants are less dependent on friends and family networks for job information. They tend to move where job growth has been most explosive in recent decades, specifically large parts of the West outside of California and many of the “New South” job generating sectors like Atlanta — areas whose race-ethnic profile has been largely white and black.

Just as the 10 “classic” immigrant magnets have attracted most of the recent immigrant population, it should come as no surprise that they house most of the nation’s Hispanic and Asian populations. Close to six out of ten Hispanics and Asians reside there. Los Angeles alone houses about one-fifth of the U.S. Hispanic population; yet each metropolitan area has its own particular mix. Miami holds a strong attraction for Cubans; New York City draws Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and other Caribbean-origin groups; and Chicago remains a perennial magnet for Mexicans. Just three metro areas, Los Angeles, New York and San Francisco, house over 40 percent of all U.S. Asians, although here too, the primary countries of origin differ. The Chinese are a major immigrant group for New York, Filipinos are drawn heavily to Los Angeles, and both groups show a large presence in San Francisco.

In light of these statistics, it is not surprising that four of the 10 “classic” immigrant magnets have achieved, or are close to achieving, “minority white” populations (43 percent in Miami and Los Angeles, 54 percent in Houston and 55 percent in San Francisco). The Greater New York metropolitan region, spanning 29 counties across four different states, is already only 60 percent white — well below the national average (72 percent). Moreover, the diversity is spilling over into the entire metropolitan area, not just the center of the city. Of those 29 counties, 21 are experiencing immigration gains while, at the same time, losing domestic migrants to other parts of the country.

These metropolitan areas benefit from being “multiple melting pots” despite the fact that the rest of the country is not nearly as diverse. The concentration of large numbers of new race and ethnic minorities, along with whites and blacks, should lead to a greater social and economic

incorporation of these groups within their metropolitan areas. The nature of this incorporation, involving large numbers of groups as diverse as Mexicans, Central Americans, Koreans, Indians, Vietnamese and others, will differ from one metropolitan area to another, depending on the mix of groups that reside in each. Still, the residential segregation of these new groups within port-of-entry regions, their entrenchment in well-defined occupational niches and for some groups extremely low levels of political clout will make their road to full economic and political incorporation challenging. However, the increasing levels of intermarriage which appear to be occurring within these metros, and evidence that second generation children are more likely to speak English well and identify as hyphenated Americans, suggests a potential for later assimilation, linked to both upward and outward movement from these "classic" immigrant destinations.

NEW IMMIGRANT DESTINATIONS

We are now seeing evidence for the first time of some "spilling out" of the new immigrant minorities, specifically Asians and Hispanics, to metropolitan areas which previously have had small concentrations of such representation. For these minority groups, the "chains" of migration from the classic gateways, or from their home countries, are just beginning. Most of these metropolitan areas are showing substantial growth in their white and black populations as well. These cities and their surroundings tend to be job-generating magnets in the 1990s; the new immigrant minorities noted above are finding niches both at the high and low ends of the economic spectrum. In these areas, each group's population has increased by at least 40 percent over the first seven years of the 1990s, with at least 50,000 members of the group inhabiting the area in 1997.

As far as Hispanics are concerned, Las Vegas has increased its Latino population more than 100 percent during this decade. Close behind is Atlanta, the capital of the "New South," where Hispanics have had an extremely small presence until recently. As for the remaining metropolitan areas with strong Hispanic gains, they lie mostly in the U.S. Southeast

and West. Portland (Oregon), Orlando and West Palm Beach (Florida), Salt Lake City (Utah), Seattle (Washington), Austin (Texas) and Phoenix (Arizona) each increased Hispanic population by more than 50 percent during the 1990s. Yakima (Washington), Tampa (Florida), Colorado Springs (Colorado), Minneapolis (Minnesota), Oklahoma City (Oklahoma), and Bakersfield and Modesto (California) increased their Hispanic populations by 40 percent or more.

Communities which already house substantial Hispanic populations include Austin, Phoenix, Yakima, Bakersfield and Modesto. Yet there are large metro areas where the Hispanic presence is small despite the recent growth surge (Atlanta, 3.2 percent; Seattle 4.2 percent; Minneapolis, 2.1 percent; Oklahoma City, 4.8 percent). The pioneering Hispanic movers into these areas will have less social infrastructure or capital to draw on but their arrival will likely pave the way for further movement in the decade ahead.

Prominent new Asian magnet metropolitan areas include Las Vegas and Atlanta — where the Asian population grew by 92 percent and 79 percent respectively. Phoenix, Dallas and Houston each increased its Asian population by more than half over the 1990s. Other new Asian magnets include Minneapolis, Portland, Boston, Seattle, Detroit (Michigan), Denver (Colorado) and Miami. The Asian presence in these metropolitan areas is not particularly large. With the exception of Seattle (7.6 percent) and Houston (4.6 percent) the Asian share of the remaining areas' populations is less than four percent, and generally considerably less. Yet most of these areas boast booming economies with rapid job growth. The Asian population is particularly attracted to regions strong in engineering and high-tech industries — a factor in a number of these metro magnets.

