



# Americans and Britons: Key Population Data from the Last Three U.S. and U.K. Censuses

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## Findings

An analysis of key population data from the last three U.S. and U.K. censuses finds that:

- **There are almost five times as many Americans as Britons.** Three of the four U.S. regions have larger populations than the entire United Kingdom, and 10 states have populations larger than any U.K. region.
- **The U.S. population grew by 13.2 percent in the 1990s, more than four times faster than the U.K.'s.** Although U.K. population growth picked up slightly in the 1990s, forestalling fears of stagnation or decline, U.S. growth rates both were higher in the 1980s and accelerated rapidly in the 1990s.
- **Americans are significantly more racially and ethnically diverse than Britons, and a greater proportion of them was born in other countries.** Nearly one-fourth (24.9 percent) of the U.S. population described themselves as nonwhite in 2000, while only 7.9 percent of the U.K. population described themselves as from an ethnic minority in 2001. Higher proportions of foreign-born residents in the United States reflect higher recent immigration rates.
- **Americans are slightly younger than Britons.** The United States had a slightly higher proportion of residents in all age categories under 60, with a total of 83.8 percent of U.S. residents under age 60 in 2000 compared with 79.3 percent of U.K. residents in 2001. Both nations are aging, but the United Kingdom has been aging longer. The United States stemmed the aging process with higher immigration and fertility during the 1980s and 1990s.
- **American adults are more likely to be married or divorced than Britons, and less likely to be single or widowed.** Overall, 72.9 percent of Americans over age 14 had been married or divorced in 2000 compared with 69.8 percent of Britons over age 15 in 2001. Just over 54 percent of Americans were currently married compared with 50.8 percent of Britons.
- **Females make up a slightly smaller majority of the population in the United States than in the United Kingdom.** The gender balance has been stable for two decades in the United Kingdom while it has fluctuated in the United States from higher immigration and a younger population.

In sum, the United States and the United Kingdom—rich in similarities and contrasts—represent a promising topic for future comparative research and policy exchange.

## Introduction

The United States and the United Kingdom are often considered the two most similar of developed countries. Many typologies of national systems used in political science, social science, and urban analysis categorize the United States and the United Kingdom together, and contrast their social, political, and cultural character to groups of other developed nations in Europe and elsewhere. Those similarities—and the two nations' equally evident differences—make them a rich field for comparative demographic research and policy analysis.

Based on census data from the two countries, this study employs basic demographic analysis to probe the extent of the similarities and differences between the two countries. An understanding of who Americans and Britons are and how they have changed during the last few decades is essential for understanding social and urban issues and policy in the two countries.

Beyond that, this study inaugurates a series of comparative research studies on the United States and the United Kingdom being carried out through a collaboration of the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program in Washington, D.C., and the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics (LSE). Focused on basic demographic comparisons at country, region and city scale, this initial study will provide important context for the collaboration's more detailed work on comparative urban analysis.

## Methodology

International comparative studies can be plagued by substantial conceptual and practical challenges: questions about what to compare, how to do it, and how to assess similarities and

differences. This inquiry aims to overcome some of these difficulties in order to compare the populations of the United States and United Kingdom, both to describe their characteristics at national and regional levels and for selected urban areas, and to foster greater understanding of other areas influenced by demographics, such as the supply of labor, the demand for housing, and the need for services targeted to particular age and social groups.

### *Census data from the two countries*

This report draws mainly on internet-based and published data from the U.S. Censuses of 1980, 1990, and 2000, and the U.K. censuses of 1981, 1991, and 2001.<sup>1</sup> This analysis employs census data because of its scope and comparability and to build on past work by Brookings, the LSE, and other organizations.

Both countries have carried out decennial censuses for more than 200 years, most recently in 2000 in the United States and in 2001 in the United Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> No other source undertakes to provide total population counts for nations, regions, and local areas and for a broad range of demographic and social groups. For that reason, censuses provide the most authoritative data on subnational levels, such as regions and individual urban areas. What is more, the two countries have carried out their censuses in similar ways, and the methods, questions, response rates, analyses, and data presentations are comparable.<sup>3</sup> Both countries' censuses aim to count everyone "residing" in the country on census day.

Several differences in the censuses' approach affect this analysis, however. To begin with, although the U.S. Census has asked about race since its inception in 1790, the United Kingdom did not ask about ethnicity until 1991. What is more,

the terminology and categorization for race, ethnicity, and ancestry differ, reflecting different statistical traditions, policy concerns, and population patterns.

Comparing information during the 1980s and 1990s between, and even within, each country also demands caution. Published figures for the U.S. censuses in 1980, 1990, and 2000 and the U.K. censuses in 1981 and 1991 refer to the total number of people counted in the census process. In each case, though, the two censuses each missed a small portion—estimated at about 2 percent—of the residents of their respective country.

The United Kingdom's Census 2001 took a different approach. Nicknamed the "One Number Census," the final count of this canvass included all of those counted plus an estimate of those missed.

To be sure, the two different approaches to the census do not create great problems when looking at proportions of the population in most different categories. However, the total population figures from Census 2001 should not be compared directly with any of the other U.S. or U.K. census figures, given that the potential 2-percent difference could affect results and conclusions. For comparisons of the total U.K. population over time, the U.K. census authority—National Statistics—advises using its mid-year estimates of total population. These are "one number" figures that have been produced each summer in a consistent way for decades, and they are based on the Census and other sources.

An additional complication has emerged since 2001. As it happens, the mid-year estimate for England and Wales for 2000, extrapolated from the 1981 census, exceeded the 2001 one-number total by 900,000 people. Given that a large population decline was unlikely over that time period, the discrepancy likely reflects

a problem with the extrapolation method, which National Statistics believes has to do with possible low estimates of emigration rates from England and Wales during the 1990s. This report makes use of the mid-year estimates, which incorporate evidence from a detailed study in Manchester, England, released in March 2003. Finally, there is no authoritative way to overcome the differences in method between the U.K. Census 2001 and the U.S. censuses, and thus the implications for total population figures.

### *Regions within the nations*

In addition to national-level comparison, this report examines and compares populations in the four statistical regions in the United States (Northeast, Midwest, West, and South), and in the nine statistical and governmental regions: six within England, and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.<sup>4</sup>

### *Urban areas in the two nations*

The report also compares data for key types of urban area in the two countries.<sup>5</sup>

The main types of U.S. urban areas are metropolitan statistical areas (MSA), as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, and known informally as “metro areas,” and incorporated areas, usually known as “cities.”<sup>6</sup> In the United Kingdom, the key type of urban area is known as a “local authority,” which is comparable to a U.S. city, although important differences exist between cities and local authorities in terms of their political functions, average land area, and population size. No direct British correlate to the American MSAs exists. However, England’s “metropolitan counties”—now obsolete types of incorporated areas informally called “mets”—can serve as rough comparators because, like metro areas, they were designed to reflect large urban conglomerations that act as single social and eco-

nomic functional areas.

The definition of urban areas, and the number and proportion of urban areas of different population sizes (the “urban hierarchy”), also differs between the two countries. The United States has both absolutely and relatively more incorporated areas with very large populations than the United Kingdom. In 2000, nine American cities contained more than 1 million people, while in 2001 no local authority in the United Kingdom contained an equally large population. However, the United Kingdom had more local authorities ranging in size from 100,000 to 1 million than the United States had cities of the same size, even though the United Kingdom had only one-fifth of the total population of the United States.

The extreme contrast in the two nations’ urban hierarchy requires comparative researchers to choose between groups that have a similar share of national population or those that have similar absolute population medians or ranges. We choose to prioritize similarity in the proportion of national population to avoid masking the differences in the pattern of urban development in the two nations. Therefore, this report compares the largest 20 U.S. primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSA) in 2000 with the seven former metropolitan counties in England. It also compares data for the 20 largest U.S. incorporated areas (that is, cities) in 2000 with a specially selected group of 10 major U.K. local authorities. The latter selection consisted of the eight self-designated English “core cities” and the two main urban areas in Scotland—Glasgow and Edinburgh.<sup>7</sup> The report refers to this group as the “U.K. core cities.” It includes eight of the 10 largest population local authorities in 2001, plus two other major regional centres in the top 40 by population. It does not include London, which is administered by 33

local authorities, as well as a unique type of local government called the Greater London Authority. There is some overlap between the two sets of urban areas in each country. Nine of the 20 largest U.S. cities fall within the top 20 metro areas. Six of the 10 U.K. core cities fall within the seven English “mets.”