SUMMARY

Clearly, Asian and Hispanic immigrants are spilling over into regions of the United States with which they are not normally easily associated. Even more important, however, is the fact that they will likely continue to remain minorities in communities that are predominantly white. These ethnic "pioneers" are taking advantage of new opportunities but are also bearing the brunt of new challenges, similar to those borne by earlier immigrants to the United States. In years past, other pioneering groups migrated to the suburbs of New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Today's

migration will carry the new minorities into labor markets in communities such as Salt Lake City, Minneapolis, Oklahoma City and Colorado Springs. As a result, these changes of direction within our "multiple melting pots," these new immigrant destinations, no doubt will shape the nature of both local and national race relations in the decades ahead. ■

William H. Frey is Professor, Center for Social and Demographic Analysis, State University of New York at Albany. He is also Senior Fellow of Demographic Studies at the Milken Institute in Santa Monica, California.

THE BLENDING OF THE UNITED STATES

By ROCHELLE L. STANFIELD

For years, Jorge DelPinal's job as assistant chief of the Census Bureau's Population Division was to fit people into neat, distinct racial and ethnic boxes: white, black, Hispanic, Asian or Native American. As the son of an Anglo mother and a Hispanic father, however, he knew all along that the task was not always possible.

"My identity has evolved as being Hispanic, although I'm only half-and-half," he explained. He said he thus understood the frustration of interracial couples who have always been expected to assign just one race to their children when they fill out government forms. "They're saying, 'Why should we have to choose between the parents?'" the Census Bureau official said.

For the 2000 decennial census, that will no longer be the case. For the first time, the census forms will allow people to check off as many races as apply. As a result, the Census Bureau should obtain a better picture of the extent of intermarriage in the United States.

In the absence of such a direct method, a few years ago veteran demographer Barry Edmonston used sophisticated mathematical modeling techniques to calculate how intermarriage is changing the face of the United States as part of an immigration study he directed for the National Research Council of the American Academy of Sciences. His research was summarized in a report entitled *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic and Fiscal Effects of Immigration*. But as the Canadian-born, white husband of sociologist Sharon Lee, a Chinese-American, Edmonston really needed no computer to understand the

transformation under way in this society. He and his family are living, breathing participants.

The face of America is changing — literally. As President Clinton has said, within 30 or 40 years, when there will be no single race in the majority in the United States, "we had best be ready for it." For his part, Clinton is preparing for that time by talking about racial tolerance and the virtues of multiculturalism. Others are debating immigration policy. Almost all discussion focuses on the potential divisiveness inherent in a nation that is no longer a predominantly white country with a mostly European ancestry.

But afoot behind the scenes is another trend that, if handled carefully, could bring the country closer together rather than drive it apart. This quiet demographic counter-revolution is a dramatic upsurge in intermarriage.

"Demography is a very intimate deal," notes Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) in Washington. "It's not about what activists say; it's about what young men and women do. And what they're doing is marrying each other and having children."

Edmonston's study projected that by 2050, 21 percent of the U.S. population will be of mixed racial or ethnic ancestry, up from an estimate of seven percent today. Among third-generation Hispanic- and Asian-Americans, exogamy — marriage outside one's ethnic group or tribe — is at least 50 percent, he and others estimate. Exogamy remains much less prevalent among African Americans, but it has increased enormously, from about 1.5 percent in the

1960s to eight to 10 percent today.

Such a profound demographic shift could take place while no one was watching because, officially, no one *was* watching. Federal agencies traditionally collected racial data using a formula — one person, one race — similar to the time-honored voting principle. Thus, the Census Bureau could estimate that on census forms no more than two percent of the population would claim to be multiracial. In the absence of a more straightforward count, no one could know for sure what the demographics are.

That's about to change. After the 2000 census, the U.S. Government should have a better idea. In 1997, the Office of Management and Budget, which oversees federal statistical practices, approved a directive allowing people to check as many racial boxes as they believe apply to them. The shift was a compromise between the demands of some interest groups that wanted the addition of a "multiracial" box, and those that objected to any change, fearing dilution of their numbers.

To get ready for the 2000 census, the Census Bureau has conducted dress rehearsals in three sites around the United States. In Sacramento, California, 5.4 percent of the population checked off more than one racial box, nearly three times the proportion expected by many experts. The numbers also demonstrate that intermarriage is on the rise. Among people over 18 years old, 4.1 percent checked more than one box; among those under 18 years old, 8.1 percent did so.

Meanwhile, in the absence of official numbers, with the heightened tension surrounding racial issues, and with the mutual suspicion that exists among competing racial and ethnic interest groups, there's little agreement on what intermarriage will mean for U.S. society in the future.