## Findings

### *A. There are almost five times as many Americans as Britons.*

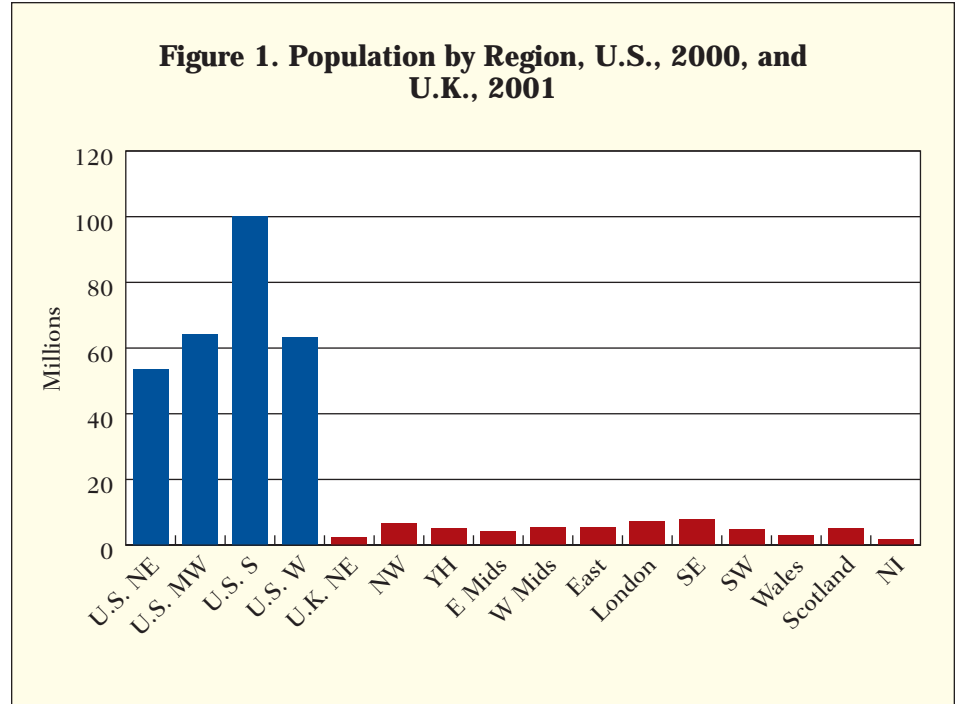
The United States and the United Kingdom differ most starkly in their absolute populations. The U.S. resident population in 2000 was almost five times larger than that of the United Kingdom in 2001. Census 2000 counted 281.4 million U.S. residents. Census 2001, the U.K.’s first “one number” census, identified 58.8 million residents. To be sure, differences in the methodologies of the two censuses mean that the total population figures are not fully comparable, but it bears noting that the U.S. Census 2000 figure did not include a full estimate of people missed by the census process while the U.K. figure did.

All four U.S. regions had much larger populations than any of the nine U.K. regions, and in fact, three of the four major U.S. regions had larger populations than the entire United Kingdom. Regional U.S. populations ranged from 53.6 million people (in the Northeast) to 100.2 million (the South). The smallest U.K. region was Northern Ireland (1.7 million residents) and the largest was the South East (8 million). The median size was 5 million. In the United States, 27 states had a population in the same range as U.K. regions (1.7–8 million), and the median population of all U.S. states was 3.5 million. Ten states had populations larger than any U.K. region, and only 13 had populations less than 1.7 million.

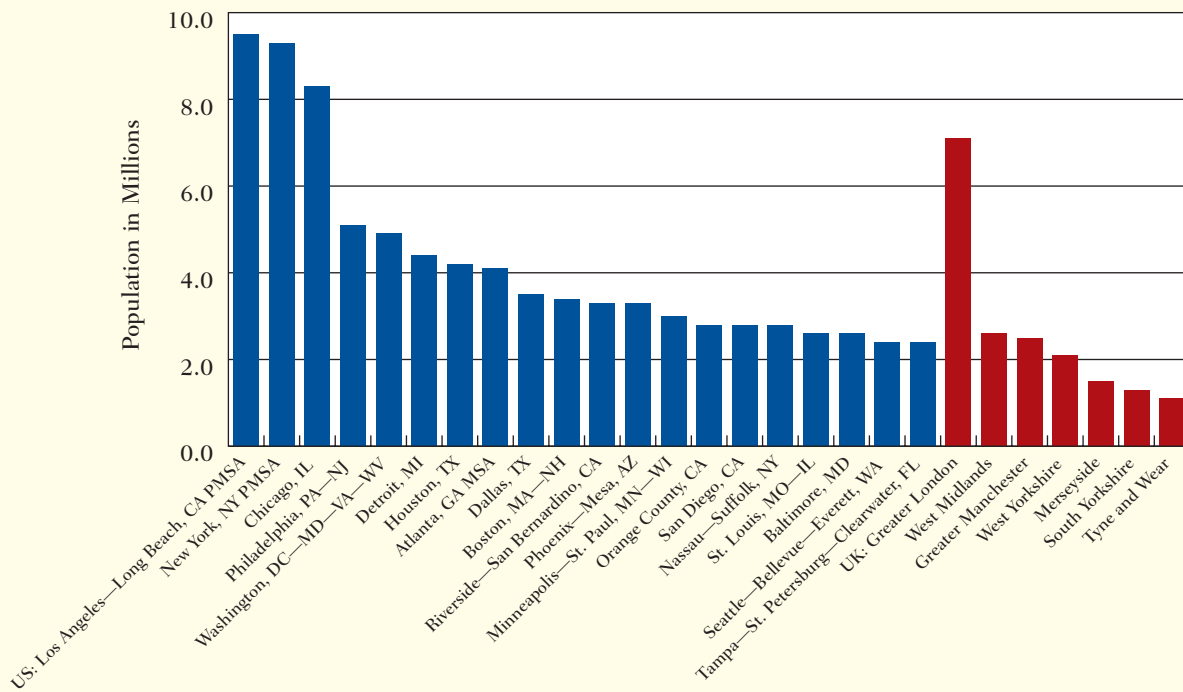


In 2000, the top 20 U.S. metro areas contained 30.6 percent of the national population, while the English “mets” contained 30.1 percent of the U.K. total. As noted, we chose these comparators specifically to encompass similar fractions of national population. The top 20 U.S. metro areas ranged in population from 9.5 million (Los Angeles, CA) to 2.4 million (Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL). The English “mets” ranged from 7.2 million (Greater London) to 1.1 million for Tyne and Wear.<sup>8</sup>

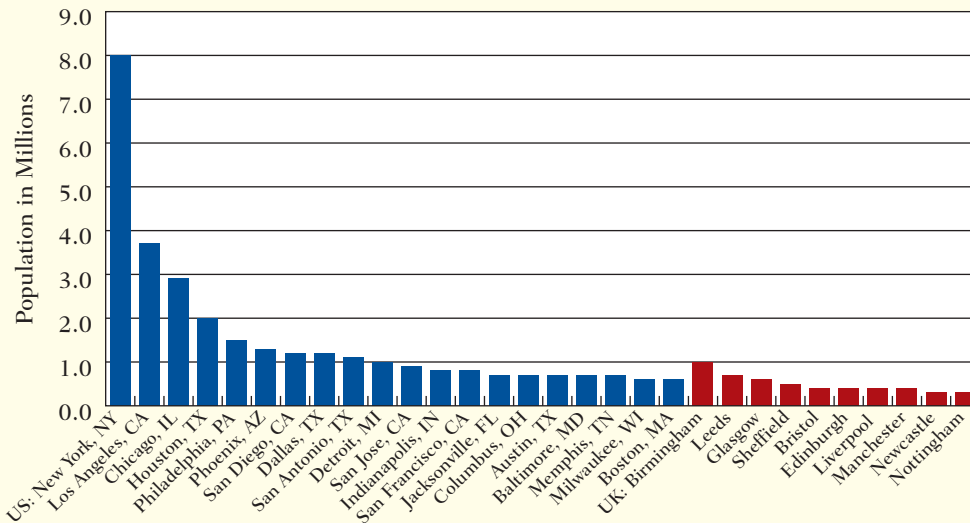
The top 20 U.S. cities, meanwhile, contained 10.7 percent of the national population, while the 10 U.K. core cities encompassed just 8.5 percent of the national population. Again, the two groups were chosen to include comparable parts



**Figure 2. Top 20 U.S. Metropolitan Areas by Population, 2000, and the Seven English “Mets,” 2001**



**Figure 3. Top 20 U.S. Cities by Population, 2000, and U.K. Core Cities, 2001**



of the total population. The top 20 U.S. cities ranged in population from New York's 8 million (a larger population than that of 39 U.S. states) to Boston's MA's 554,000. In 2001, the U.K. core cities ranged from 977,000 (Birmingham, in the West Midlands) to 381,000 in Newcastle (North East).

In 2000, only 239 U.S. cities, a small minority of the total, encompassed at least 100,000 residents.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, more than 252 U.K. local authorities had at least 100,000 residents in 2001. These represented more than one-half of all local authorities. Or to put it another way: In 2000, U.S. cities with over 100,000 residents and a median population of 155,837 people contained just over one-quarter of the national population. By contrast, U.K. local authorities with over 100,000 residents had a very similar median population of 149,375 but encompassed more than three-quarters of the national population. This dramatic difference largely reflects differences in the way the bound-

aries of incorporated areas are drawn in the two countries, rather than differences in patterns of urban development.

However, significant evidence suggests that the U.K. population is more concentrated in urban—that is, non-rural—areas than that of the U.S. Neither the United States nor the United Kingdom entirely base their definitions of urban areas on city or local authority boundaries, which we have used so far. In the United States, “urbanized areas” can include one or more cities as well as unincorporated places, and are defined by population size, density, and land use. In 2000, the United States had 264 urban areas with populations exceeding 100,000; their median population was 225,744. Together, these urban areas comprised 63.2 percent of the U.S. population. In the United Kingdom, “urban areas” are delineated entirely independently of local authority boundaries, and defined by population size and land use.<sup>10</sup> In 2001, the United Kingdom had 73

urban areas with more than 100,000 residents, again with a similar median population to the U.S. equivalent of 202,463.<sup>11</sup> They contained 74.9 percent of the total U.K. population.

***B. The U.S. population grew by 13.2 percent in the 1990s, more than four times faster than the U.K.'s.***

The two countries' growth rates also differ starkly. The U.S. population grew very rapidly in the 1980s and even faster in the 1990s, while the pace of population growth in the United Kingdom remained anemic. In the 1990s, the United States added 32.7 million people to its population, an all-time record for a 10-year period. The 13.2 percent growth rate for the decade almost matched the rates seen in the baby boom years of the 1960s.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the U.K. population grew by just 1.9 percent in the 1980s and 2.8 percent in the 1990s—a rate only about half of the nation's post-war peak growth in the 1960s.

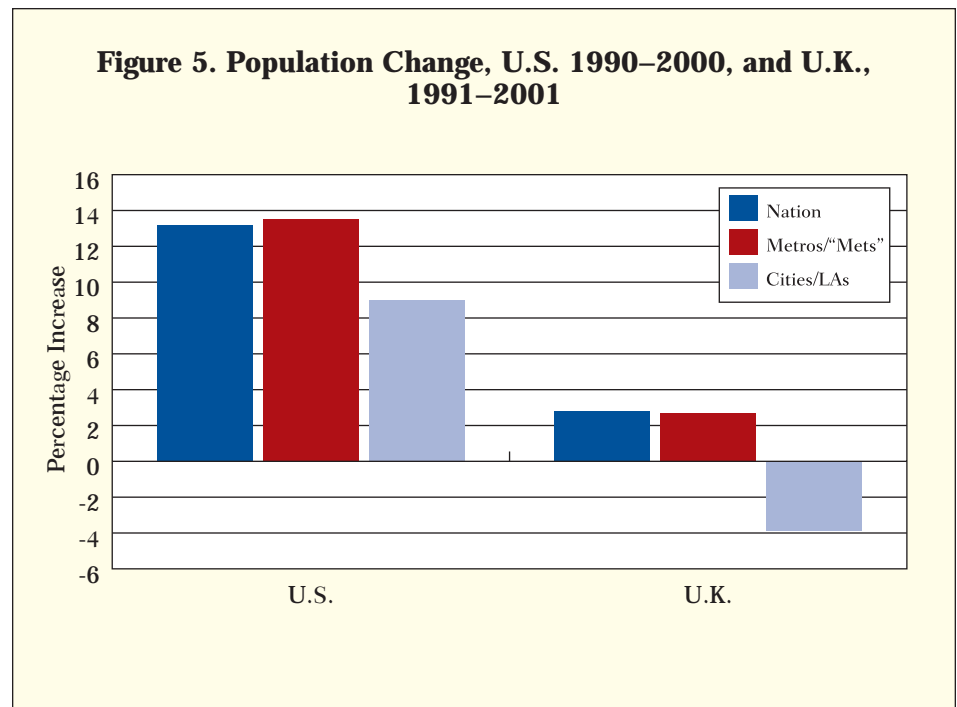
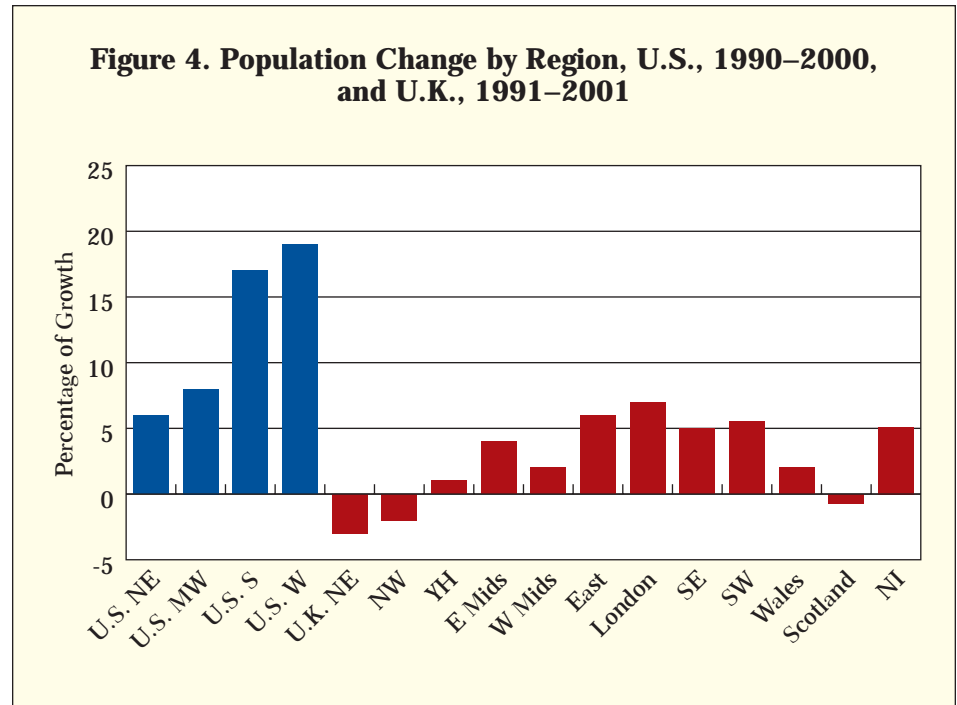
Important regional variations

complicate the national contrast. In the U.S., the West grew by 19.7 percent in the 1990s, while the South grew by 17.3 percent. The Midwest and Northeast, meanwhile, saw more modest growth of 7.9 percent and 5.5 percent, respectively. Among states, Nevada exhibited the fastest rate of population growth, growing by a staggering 66.3 percent in the 1990s. Not far behind were Arizona, which grew by 40 percent, and Colorado, which grew by 30.6 percent. In fact, 25 states saw more than 10 percent growth, and no state experienced population decline.

In sharp distinction, population growth rates in the United Kingdom for the 1990s lingered in the single digits while some regions actually shed population. With its 7-percent population gain, London led the nation's growth in the 1990s. Interestingly, this growth represented a turn-around after the stagnation of the 1980s, when the city grew by just 0.4 percent. Northern Ireland and the East, South West, and South East regions, meanwhile, experienced above-average growth of approximately 5 percent. The North East region's population declined by 2.6 percent, a faster decline than in the previous decade, while the North West's population fell by 1.1 percent and Scotland's by 0.4 percent.<sup>13</sup>

In the U.S., the total population of the largest 20 metro areas surged by 13.5 percent in the 1990s, slightly exceeding the national growth rate, while the top 20 cities grew by a more modest 9 percent, lower than the national figure. Similarly in the United Kingdom, the English "mets" almost matched the national growth rates with 2.7 percent increase. The figures contrast strongly with the United States and meanwhile, the population of U.K. core cities fell by 3.9 percent during the decade.

Although the growth of the largest American metro areas and cities is impressive, it was smaller cities with



more than 100,000 population in 2000 that saw the fastest growth rates during the 1990s. These cities were neither the largest in their metropolitan areas nor located in the heart of the metro areas; in fact, they were usually located on the metropolitan fringe and are some-

times characterized as "boomburbs."<sup>14</sup> Growth among the "boomburbs" was led by Gilbert, AZ, where the population grew by a phenomenal 275.8 percent.<sup>15</sup> Altogether, seven places mostly in the West more than doubled their populations in the 1990s: Vancouver, WA; Hen-

derson, Las Vegas, and North Las Vegas, NV; Peoria and Chandler, AZ; Pembroke Pines, FL; Plano, TX; and Palmdale, CA. By contrast, 40 of the 239 American cities with populations of 100,000 or more in 2000 (including three of the top 20 largest cities) saw population losses in the 1990s. These cities were mainly in the Northeast, with Hartford, CT, suffering the biggest population decline (of 13 percent).

As in the United States, strong regional contrasts characterized urban population change in the United Kingdom. Almost all of the faster-growing local authorities in England and Wales with populations over 100,000 in 2001 were located in the South East, East, and London. At the high end of the scale was the comparatively paltry 17.9 percent growth of Tower Hamlets (London), an inner-city rather than a fringe area. Other local authorities with relatively high growth rates included some on the outer edge of commuter access to London and other cities in the growing South East and East regions. The local authorities in England and Wales that saw the greatest losses were all in the North East, the North West, or Yorkshire and the Humber. Declines were led by Manchester, which lost 9.2 percent of its population, and included two other U.K. core cities at the heart of English “mets”—Liverpool, which lost 7.6 percent, and Newcastle, which lost 5.6 percent.