Some sociologists call Asian-white and Hispanic-Anglo intermarriage simply the latest addition to the melting pot that, since the start of this century, has fused so many Irish, Italian, German and other families of European origin. But despite the rise in black-white marriage, many doubt that African

Americans will be included in this mix.

"I think the almost ineradicable line in America is between blacks and all others," says Roger Wilkins, a history professor at George Mason University in suburban Virginia and a longtime civil rights figure. "Blacks have always been the indigestible mass. Having said that, however, there's no doubt that something is happening," he continued. "Just look at the ads on television [with] beautiful models, male and female, who are not quite white. Are they a mixture of black and white, black and Asian, Hispanic and white? You just can't tell."

Others anticipate that the bedroom will accomplish what other catalysts could not. Douglas J. Besharov, an AEI resident scholar, said in a 1996 article in *The New Democrat* that the growing numbers of mixed-race youth represent "the best hope for the future of American race relations."

Ramona Douglass, president of the Association of MultiEthnic Americans, enthused, "We're living proof that people with two different races or ethnic backgrounds can live together in harmony, that [interracial] families actually do function." Douglass's mother is Italian-American, and her father is a multiracial blend of African American and Native American.

Of course, many portray intermarriage as gradual genocide that will culminate in the disappearance of their particular group. That was the traditional view of the Jewish community, which throughout history closely guarded its small numbers from loss through assimilation. But the very high rate of Jewish out-marriage since World War II has caused an official rethinking among the progressive elements of American Judaism. These groups still encourage marriage within the faith, but instead of shunning those who do marry non-Jews, they are now courting these intermarried couples.

"The Jewish community, at least its liberal branches, moved from a posture of outrage to a posture of outreach," explained Egon Mayer, who is a sociology professor at Brooklyn College and former co-director of the North American Jewish Data Bank at the City University of New York (CUNY). "There's been a tremendous upsurge in efforts to reach out to these families, to invite them in and, in a way, to have a multicultural cake and eat it, too."

Although sociologists are quick to point out the

differences between Jews and other minority groups, they nonetheless acknowledge that the evolution of the Jewish approach to intermarriage may provide a model for the nation as a whole as it discovers, and then confronts, the racial and ethnic blending of the United States.

MELTING POT

To see the new face of the United States, go to a grocery store and look at a box of Betty Crocker-brand food products. Betty's portrait is now in its eighth incarnation since the first composite painting debuted in 1936 with pale skin and blue eyes. Her new look is brown-eyed and dark-haired. She has a duskier complexion than her seven predecessors, with features representing an amalgam of white, Hispanic, Indian, African and Asian ancestry.

A computer created this new Betty in the mid-1990s by blending photos of 75 diverse women. That process was relatively quick, General Mills Inc., spokesmen explain. But they acknowledge that it took quite a while to spread the new image to the whole range of Betty Crocker products.

The slow pace of that process itself could be a metaphor for gradual racial and ethnic intermixing in this country. Indeed, it's taking a long time for the new blended American to surface in society's consciousness. Tiger Woods, the young golf great, publicized the trend by identifying himself as Cablinasian, a mixture of Caucasian, black, Native American and Asian.

For the most part, the marketplace — not government — is leading the way in this evolution. Mixed-race models, particularly men, are in great demand, according to fashion industry experts. And multiracial child actors are now more likely to be tapped for television advertisements.

The ad agencies that hire those models and actors "are not idealistic people," Wilkins said. "They are out to sell stuff, and they study trends very carefully. So, what they see is a big market out there that is reached by beautiful people who are not exactly

white, or who are yearning for a melting pot America."

That serious scholars should be talking about a melting pot is itself a reversal. As a metaphor for American diversity, the melting pot was first discredited after World War I, when the European immigrants streaming into American cities formed distinct ethnic and national enclaves that didn't melt together.

The timing was off, it turned out, and the metaphorical pot was in the wrong place. Interracial and multiethnic fusion started after World War II and happened in the suburbs. City folk moved from their Italian, Irish, Polish or Jewish urban neighborhoods into diffuse suburban settings, then sent their kids to large public universities, throwing them together with youngsters from other ethnic backgrounds who, nonetheless, came from families with similar lifestyles.

"Most people meet their potential partners either at college or when they start working," said sociologist Lee, a University of Richmond (Virginia) professor who is spending some time as a visiting scholar at Portland (Oregon) State University. "When you have a college education, you're likely to be in a milieu where there will be people of all kinds of ethnic backgrounds, and that increases the chances of marrying someone different from your own ethnic background." Lee is a case in point, having met her husband, Edmonston, director of Portland State's Center for Population Research and Census, when they were students.

David Tseng, a special assistant in the U.S. Department of Labor's Pension and Welfare Benefits Administration, tells a similar story. His mother came from Ecuador; his father was the son of a Chinese diplomat in Washington. Their marriage in the late 1950s was unusual for the time. But, says Tseng, "I think it helped that the people with whom they were friendly and socialized with were educated and intelligent and comfortable with people from other lands and cultures."

That dynamic is now routinely seen among native-born Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans. "We're seeing very high rates of intermarriage for Hispanics and Asians who are living in fairly integrated areas outside their traditional areas [of concentration] in the Southwest and West,"

Edmonston pointed out. He cited a study that showed an 80 percent exogamy rate for young, native-born Asians in New England (the U.S. Northeast), for example.

Ironically, the rise in immigration and the trend toward multiculturalism that so many analysts view as major factors leading to divisiveness actually contribute to this blending of races and ethnic groups. "Once you fragment ... the society into so many different ethnic origins, you make it mathematically less and less likely to meet somebody of your own ethnicity," said Wattenberg. "That's what happened, basically, to the Jewish population."

Whether blacks will follow other minorities into the melting pot remains a subject of debate. Skeptics point to the much smaller proportion of black-white marriages and say it won't happen soon. Others respond that the statistical base is very small because, until 1967, such marriages were illegal in 19 states.

COUNTERVAILING FORCES

While many forces are at work to facilitate intermarriage, others militate against it. This is particularly the case for African Americans.

The growing segment of the black community that is going to college, entering the middle class and moving out to the suburbs is also following the general trend toward intermarriage. This tendency is particularly noticeable in California and in cities such as Dallas (Texas), Las Vegas (Nevada) and Phoenix (Arizona), where residential segregation has been less pronounced than in the older northeastern and midwestern U.S. cities, according to Reynolds Farley, who has studied African American residential patterns. In California, for example, among 25-to-34-year-old African Americans, 14 percent of the married black women and 32 percent of the married black men had spouses of a different race, Edmonston noted.

But in the isolated urban neighborhoods of the U.S. Northeast and Midwest, the old pattern remains. "There is a considerable fraction of the black

population that still lives in inner-city areas — in Detroit, Chicago, New York City — that has not been caught up in dynamic economic growth," said Farley, formerly a professor at the University of Michigan and now a vice president of the Russell Sage Foundation in New York City. "They've been left behind, and they are quite far out of it."

Another countervailing force is immigration. Immigrants generally don't marry outside their racial or ethnic group. Their children do to some extent, but out-marriage really is most prevalent in the third generation. The most recent large-scale wave of immigration has produced only first- or second-generation Americans.

Regardless of the real degree of racial and ethnic intermixing that goes on, the test of a blended society will be the proportion of people who identify as multiracial or multiethnic. Until now, that percentage has been small. That's partly because people tend to assume the racial or ethnic identity of one parent — often the minority parent, in the case of blacks and Hispanics. But to a large extent, that identity has been imposed by society.

"I have a Spanish name and I speak Spanish, so people see me as being of Spanish origin," DelPinal, the Census Bureau official, explained.

Racial identification can stem from other sources, such as heightened ethnic pride or the opportunity to benefit from affirmative action and other programs. Over the last few decades, having Native American ancestry has apparently become popular. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of people who checked "American Indian" on their census forms grew from 800,000 to 1.4 million, a much faster increase than could be accounted for by births minus deaths. "People decided they wanted to identify as American Indians, to some extent because of rising ethnic consciousness," observed Jeffrey S. Passel, director of the Immigration Policy Program at the Urban Institute and a former director of the Census Bureau's Population Division.

It is this positive approach to racial or ethnic identification on which liberal elements of the Jewish community are trying to capitalize. For two millennia, exogamy was a major transgression for Jews. (In many communities, prayers for the dead were recited for a Jew who married a non-Jew.) As a result, out-marriage was rare. Before World War II,

it amounted to less than seven percent of Jewish marriages, according to Mayer of CUNY. But in 1970, a National Jewish Population Survey discovered that in the previous five years, 30 percent of new Jewish marriages were to non-Jews. By 1990, that figure was more than 50 percent.

After many meetings, much soul-searching and a lot of acrimonious debate, various synagogue groups in the most liberal denominations and Jewish civic organizations decided to reverse their approach. They still try to discourage intermarriage, but once it occurs, they tend to welcome new interfaith families.

Rabbi Daniel G. Zemel of Temple Micah, a Reform congregation in Washington, was one of those who switched positions. In 1979, when he was ordained a rabbi, Zemel recalled recently, "I felt those rabbis who officiated at intermarriages should be excommunicated from the rabbinical associations. Since that time, my thinking has changed enormously." However, he said, he still does not personally officiate at interfaith marriages. "I think if you can find ways to conceive of a diverse, heterogeneous Jewish community, then that's what we'll be looking at in the future," he said. But, he acknowledged, that will require a revolution in outlook for that component of the Jewish community that has been tied together more by European ethnic roots than by its religious practices.