*C. Americans are significantly more racially and ethnically diverse than Britons, and a greater proportion was born in other countries.*

The U.S. Census asks about “race” while the U.K. Census asks about “ethnicity.” The U.S. Census also asks about the separate but overlapping issue of “Hispanic/Latino/Spanish” origin (usually abbreviated to “Hispanic or Latino”). People of Hispanic or Latino origin may be of

any race. The combined category of “white race, non-Hispanic origin” is often used in the United States to describe “nonminority” groups and is comparable to the U.K.’s “white” ethnicity category.<sup>16</sup>

In 2000, nearly one-quarter of the U.S. population described itself as nonwhite while 30.9 percent were either of nonwhite race or Hispanic or Latino origin, or both. By contrast, non-whites made up only 7.9 percent of the United Kingdom population in 2001.

In percentage terms, blacks or African Americans made up not only the largest racial—as opposed to ethnic—minority in the United States in 2000, but at 12.3 percent of the population accounted about half of the nation’s total non-white, no Latino minority presence. At the same time, some 12.5 percent of the population was of Hispanic or Latino origin. This group included residents of different races, with 6 percent identifying themselves as “white and Hispanic or Latino,” and 6.5 percent as “nonwhite, Hispanic or Latino.” Asians (including Chinese), for their part, made up 3.6 percent, or about one-seventh of all minorities. In addition, Census 2000 allowed respondents to choose more than one race, and 2.4 percent did so.

The main ethnic minority groups in the United Kingdom, by contrast, were those describing themselves as “Asian.” These groups composed 4.4 percent of the population in 2001, and made up more than one-half of all U.K. minorities. The Asian category included Asian Indian (1.8 percent), Asian Pakistani (1.3 percent), Asian Bangladeshi (0.5 percent), and Asian other (0.4 percent). As people of Chinese ethnicity made up 0.4 percent of the U.K. population, in combination, the U.K. categories “Asian” and “Chinese” made up 4.8 percent of the population, a larger fraction than in the comparable U.S. “Asian” category.

The black or black British group composed 2 percent of the population, and about one-quarter of all minorities, but this group was proportionately much smaller than the comparable group in the United States. The census distinguished between black Caribbean (1 percent), black African (0.8 percent), and black other (0.2 percent), in contrast to the single “black or African American” group in the United States.<sup>17</sup>

Somewhat like the U.S. count of 2000, the U.K. Census allowed people to choose a “mixed” ethnic category, and 1.2 percent did so—a portion only half that in the United States. Given the difference in overall population size, there are about 10 times as many mixed-race Americans as mixed ethnicity Britons. However, inhabitants of the mixed groups made up a higher proportion of all minorities in the United Kingdom, and consisted of about one in seven minority residents compared with one in 10 in the United States in the last decennial census. In the United States, meanwhile, the most common mix was “white and some other race,” which comprised one-third of all people of two or more races, while in the United Kingdom “mixed (white and black)” residents comprised about one-half of all mixed-ethnicity residents. The proportion of people of “mixed (white and black)” ethnicity in the England and Wales, at 0.5 percent, actually exceeded that of those declaring themselves “mixed-race, including black and white,” the most comparable category, in the United States (0.3 percent).<sup>18</sup> These figures open up new avenues for the study of racial and ethnic segregation in the two countries.

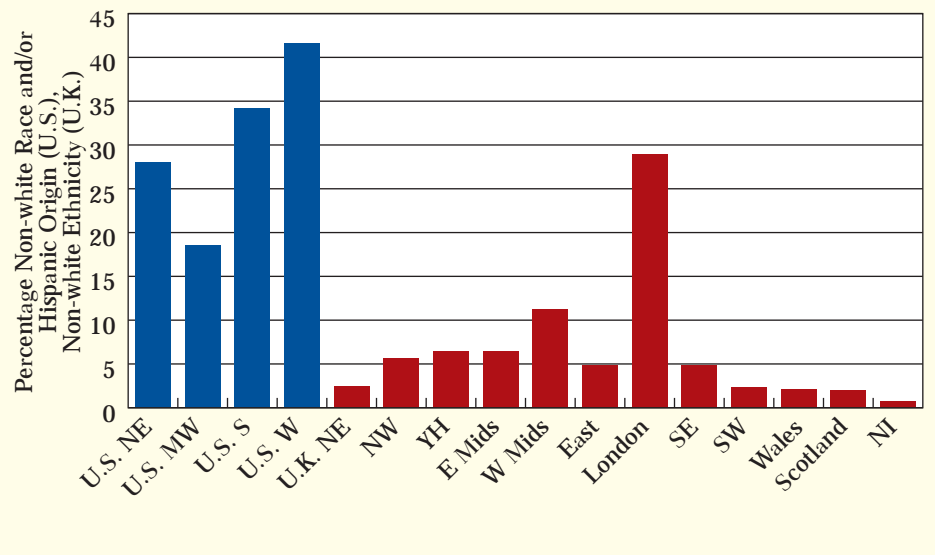
In any event, the absolute numbers of racial and ethnic minority residents in the two countries differ significantly. In 2000, there were 34.7 million black or African American residents in the United States

compared with the U.K.'s 1.1 million black or black British residents. Some 10.2 million people of Asian origin live in the U.S. while some 2.8 million Britons populate the roughly equivalent U.K. "Asian" and "Chinese" categories.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, in the U.S., the 2002 count of 35.3 million Latinos meant that the Latino population had overtaken the size of the black or African American population (although the two groups overlapped slightly). To put these numbers into perspective, America's African American and Hispanic subgroups in the United States were each more than half as large as the entire U.K. population.

Interesting regional variations within and between the two nations also suggest themselves. In the United States, the Midwest continued as the least diverse region, with more than four out of five of its residents remaining white and non-Hispanic in 2000. Yet even the Midwest was still more diverse than the United Kingdom. In the U.S. Northeast, racial or ethnic minorities made up 28 percent of the population in 2000, while in the South, the figure was 34.2 percent. The West, for its part, was America's most diverse as well as fastest growing region, with some 41.6 percent of the population claiming a racial or ethnic affiliation. And U.S. regions' diversity type varied by region. Black or African Americans comprised 18.9 percent of the South's population but just 4.8 percent of the West's. Conversely, the West contained the highest proportions of Hispanic or Latino origin (24.3 percent), as well as the highest concentrations of Asians (7.9 percent of the population); those of two or more races (4.3 percent of the population); and American Indians and Alaska Natives (1.9 percent).

In the United Kingdom, London was the most diverse region, with 28.9 percent of the population claiming a non-white ethnic identity

**Figure 6. Minority Population by Region, U.S., 2000, and U.K., 2000**



in 2001. Next came the West Midlands where the non-white population reached 11.3 percent of the total. All other regions were at least 93 percent white. Northern Ireland—more than 99 percent white—was the least diverse region. As in the United States, the regions' characteristic profiles varied. In London, the population was 12.1 percent Asian (not including Chinese), 10.9 percent black or black British, 2.2 percent mixed and 3.7 percent other, while the West Midlands was 7.3 percent Asian, 2 percent black or black British, 1.4 percent mixed and 0.3 percent other.

In both countries, urban areas were more diverse than their respective nations, although the difference was greater in the United States. In the top 20 U.S. metro areas in 2000, 57.5 percent of the population was white, non-Hispanic; 15.7 percent was black or African American; 18.2 percent was Hispanic or Latino; 6 percent was Asian; and 3.2 percent was of two or more races. In the top 20 U.S. cities only 37.9 percent of the population classifying itself as white, non-Hispanic, and 16 of the

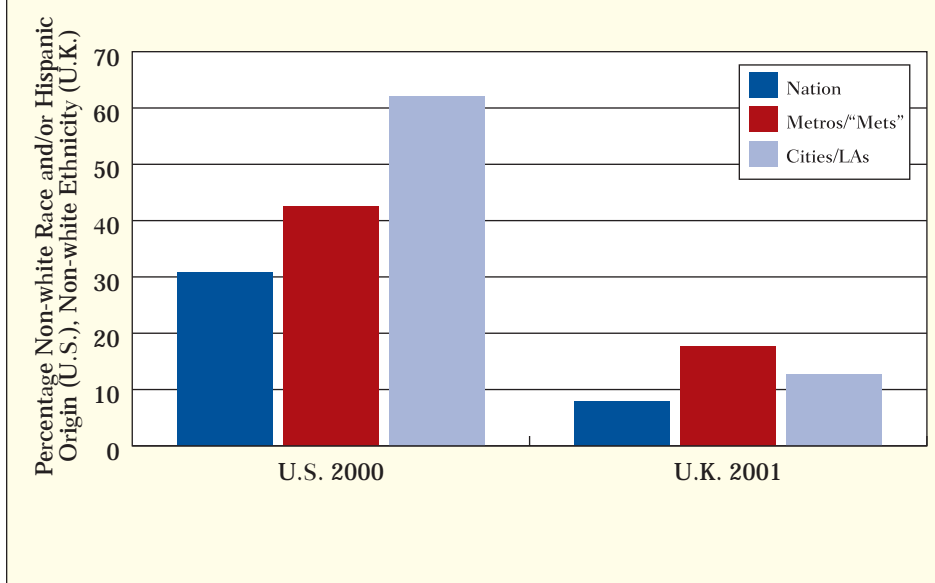
top 20 were majority minority. Slightly more than one-fourth (26.6 percent) of these cities' populations were Hispanic or Latino; 25.9 percent were black or African American; 7.6 percent were Asian; and 3.8 percent were of two or more races.