The sea change contemplated by Zemel is in some ways analogous to the shift required by the United States as it transforms itself from a mostly white nation to a multiracial, blended society. The first step down that path is probably figuring out just who we are. And that requires an accurate count of all colors and the various shades in between. ■

Rochelle L. Stanfield, a former staff correspondent for National Journal, is a Washington, D.C.-based freelance writer specializing in demographics and urban affairs.

This article originally appeared in the September 13, 1997, issue of *National Journal*. It has been updated by the author. Copyright 1997 by National Journal Group Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AND INTERNET SITES

SELECTED BOOKS, ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Aleinikoff, T. Alexander. "A Multicultural Nationalism?" *The American Prospect*, January-February 1998, pp. 80-86.
[<http://www.epn.org/prospect/36/36aleifs.html>]

Anderson, Margo J. *The American Census: A Social History*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1988.

Anderson, Margo J. and Fienberg, Stephen E. *Who Counts? The Politics of Census-Taking in Contemporary America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999.

Angel, Ronald J. and Angel, Jacqueline L. *Who Will Care for Us? Aging and Long-Term Care in Multicultural America*. New York: New York University, 1997.

Anderton, Douglas L.; Barrett, Richard E.; and Bogue, Donald J. *The Population of the United States*. 3d ed. New York: Free Press, 1997.

Barkan, Elliott Robert. *And Still They Come: Immigrants and American Society, 1920 to the 1990s*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1996.

Belsie, Laurent. "America's New Non-Melting Pot." *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 5, 1999, p. 1 ff.

Besharov, Douglas J. and Sullivan, Timothy S. "One Flesh: America Is Experiencing an Unprecedented Increase in Black-White Inter-marriage." *The New Democrat*, July-August 1996, p. 19 ff.

Bianchi, Suzanne and Spain, Daphne. *Balancing Act: Motherhood, Marriage and Employment Among American Women*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.

Booth, William et al. "Myth of the Melting Pot: America's Racial and Ethnic Divides." *The Washington Post*, February 22-December 28, 1998 (online).

Series of occasional articles on the impact of immigration in the United States. Part One: One Nation, Indivisible?; Part Two: In Los Angeles, a Sense of Future Conflicts; Part Three: Immigrants, Shunning the Idea of Assimilation; Part Four: Sweat of Their Brows Reshapes Economy; Part Five: A White Migration North from Miami; Part Six: Interracial Marriages Eroding Barriers.
[<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/longterm/meltingpot/melt0222.htm>]

Brenner, Reuven. "Land of Opportunity." *Forbes*, October 12, 1998, pp. 66-74.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza, ed. "Racially and Ethnically Diverse Urban Neighborhoods." *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1998, pp. 1-269.

This issue is entirely devoted to the study of 14 stable, racially and ethnically diverse urban communities in the United States.

Burman, Len et al. *Policy Challenges Posed by the Aging of America*. New York: Urban Institute, 1998.
[<http://www.urban.org/health/oldpol.html>]

Chiswick, Barry and Sullivan, Teresa A. "The New Immigrants." In Farley, Reynolds, ed. *State of the Union: America in the 1990s*. vol. 2. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995.

Choldin, Harvey. *Looking for the Last Percent: The Controversy over Census Undercounts*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994.

De Vita, Carol J. "The United States at Mid-Decade." *Population Bulletin*, March 1996, pp. 1-48.

Del Pinal, Jorge and Singer, Audrey. "Generations of Diversity: Latinos in the United States." *Population Bulletin*, October 1997, pp. 1-48.

Edmonston, Barry. *The 2000 Census Challenge*. PRB Reports on America, vol. 1, no. 1. Washington: Population Reference Bureau, January 1999.

Edmonston, Barry and Passel, Jeffrey S., eds. *Immigration and Ethnicity: The Integration of America's Newest Arrivals*. Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1994.

Edmonston, Barry and Schultze, Charles M., eds. *Modernizing the U.S. Census*. Washington: National Academy Press, 1995.

Etzioni, Amitai. "Some Diversity." *Society*, July 1998, pp. 59-61.

Farley, Reynolds. *The New Reality: Who We Are, How We Got Here, Where We Are Going*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.

Frey, William H. "The New Demographic Divide in the U.S.: Immigrant and Domestic 'Migrant Magnets.'" *The Public Perspective*, June 1998, pp. 25-40.

Frey, William H. and Farley, Reynolds. "Latino, Asian and Black Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Are Multi-ethnic Metros Different?" *Demography*, February 1996, pp. 35-50.

Frey, William H. et al. *Diversity in America: Projections for Minority, Black, Hispanic American and Asian American Populations to the Year 2001*. Stamford, CT: PRIMEDIA Intertec, 1998.
For other works by this author, please see publications page in the Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan
[<http://www.psc.lsa.umich.edu>].

Funderburg, Lise. *Black, White, Other: Biracial Americans Talk About Race and Identity*. New York: Morrow, 1994.

Funderburg, Lise. "Crossing the Demographic Divide: The Otherness of Multiracial Identity." *American Demographics*, October 1998, pp. 24-25.

Gibson, Campbell J. and Lennon, Emily. *Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-1990*. Population Working Paper, No. 29. Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, February 1999.
[<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentat ion/twps0029/twps0029.html>]

Hobbs, Frank B. with Damon, Bonnie L. *65+ in the United States*. Current Population Reports, Special Studies, P23-190. Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996.
[<http://www.census.gov/prod/1/pop/p23-190/p23-190.html>]

Jost, Kenneth. "Census 2000." *The CQ Researcher*, May 1, 1998, pp. 385-408.

Kirschten, Dick. "America's Demographic Divide." *National Journal*, January 16, 1999, pp. 104-106.

Kraut, Alan M. *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1982.

Lind, Michael. "The Beige and the Black." *The New York Times Magazine*, August 16, 1998, p. 38-39.

Lee, Sharon M. "Asian Americans: Diverse and Growing." *Population Bulletin*, June 1998, pp. 1-40.

Littman, Mark S. *A Statistical Portrait of the United States: Social Conditions and Trends*. Lanham, MD: Berman Press, 1998.

Martin, Philip and Midgley, Elizabeth. "Immigration to the United States: Journey to an Uncertain Destination." *Population Bulletin*, September 1994, pp. 1-40.

Masci, David. "Hispanic-Americans' New Clout." *The CQ Researcher*, September 18, 1998, pp. 809-832.

McNamara, Robert P.; Tempenis, Maria; and Walton, Beth. *Crossing the Line: Interracial Couples in the South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Miller, D.W. "Scholars of Immigration Focus on the Children." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 5, 1999, pp. A19+.

Millman, Joel. *The Other Americans: How Immigrants Renew Our Country, Our Economy, and Our Values*. New York: Viking, 1997.

O'Hare, William. "Managing Multiple-Race Data." *American Demographics*, April 1998, pp. 42-44.

O'Hearn, Claudine C., ed. *Half and Half: Writers on Growing Up Biracial and Bicultural*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1998.

Peterson, Peter P. *Gray Dawn: How the Coming Age Wave Will Transform America — and the World*. New York: Times Books, 1999.

Pitts, David. "The New Face of Atlanta." *Issues of Democracy: Democratic Local Government*; April 1999, pp. 22-30.
[<http://www.usia.gov/journals/itdhr/0499/ijde/pitts.htm>]

Portes, Alejandro and Rumbaut, Ruben G. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. 2d ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

President's Initiative on Race. *One America in the 21st Century: Forging a New Future; the Advisory Board's Report to the President*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998.

Full text:

[<http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica/PIR.pdf>]

Executive summary:

[http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/OneAmerica/PIR_summary.pdf]

Robinson, Linda. "Hispanics Don't Exist." *U.S. News and World Report*, May 11, 1998, pp. 26-32. This article provides a guide to the nation's 17 major Latino subcultures.

Roszak, Theodore. *America the Wise: The Longevity Revolution and the True Wealth of Nations*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counterculture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Russell, Cheryl. *The Official Guide to Racial and Ethnic Diversity: Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Whites*. 2d ed. Ithaca, NY: New Strategist Publications, 1998.

See especially Chapter 7, "A Generation of Demographic Debates in the United States," and Chapter 8, "American Political Interests and Population Statistics."

Scheibel, James. "Recruiting the Over-the-Hill-Gang for National Service." *Social Policy*, Winter 1996, pp. 30-35.

Schmidley, Dianne and Alvarado, Herman A. *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: March 1997*. Current Population Reports: P20-507. Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 1998. [<http://www.census.gov/prod/3/98pubs/p20-507.pdf>]

Schnaiberg, Lynn. "Immigrants: Providing a Lesson in How to Adapt." *Education Week on the Web*, vol. 18, no. 20, 7 pp. [<http://www.edweek.org/ew/vol-18/20immig.h18>]

Seeman, Teresa E. and Adler, Nancy. "Older Americans: Who Will They Be?" *National Forum*, Spring 1998, pp. 22-24.

Smith, James P. and Edmonston, Barry., eds. *The Immigration Debate: Studies on the Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects on Immigration*. Washington: National Academy Press, 1998. Chapter 10, "The Impact of Recent Immigration on Population Redistribution within the United States," was written by William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw.

Smith, James P. and Edmonston, Barry, eds. *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration*. Washington: National Academy Press, 1997.

Spain, Daphne. *America on the Edge of Two Centuries*. PRB Reports on America, vol. 1, no. 2. Washington: Population Reference Bureau, May 1999.

Stanfield, Rochelle L. "Old Folks at Home." *National Journal*, February 14, 1998, pp. 338-341.