In sharp contrast, the English "mets" population was 82.4 percent white, 8.8 percent Asian (or 9.5 percent Asian and Chinese), 5.2 percent black or black British, and 2.1 percent mixed in 2001. Excluding London, by far the U.K.'s most diverse location, the remaining "mets" were 89.8 percent white. U.K. core cities, for that matter, were 87.3 percent white, 7.2 percent Asian (or 7.9 percent Asian and Chinese), 2.5 percent black or black British, and 1.7 percent mixed.

In the United States, 51 of the 239 cities with more than 100,000 residents were "majority minority" in 2000. The city with the largest proportion of non-white residents was Gary, IN, where 89.9 percent of the population was non-white. The cities with the highest proportion of each of the main minority groups were Gary, GA, which was 84 percent



**Figure 7. Minority Population**



black or African American; Daly, CA, which was 80.3 percent Asian; McAllen, TX, which was 80.3 percent Hispanic or Latino; Honolulu, HI, which was 6.8 percent Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander; and Anchorage, AK, where 7.3 percent of the population was American Indian and Alaska Native.

By contrast, only two local authorities in the United Kingdom were majority minority in 2001: Newham (London) with 60.6 percent of the population non-white, and Brent, with 54.7 percent non-white. Among the local authorities in the United Kingdom with more than 100,000 residents, nine of the 10 with the smallest proportions of white residents were in London, and the tenth was Slough (South East).

Meanwhile, both the United States and the United Kingdom became more diverse during the 1990s.<sup>20</sup> In 1991, when the question on ethnicity was first asked in Great Britain, white comprised 94.5 percent of the population.<sup>21</sup> By 2001, this had fallen slightly to 92.1 percent.

For its part, the United States not

only started the period more diverse than the United Kingdom but saw its diversity increase faster. In 1980, racial and ethnic minorities made up 21.5 percent of the U.S. population; by 1990, they represented 24.4 percent of the population; and by 2000 their presence had reached 30.9 percent. As for change within the various racial and ethnic populations, the fastest-growing groups in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s were Asian and Pacific Islanders, and those within the “some other race” group. The black or African American group grew relatively slowly. The population of Hispanic or Latino origin (of all races) more than doubled between 1980 and 2000, from 14.6 million in 1980 to 22.4 million in 1990 and to 35.3 million in 2000. By 2000, this group had overtaken the black or African American racial group.

And yet, although the United States encompasses three times U.K.’s proportion of racial minorities, the difference is much less pronounced when the proportions of the populations born abroad are considered. In 2000, 12.3 percent of

U.S. residents were “foreign-born,” while in 2001, 8.3 percent of U.K. residents were born elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> In the United States, the number of residents who were racial minorities was twice as large as the number of the foreign-born (although the two categories substantially overlap in all likelihood). In the United Kingdom, in contrast, those born abroad (4.8 million) slightly outnumbered ethnic minorities. Although recent immigration into the United States has been rapid and has had profound demographic effects, the country has a much longer history of large-scale population movement, and a higher proportion of racial minorities who are not themselves immigrants. However, at 34.6 million, the foreign-born population of the United States was more than half the size of the entire United Kingdom population.

In the United States in 2000, some 1.6 million, or 32.9 percent, of the foreign-born had entered the country during the 1990s. These new arrivals made up some 3.7 percent of total U.S. residents. Another 684,000 immigrants, or 13.9 percent of the foreign-born population, arrived in the 1980s. The remaining 2.6 million, or 53.2 percent, of the foreign-born had entered the United States at least 20 years earlier. Altogether, the median length of residence for foreign-born Americans fell from 14 years in 1980 to 12 years in 1990 and remained at about this level in 2000. In the U.K., meanwhile, the Labour Force Survey showed that, in 1983, the median length of residence for foreign-born U.K. residents was 18 years, and in 2000, it was 19 years, suggesting steadier and lower rates of immigration than in the United States.<sup>23</sup> The U.K. Census does not collect the full details on the date of arrival of foreign-born residents. It did find, however, that 370,000 people in England and Wales, or 0.7 percent of total residents, had entered the

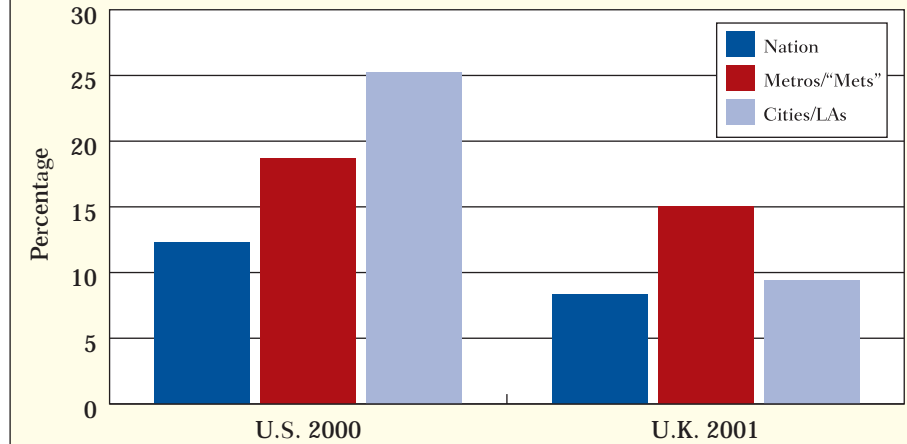
country during 2000–2001, although National Statistics warns that these figures likely underrepresent even recent international migrants.

U.S. and U.K. immigrants' national origins differ in interesting ways, meanwhile. Latin American migrants predominate among the American foreign-born, while European and Asian migrants are most common in the U.K. Beyond Latin America's 5.7-percent share of the U.S. foreign-born population, the main regions of birth for foreign born U.S. residents were Asia (2.9 percent of residents), and Europe (1.8 percent). Mexico was the most significant single country of origin and the birthplace of 9.2 million residents, or 3.6 percent of the total U.S. population. Britons made up an estimated 0.3 percent of the population.

The corresponding region of birth for residents of England and Wales born outside the United Kingdom was Europe (including European countries outside the European Union), from which some 2.1 million or 4.1 percent of the U.K. population in 2001 had migrated. Most European-born U.K. residents would not identify themselves as ethnic minorities, which helps to explain how foreign-born U.K. residents are more numerous than ethnic minority residents. Following Europe as a source region was Asia (3.1 percent of the total population) and Africa (1.6 percent). In contrast to the United States, only 0.1 percent of residents of England and Wales were born in Central or South America. In the United Kingdom, the most significant single source country was Ireland, the birthplace of 1 percent of U.K. residents.

Geographical proximity clearly plays a role in shaping both nations' immigration patterns. Mexico and Ireland are immediate neighbors of the United States and the United Kingdom, which helps explain their

**Figure 8. Population Born Abroad**



dominant immigration. At the same time, both nations had similar portions of their populations born in countries beyond their immediate regions. Nearly 60 percent of U.S. foreign-born residents were born beyond the confines of North and South America, while nearly 80 percent of the U.K.'s foreign-born were born outside of the European Union.

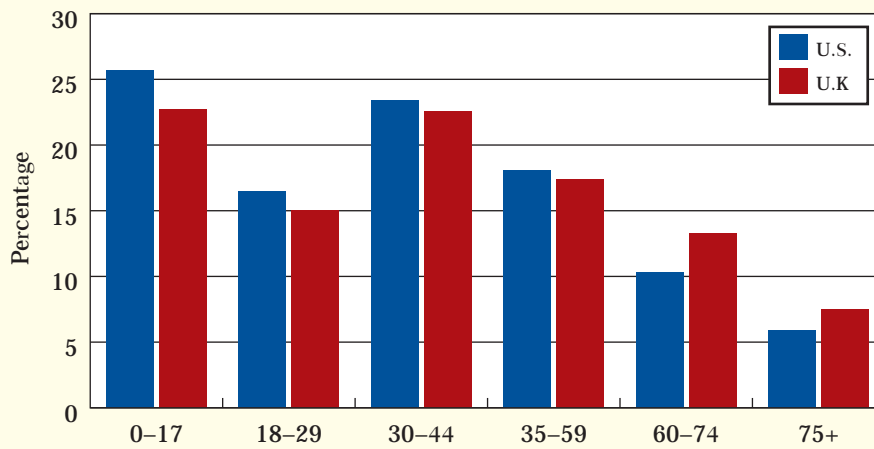
Within each nation, clear spatial clusterings of the foreign-born were highly visible. In the United States, the foreign-born population was concentrated in the West and South, where 38 percent and 23 percent of the total foreign-born population, respectively, lived in 2000. At the state level, more than one-half of the foreign-born population lived in either California, Texas, or New York; foreign-born residents made up 26 percent of all residents in California. The foreign-born were also highly concentrated in the U.K., and had become more strongly concentrated over the 1980s and 1990s. Evidence from the Labour Force Survey shows that in 1979, 34 percent of the working-age foreign-born

lived in London, while by 2000, 42 percent did, composing fully 26 percent of the working age population there.