Suro, Roberto. "Recasting the Melting Pot." *American Demographics*, March 1999, pp. 30-32.

Suro, Roberto. *Strangers Among Us: How Latino Immigration Is Transforming America*. New York: Knopf, 1998.

Teitelbaum, Michael S. and Winter, Jay. *A Question of Numbers: High Migration, Low Fertility, and the Politics of National Identity*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1998.

Tilove, Jonathan. "The New Map of American Politics." *The American Prospect*, May-June 1999, 12 pp. [<http://epn.org/prospect/44/44tilove.html>]

Ungar, Sanford J. *First Blood: The New American Immigrants*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995.

Tyson, Ann Scott. "It's a Date: Young Love Bridges Race Divide." *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 3, 1997, pp. 1, 18.

U.S. Administration on Aging. *Aging into the 21st Century*. Washington: Administration on Aging, 1996. [<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov/aoa/stats/aging21/default.htm>]

U.S. Census Bureau. *The Black Population in the United States*: March 1998. P20-508. Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, July 1998.

Link to a summary of the report and data tables: [<http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/black.html>]

U.S. Census Bureau. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*. Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1975.

U.S. Census Bureau. *How We Are Changing — Demographic State of the Nation, 1997*. P23-193. Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1997. [<http://www.census.gov/prod/2/pop/p23/p23-193.pdf>]

U.S. Census Bureau. *Population Profile of the United States, 1997*. P23-194. Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1998. [<http://www.census.gov/prod/3/98pubs/p23-194.pdf>]

U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. *Becoming an American: Immigration and Immigration Policy; 1997 Report to Congress*. Washington: U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, 1997.

U.S. Information Agency. "One from Many: Immigration Patterns and Ethnic Composition." *Portrait of the USA*. Washington: U.S. Information Agency, pp. 3-9. [<http://www.usia.gov/usa/infousa/facts/portrait/ch1.htm>]

SELECTED INTERNET RESOURCES

AARP Webplace

[<http://research.aarp.org/>]

The American Association of Retired Persons' primary areas of expertise are "information and education; community service; legislative, judicial and consumer advocacy; and member services." AARP uses this Web page to inform members and the public about consumer, economic security, work, health, independent living and other issues important to seniors. It also is a useful source of publications

[<http://research.aarp.org/rgs5pubs.html>], such as the *Profile of Older Americans and A Portrait of Older Minorities* as well as a comprehensive guide [<http://www.aarp.org/cyber/guide1.htm>].

Access America for Seniors

[<http://www.seniors.gov/intro.html>]

Access America for Seniors is a “government-wide initiative to deliver electronic services from government agencies and organizations to seniors.” This site offers information on benefits, health and nutrition, consumer protection, employment and volunteer activities, taxes, travel and leisure, education and training, and other links.

AMEA, Association of MultiEthnic Americans

[<http://www.ameasite.org/>]

The goal of this nationwide confederation of local multiethnic/interracial groups, is to promote “a positive awareness of interracial and multiethnic identity, for ourselves and for society as a whole.” AMEA provides information on issues such as government form classifications, multiethnic/multiracial identity, multiracial parenting, health, education, and transracial adoptions.

American Demographics

[<http://www.demographics.com>]

This site features publications, such as *American Demographics*; consumer trends for business leaders; marketing tools; forecasts; and a newsletter of demographic trends and business forecasts, as well as research tools and services.

Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)

[<http://www.cis.org/>]

Devoted exclusively to research and policy analysis of the economic, social, demographic, fiscal and other impacts of immigration on the United States, CIS’s mission is “to expand the base of public knowledge and understanding of the need for an immigration policy that gives first concern to the broad national interest.”

Center for Population Research and Census (CPRC)

[<http://www.upa.pdx.edu/CPRC/>]

Based at Portland State University, the CPRC is primarily responsible for the official population estimates for Oregon. It also provides “a research focus for the investigation of the causes and consequences of demographic change.” This site provides access to federal and state data, information about applied research projects, CPRC publications and links.

Immigration: The Perpetual Controversy

[<http://theatlantic.com/atlantic/atlweb/flashbks/immigr/immigint.htm>]

Summaries of articles that have appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* on the topic of immigration since 1896 appear here with links to the full text.

Immigration in American Memory

[<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/features/immig/immig.html>]

Divided into four chronological periods — Settlement, The Growing Nation, The Great Surge, and Immigration Today — this page provides detailed information on immigration from a historical perspective. Excerpts from primary sources are included with links to the entire documents.

International Year of Older Persons 1999

[<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/iyop/index.html>]

In recognition of “humanity’s demographic coming of age and the promise it holds for maturing attitudes and capabilities in social, economic, cultural and spiritual undertakings,” the United Nations General Assembly declared 1999 to be the International Year of Older Persons with the theme: Towards a Society for All Ages. This official Web site includes a calendar of events, the conceptual and operational framework of this initiative, and ideas for national activities.