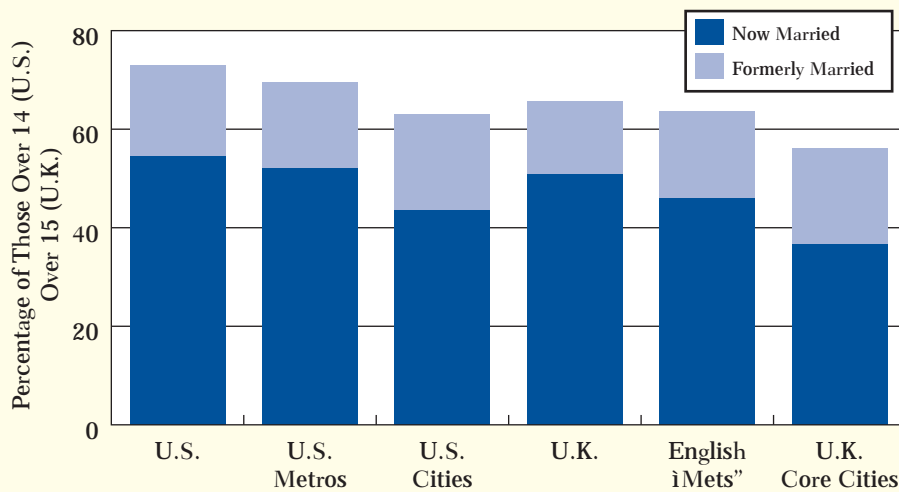
In both countries, urban areas harbored higher proportions of foreign-born residents than the respective national averages. However, there was an important difference in the two nations' immigrant geography. In the United States, cities contained the highest foreign-born population shares, while in the United Kingdom the "mets" did. In the top 20 U.S. metro areas, 18.7 percent of residents were foreign-born. In the top 20 U.S. cities, 25.2 percent of residents were foreign-born. In the English "mets," 15 percent of residents had been born abroad, and in U.K. core cities, 9.4 percent had been born abroad.

There are other spatial variations. All of the 10 U.S. cities of 100,000 residents or more with the highest proportions of foreign-born residents lay in California or Florida, with the exception of Elizabeth, NJ. In these cities, the foreign-born presence ranged from 72.1 percent in Hialeah, FL to 40.9 percent in Los

**Figure 9. Population Age, U.S. 2000 and U.K. 2001**



**Figure 10. Adult Population with Experience of Marriage**



Angeles, CA.<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile, in the U.K., all of the 10 local authorities with populations of 100,000 or more and containing the highest proportions of residents born outside the United Kingdom could be found in London, where they ranged from Brent (46.6 percent foreign-born) to

Hammersmith and Fulham, which were each 33.4 percent foreign-born.

*D. Americans are slightly younger than Britons.*

Americans remain somewhat younger than Britons. The median

age of U.S. residents was 35 years in 2000 while for U.K. residents it was 38 in 2001. Not surprisingly, the United States has a higher proportion of its population in every younger age and working-age group than the United Kingdom: those under age 18, and those 18–29, 30–44, and 44–59. Those younger than age 60 make up 83.8 percent of U.S. residents compared to a 79.3 percent figure in the U.K. A correspondingly large share of the U.K. population is 60 or older.

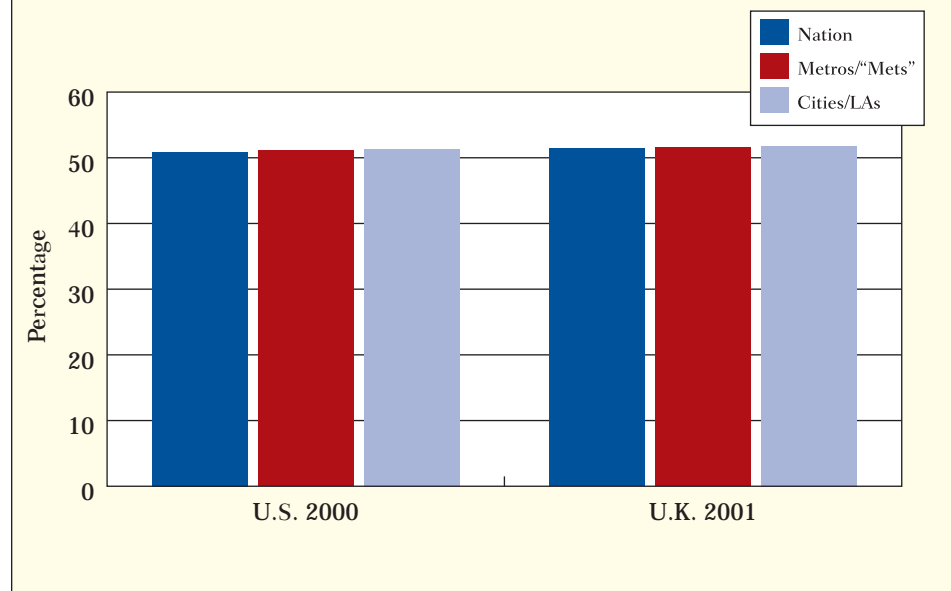
Those aged 18–44—an important cohort for household establishment, child bearing, and career building—made up similar proportions of the two countries’ populations: 39.9 percent in the United States and 37.6 percent in the United Kingdom. At the same time, those aged 18–59—the main working-age group—made up 48 percent of the U.S. population and 45 percent of the U.K. population. This translates to similar proportions in the economically “dependent” younger and older age groups and similar dependency ratios. However, slightly higher shares of the U.K. population lie outside the prime working-age groups and within the dependent groups (over age 60 and younger than age 18). The United States, for its part, has more of the very young while the United Kingdom had more of the very old. Nearly equal proportions of the United Kingdom are over 60 and under 18, whereas in the United States, the majority of those “dependent” on the working-age cohort are young. Children 9-years-old and younger made up 14.1 percent of the U.S. population in 2000 compared to just 11.3 percent of the U.K. population. Meanwhile, those aged 75 and over made up 5.9 percent of the U.S. population and 7.5 percent of the U.K. population. These age distributions have significant implications for the kind of services needed in the two countries.

Although the U.S. population is slightly younger than the U.K. population, both countries aged during the 1980s and 1990s. In both countries, the share of those under age 15 declined while the size of the group aged 24 and over expanded. As this took place, the median age of U.S. residents rose from 30 years in 1980, to 32.9 in 1990, and to 35.3 in 2000. A key reason: The baby boomer generation born in the 1950s and 1960s was making its way through the age profile in the 1980s and 1990s. While in 1980, the largest five-year cohorts were those containing 15- to 19-year-olds and 20- to 24-year-olds, by 2000, the largest groups were those aged 35–39 and 40–44. Of course, by 1981, the U.K.'s population had already aged more than the U.S. population. Since then the aging process has proceeded more slowly.<sup>25</sup>

Age, too, manifests subtle spatial variations. In the United States, the Northeast was the oldest region, with a median age of 36.8 years, followed by the Midwest, at 35.6, and the South, at 35.3 years. The youngest region was the West, with a median age of 33.8 years.<sup>26</sup> In the United Kingdom, the South East had the lowest proportion of those under age 18 and those aged 18–29. Northern Ireland had the highest proportion under age 18. London had the highest proportion aged 18–29, and the lowest proportions aged 45–59 and over 60. The highest proportion over age 60 was in the South West.

Looking to urban areas, U.S. metro areas and English “mets” each had higher proportions of people under age 18 than the national averages, while the reverse was true for cities. All urban areas in both countries had higher proportions of residents aged 18–29 than the national averages, and fewer aged 45–59. Urban areas nearly matched national averages for those aged 30–44 and for those aged 60 or over.

Figure 11. Female Share of Population



This suggests all urban areas are attractive to young adults and newly forming households, while the outer areas of metro areas or “mets” were attractive to people with young families.

*E. Americans were more likely to be married or divorced than Britons, and less likely to be single or widowed.*

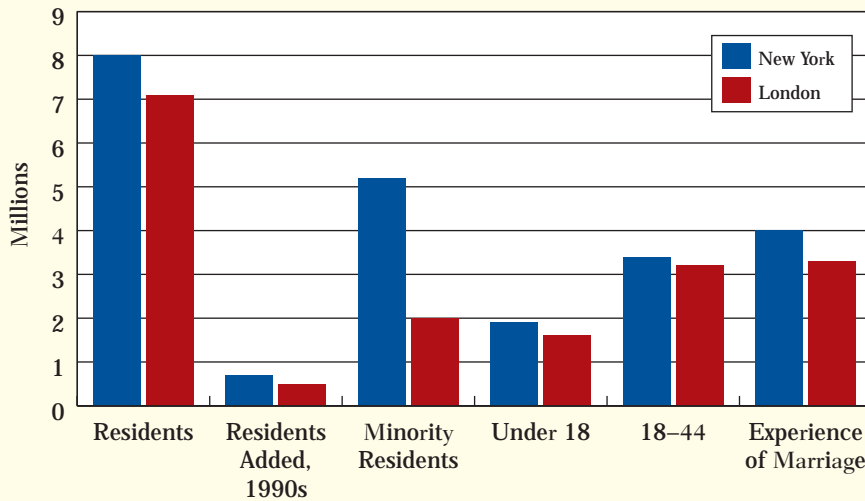
Americans and Britons exhibit somewhat different marital choices. In 2000, 72.9 percent of Americans over age 14 had some experience of marriage (were currently either married, divorced or widowed). This compares with 69.8 percent of U.K. residents over age 15 in 2001.<sup>27</sup> More than one-half (54.4 percent) of American adults were currently married compared with 50.8 percent of U.K. adults. At the same time, some 27.1 percent of American adults were single and had never been married compared to 30.2 percent of Britons.

These differences reflect, in part, different behavior preferences prior to marriage. U.K. residents are more likely to cohabit without, or prior to,

marriage (as well as after unsuccessful marriages). Cohabiting couples made up 5.2 percent of U.S. households and one-tenth of all couple households in 2000. In the United Kingdom, in contrast, they made up 8 percent of all households and one-fifth of all couple households in 2001.<sup>28</sup> The two countries also report different outcomes after marriage. Some 16.3 percent of Americans and 14.5 percent of Britons had been married in the past but were no longer married at the time of their respective census (meaning they were either divorced or widowed). More specifically, nearly 10 percent of Americans were divorced compared with 6.1 percent of Britons. More Britons, however, were widowed: 8.4 percent versus 6.6 percent of Americans. This higher incidence of widowhood in the United Kingdom largely owes to the country's older population.

Despite aging, immigration, and other major demographic changes, however, only slight alterations occurred in the proportions of U.S. residents in different marital profiles during the 1980s and 1990s. This

**Figure 12. Population, New York, NY, 2000  
and London, 2001**



stability follows after the more rapid change of the 1960s and 1970s. Since then, the U.S. saw only slight declines in the married or married-but-separated portion of the population, and slight increases in the never married and divorced populations.

Noticeable regional variations in marital behavior can be discerned in both nations. In the American Northeast, just 29.3 percent of residents over age 14 were single and had never been married, compared to the South where only 25.3 percent were in this group. In the United Kingdom, London made up one extreme, with fully 41.2 percent of residents aged 15 and over remaining single and had never been married. By contrast, Northern Ireland, where only 26.7 percent of adults were not or had never been married, exhibited levels of past or current marriage closer to the U.S. levels. For its part, the West Midlands, where 64.1 percent of the population is married, most closely resembled U.S. levels of current marriage.

Urban areas also stand out. In both countries, fewer urban or especially top-20 city residents have been or are married, although more U.S. urban dwellers are currently married than are U.K. urban dwellers. In the top 20 U.S. metro areas, 69.6 percent of residents over age 14 had some experience of marriage, 52 percent were currently married and living together, and 30.4 percent were single and had never been married. In the top 20 U.S. cities, 63 percent of residents over age 14 had some experience of marriage, 43.6 percent were currently married, and 37 percent were single and had never been married. In the English “mets,” by contrast, 64.7 percent of residents over age 15 had some experience of marriage, 46 percent were currently married and living together, and 35.3 percent were single and had never been married. In core cities, the corresponding figures were 61.1 percent, 36.7 percent, and 38.9 percent.

*“Noticeable regional variations can be discerned in both nations.”*

*F. Females make up a slightly smaller majority of the population in the United States than in the United Kingdom.*

The gender balance of the U.K. remained stable throughout the 1980s and 1990s, with females representing a constant 51.4 percent of the population and males 48.6 percent at mid-year estimates in 1981, 1991, and 2001.<sup>29</sup> In the United States, the predominance of females over males was similar in 1980 to the U.K. distribution. However, the gender gap narrowed slightly in the 1980s and more sharply in the 1990s. By 2000, the U.S. population was 50.9 percent female and 48.1 percent male.

In developed countries, gender balances tend to reflect the age structure of populations, which in turn reflects each gender's birth and mortality rates, and any differential in international migration by gender. Males are generally more numerous in younger age groups below age 35 and in migrant groups.<sup>30</sup> The shift in the gender balance of the United States during the 1990s reflects shifts in America's age structure and stepped-up immigration, as well as declining death rates among older men.

Regional gender imbalances in the United States were minimal and hewed closely to regional age differences. The greatest preponderance of female residents was in the Northeast, where women and girls made up 51.7 percent of the population, followed by the South at 51.1 percent, the Midwest at 51 percent, and the West at 50.1 percent. In the United Kingdom, the gender break ranged from 52 percent female in Scotland to 50.9 percent in the East Midlands.

In both countries, urban areas claimed slightly higher female population shares than the national average, despite their younger age profiles. In the top 20 U.S. metro areas, females composed 51.1 per-

cent of the population, and in the top U.S. cities, the figure was 51.3 percent. Residents of the English "mets" were 51.6 percent female while 51.8 percent of the population was female in core cities. The slight "feminization" of urban areas is likely explained by different patterns of migration into and out of cities. Younger, single women may be more likely to remain in or move to urban areas than men, and older, widowed women may be less likely to leave cities than mature couples.

## Discussion and conclusions

The United States and the United Kingdom share—in many respects—similar demographic patterns and trends. Both populations are growing. Both are aging. Both are becoming more racially and ethnically diverse. These trends, in fact, are shared by most other developed nations, although even among developed nations the United States and the United Kingdom are often considered to be among the most similar in economic, social, political, and cultural terms.

And yet, for all their similarities, even very basic demographic analysis reveals sharp differences between the two countries. Topmost among these contrasts are the sheer difference in size of the two populations; the United States' much faster U.S. population growth during the 1980s and 1990s; and America's much greater racial diversity and immigration. The two countries also differ significantly in their age composition, and they differ somewhat in the balance between the genders, both of which reflect differences in population growth and migration. The two countries also differ in the proportion of the population that is currently married or that has experienced marriage, which reflects differences in the age distribution

and in social patterns (such as the higher incidence of cohabitation in the United Kingdom).

Of course, the two countries are changing in a number of similar ways. Like other developed countries, both are aging and growing more diverse. Likewise, both nations—unlike some other developed countries—enjoy growing populations.

However, the sheer size and rates of change of the two countries are often so different that they dwarf the significance of shared trends and suggest divergence.

It bears noting, for example, that the size of a single U.S. region—the Northeast—resembles that of the entire United Kingdom. To be specific, the Northeast contains 53.5 million residents and the United Kingdom had 59.1 million (according to the 2001 mid-year estimates). What is more, the UK and the American Northeast saw similar rates of growth during the 1990s, contain similar proportions of both young and old people, and share similar proportions of citizens who have been either married or divorced. However, no U.K. region—not even London—experienced anything like America's vast, rapidly growing, youthful, and diverse West and South.

Meanwhile, the two nations are growing more different than they once were. For example, the nations' different growth rates have widened the gap between the two countries' population size during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980, there were 4.2 Americans to every one Briton; by 2000, the ratio had risen to 4.8 to one. Similarly, the two nations' racial and ethnic profiles are diverging. To be sure, both countries grew more diverse during the 1990s, but the United States was more diverse in 1980 than the United Kingdom was in 2001, and then changed faster.

In this respect, the size, growth rates, and youthfulness of the U.S.

population differ not only from those of the U.K. but from those generally found in Europe and other developed regions.

In 2000, for example, the U.S. population ranked first in size among the 30 nations in the Organization for Economic and Cooperative Development (OECD), while the United Kingdom ranked sixth.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, only the United States among “developed” countries ranked among the top 50 countries for its net contribution to world population growth in the 1990s.<sup>32</sup> With its 13.2 percent growth during the 1990s, the U.S. more than quintupled the 2.5 percent average growth of “more developed” countries and contributed some 7 percent of the global increase in that decade. The nature of the U.S. population growth differed, meanwhile, from that among the remaining countries in the top 50 in that a significant proportion of it represented not natural increase but “borrowed” growth through immigration.

The United States also differs from other developed nations in terms of its age structure. The United States, in this respect, had significantly greater shares of its population under age 15 (21.4 percent of the population) than other “more developed” countries (where the average figure was 17.3 percent), and significantly smaller proportions aged 65 or over (12.4 percent compared with an average of 14.9 percent).<sup>33</sup> These differences follow from the scale of immigration during the 1980s and 1990s, which added racially diverse, younger, and predominantly male residents to the population in very significant numbers. Immigration has also boosted fertility and interrupted the aging process common to developed countries. For its part, the United Kingdom boasted slightly higher proportions of the population under age 15 than the average among more

developed countries, but also had slightly higher proportions of people 65 or older, owing to its relatively slow population growth and relatively long, slow aging process. On this front, the U.K. elderly population ranked much nearer the averages in the European Union of 15, OECD, and more developed countries than the United States.