National Opinion Research Center (NORC)

[<http://www.norc.uchicago.edu/>]

Affiliated with the University of Chicago, NORC conducts “survey research in the public interest for government agencies, educational institutions, private foundations, non-profit organizations and private corporations.” Some areas of interest as

described on the site include health care, community policing, student achievement, drug treatment, labor markets and elder care. NORC also publishes the *General Social Survey* [<http://www.norc.uchicago.edu/gss/homepage.htm>], which measures trends in American attitudes, experiences, practices, and concerns over the past 30 years.

Older Americans Month, May 1999

[<http://pr.aoa.dhhs.gov/May99/default.htm>]

Sponsored by the Administration on Aging [<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov/>], this page contains information about the activities and events related to this year's theme: "Honor the Past, Imagine the Future: Towards a Society for All Ages." Links to the Presidential Proclamation, graphics for downloading, materials from earlier Older Americans Months, and related events are provided.

Population Association of America

[<http://www.popassoc.org/>]

This organization of 3,000 professionals publishes the quarterly journal *Demographics*, promotes research related to human population problems, and provides a forum for scholarly exchange through its annual meeting. Also includes calendar information and links to publications.

Population Reference Bureau (PRB)

[<http://www.prb.org/>]

The goal of the Population Reference Bureau is to provide timely and objective information on U.S. and international population trends and their implications. Useful publications include the monthly newsletter, *Population Today*, the quarterly series, *PRB Reports on America*, and the *Population Handbook*. PRB also produces Popnet [<http://www.popnet.org/>], which is a comprehensive, annotated directory of population-related web sites available, including those produced by government and international organizations, non-governmental organizations, university centers, and associations and listservs.

Population Studies Center — University of Michigan
[<http://www.psc.lsa.umich.edu/>]

One of the oldest population research centers in the United States, PSC engages an interdisciplinary community of scholars in the field of population studies. Users can conduct internal searches to identify on-line resources and link to the abstracts or full text of numerous publications, including those by William H. Frey, author of "The U.S. City in Transition."

Population Studies Center — Urban Institute

[<http://www.urban.org/centers/psc.html>]

The Urban Institute's [<http://www.urban.org/>] Population Studies Center carries out demographic analyses, and helps track general economic and social trends, such as the impact of immigrants on the U.S. economy and society, the changing composition of families, the well-being of low-income children.

Project Vote Smart — Issues: Immigration

[<http://www.vote-smart.org/issues/IMMIGRATION>]

The Vote Smart project, which addresses citizenship education, focuses here on the heated contemporary debate over immigration. Annotated links to both pro- and anti-immigration sites are provided.

SeniorNet

[<http://www.seniornet.org/>]

Following its slogan "Bringing Wisdom to the Information Age," SeniorNet's mission is "to provide older adults education for and access to computer technology to enhance their lives and enable them to share their knowledge and wisdom."

Statistical Resources on the Web: Demographics and Housing

[[http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/Documents.cen
ter/stdemog.html](http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/Documents.center/stdemog.html)]

From the University of Michigan Documents Center, this site provides an extensive list of Internet resources on housing and demographics in the United States.

United States Census 2000

[<http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/2khome.htm>]

This official page by the U.S. Census Bureau on the

upcoming census contains links to plans and schedules, census in the schools, dress rehearsal reports and evaluations, FAQs, testimony, fact sheets, and other publications.

U.S. Administration on Aging (AoA)

[<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov/>]

AoA administers programs that help vulnerable older persons remain in their own homes by providing supportive services and other programs that offer opportunities for older Americans to enhance their health and to be active contributors to their families, communities and country. The site provides access to Statistical Information on Older Persons [<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov/aoa/stats/statpage.html>]; the National Aging Information Center [<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov/naic/default.htm>]; and a directory of web sites [<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov/aoa/webres/craig.htm>].

U.S. Administration on Aging. International Aging [<http://www.aoa.dhhs.gov/international/iyop/default.htm>]

Highlights the U.S. Government activities relating to the International Year of Older Persons 1999 and includes links to official speeches and statements, Agency initiatives, celebrations nationwide, and the site of the Federal Ad Hoc Committee to Prepare for the International Year of Older Persons.

U.S. Census Bureau.

[<http://www.census.gov>]

The Department of Commerce's Bureau of the Census publishes numerous reports, statistics and studies on U.S. demographics. A product of the Bureau's Public Information Office, Facts for Features [<http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/factsheets.html>] links to useful information on a variety of topics, including Asian and Pacific Islander American Heritage Month, Hispanic Heritage Month and Countdown to Census 2000.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Special Committee on Aging

[<http://www.senate.gov/~aging/>]

Concerned with such problems and opportunities pertaining to older people as maintaining health, assuring adequate income, finding employment and obtaining adequate housing, the Committee has published a number of useful publications listed on this site.