It is difficult to derive comparable data on racial and ethnic minority groups across developed countries. The United States is unusual in having a long tradition of the collection of racial data, while in some others countries, state agnosticism on race and ethnicity is itself a tradition. However, the United States has a higher proportion of foreign-born residents than most other OECD countries with recent data available, with the exception of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, which share its history of development through immigration, and where censuses indicate foreign-born populations of 23.6 percent (Australia in 2000), 19.5 percent (New Zealand in 2000) and 17.4 percent (Canada in 1996).<sup>34</sup>

Put them side-by-side, and the two nations’ demographic characteristics challenge comfortable thinking about “Anglo-American” or “transatlantic” similarities. At a minimum they suggest circumspection in transferring policies in areas such as welfare and housing, which are likely to be affected by quantitative demographic differences. Differences in population size, mix, and dynamics could rival cultural or institutional explanations for differences in attitudes, policies, and processes between the two nations.

And yet, the nations’ population and demographic differences do not rule out useful analytic comparison and policy exchange.

In the first place, despite their differences and possible divergence, the U.K. population resembles that

*“Places abounding  
in both similarities  
and contrasts, the  
two nations appear  
destined to richly  
reward comparative  
inquiry.”*

of the United States far more than that of other developed countries. That makes the two nations good comparators. U.S. demographic experience, what is more, may prefigure future trends in the United Kingdom. After all, estimates and projections predict that U.K. population growth will accelerate during the next decade, suggesting that the United Kingdom might learn from the experience of the United States in managing the housing, social service, and other demands associated with growth.

Second, differences themselves can be fruitful sources of ideas. For example, the United States shows that developed countries can sustain high rates of population growth and maintain youthful populations. Crucial to this convergence seem to be high rates of immigration. In that sense, the possibility of population renewal suggests that “demographic time bomb” of the UK’s relatively slow aging (with its inevitable implications for future care, support, and the labor market) could actually be defused.

A third area for productive analytic comparison and policy exchange follows from the two nations’ distinct regional population patterns, which create opportunities for direct comparison at the subnational level. On the one hand, the similarities of the size and demographic profiles of the Northeast region of the United States and the United Kingdom as a whole make comparison between the Northeast and the United Kingdom a fruitful route for policy development in fields closely linked to demography, such as housing, education, and health. (Importantly, within U.S. demography and urban policy discussions, the Northeast’s population profile is considered problematic, evidence of ongoing decline, and a hindrance to social and economic success. Despite similar characteristics, researchers and policymakers in

the United Kingdom are much less concerned about the nature of the U.K. population).

On the other hand, London was exceptional within the United Kingdom in terms of population growth, the proportion of residents over aged 60, and the proportion of nonwhite residents, yet these extreme features brought it closer to aspects of the general U.S. experience. Northern Ireland, another United Kingdom exception, somewhat resembles to the U.S. national average in the proportion of its residents aged 0–17 and aged 18–29. Of course, no U.K. region corresponds to the fast growing, youthful, and diverse Western and Southern regions of the United States.

Finally, the variety of different city types and sizes on display in the two nations highlights the possibility of drawing lessons from comparisons between urban areas within the two nations. For example, London and New York City are both demographically exceptional compared with the national averages. They are also exceptional among cities in their own countries, both being the largest cities. However, when compared with each other, they share many similarities. New York boasts 8 million residents and London 7.1 million. Both cities contained similar numbers and percentages of new residents in the 1990s. And both exhibit similar numbers and percentages of residents under age 18 and under age 45, and with experience of marriage. To be sure, none of this can reduce the significance of the two cities’ starkly different degrees of racial or ethnic diversity. New York City, after all, is a “majority minority” city, with more than 5.2 million “minority” residents at a moment when London—the most diverse part of the United Kingdom—encompasses just 2 million minority residents who make up just 28 percent of the population. Although both New York and London

belong to the select and special group of places termed “global cities,” this racial composition is a significant difference between the two.<sup>35</sup> And yet, even so, London and New York remain in important respects analogs, available and productive for comparison.

And so, even a rather general survey of the most basic population and demographic data and trends pertaining to the United States and the United Kingdom opens up a rich array of intriguing avenues for future research and policy development. Places abounding in both similarities and contrasts, the two nations appear destined to reward such inquiry.



## Endnotes

1. U.K. census data are Crown copyright and are reproduced by permission of the Comptroller of HMSO and the Queen's Printer for Scotland.
2. Officially, the U.K. census consists of three separate censuses carried out by different organizations in England and Wales; Scotland; and Northern Ireland. In practice, the canvasses' methods and questions are very similar, and results can be collated for most topics. For a few topics, comparable information is only available for Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales, omitting Northern Ireland), or for England and Wales.
3. For more detail on the comparability of the two censuses, see another report in this series: Rebecca Tunstall, "Using the United States and United Kingdom Censuses for Comparative Research" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2005).
4. The Northeast region is composed of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. The South includes Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The West includes Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. The Midwest includes Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The English regions are the North East, North West, Yorkshire and the Humber, the East Midlands, West Midlands, East London, South East, and South West.
5. For more detail on the comparability of different types of urban areas, see another report in this series: Rebecca Tunstall "Studying Urban Areas in the United States and United Kingdom" (Washington: Brookings Institution, forthcoming).
6. We use primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs) and MSAs rather than consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CSMA), which are composed of more than one adjacent PMSA.
7. The English core cities are Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, and Nottingham. For more information, see [www.corecities.com](http://www.corecities.com).
8. London appears twice, as both a region of England and an English "met".
9. The U.S. Census Bureau provides data for cities, and for "census designated places" that are concentrations of population that have not been incorporated as cities. Cities and places are referred to in the rest of this report generically as "cities."
10. For more detail, see Tunstall, "Studying Urban Areas."
11. The definition of "urban areas" applies in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In Scotland, the comparable areas are known as "settlement areas." and are partly defined using the density of population or postal addresses.
12. Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, "Demographic Trends in the 20th Century: Census 2000 Special Report" (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).
13. Figures provided by Ruth Lupton, Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics, and based on mid-year estimates.
14. See Bruce Katz and Robert E. Lang, eds., "Redefining urban and suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2003).
15. Augusta-Richmond County, GA saw even greater growth but is not included here due to boundary changes between 1990 and 2000.
16. For more detail on the comparability of the two censuses, see Rebecca Tunstall, "Using the United States and United Kingdom Censuses."
17. These figures include only those of one race only in the United States and those of non-mixed ethnicity in the United Kingdom.
18. Figures for different ethnic mixes are not available online for Scotland or Northern Ireland owing to the low overall numbers.
19. These figures include only those of one race only in the United States and those of non-mixed ethnicity in the United Kingdom.
20. The United States added a "two or more races" category in 2000 and the United Kingdom added a "mixed ethnicity" category for the first time in 2001, which means results are not strictly comparable over time.
21. The question on ethnicity was not asked in Northern Ireland until 2001, but given the low proportion of minorities in the area in 2001, it is likely that if it had been included in 1991 the national figure for white ethnicity would be very slightly higher.
22. The U.S. Census term "foreign-born" is narrower than its literal meaning suggests. It refers to all those who are not "native born," but native born includes not only those literally born within the 50 states but also those born in "outlying areas" of the United States (such as Puerto Rico and Guam), and those who were born elsewhere but who have at least one parent who is a U.S. citizen.
23. The Labour Force Survey is the largest sample survey carried out in the United Kingdom, and in 2000, it interviewed 65,000 households every three months. Christian Dustmann, Francesca Fabbri, Ian Preston and Johnathan Wadsworth, Labour Market Performance of Immigrants in the UK Labour Market. Home Office On-line report 05/03. Available from [www.homeoffice.gov.uk](http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk).
24. Nolan Malone and others, "The Foreign-Born Population: 2000 Census 2000 Brief" (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 2003).
25. The U.K. figures are based on mid-year estimates.
26. Julie Meyer, "Age: 2000 Census 2000 Brief" (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).
27. Residents of some United States states can marry at 15 years old and residents of the United Kingdom can marry at 16.



28. For more information, see another paper in this series: Rebecca Tunstall and Charlotte Kennedy, "At Home with Americans and Britons" (Washington: Brookings Institution, forthcoming).
29. These figures are based on the most recent mid-year estimates because these have been collected in a consistent way over time.
30. Denise I. Smith and Renee Spraggins, "Gender: 2000 Census 2000 Brief" (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).
31. Total population for OECD countries, as of March 19, 2004. Calculated from data at [www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org) (April 2004).
32. Thomas M. McDevitt and Patricia M. Rowe, "The United States in International Context: 2000 Census 2000 Brief." (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).
33. Ibid.
34. "Stock of foreign-born population in selected OECD countries", OECD General Context Indicators GE3.1a and 1b, "Society at a Glance 2002." Available from [www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org).
35. See, for example, Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

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